Senator J. T. Morgan Opposed 'Grandfather Clause' In 1901

Montgomery Advertiser 3-28-45 Ala.

By ATTICUS MULLIN

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There follows a letter from Senator Morgan to Capt. White (later a United States Senator), dated Warm Springs, Va., July 6, 1901, which is quoted herewith: 3-28-45

"Dear Captain White:

"The American Revolution was not so much a redress of grievances as it was a struggle to abolish heredity in office. That was the real line of division between democratic and regal government and the church established by law. Heredity disappeared, with its associated rights of perpetuity in the ownership of land, and many minor hereditaments of feudalism such as titles and tenures and servitudes, when our new Democratic scheme of government was instituted.

"Political heredity and all of its appurtenances, such as prerogative and titular nobility and primogeniture, and all its protective laws, such as corruption of blood, premunire and excommunication perished and were placed under the heel of prohibition by our constitution. Whoever would restore any of these, to that extent, discredits the cause of the revolution.

"Without suffrage, the new system had no possible means of expressing the sovereign will of the people in laws and their enforcement by executive and judicial authority 3-28-45

"These necessary agents of the government, by and for the people can only be chosen by voters; and voters could only be created by law, not by inheritance. These voters are chosen representatives to perform the single function of electing the lawful officers of government.

"The trust confided to them is personal and can neither be sold, delegated or transmitted by inheritance or by will to any other person. It is this quality of non-transmissibility that distinguishes it from the regal form of inheritable power and marks the line of the impassable gulf between regal government and democratic government. The voters, as a class, or body, have certain physical conditions such as age and sex that are necessary qualifications and certain moral and political qualifications that are personal and independent of heritable blood. 3-28-45

"To make blood the medium of transmitting the electoral power from father to son is to uproot from its foundations, the whole system of democratic government, and to reinstate the system and form of regal government.

"The 14th and 15th amendments have no more to do with this subject than any other part of the organic law 3-28-45

"The transmission of the electoral power by the blood of inheritance from father to son, would destroy all distinction between regal government and democracy, and would throw the door wide open for a return to the system that the American revolution abolished. The steps would be few and would be rapidly taken to the complete restoration of monarchy as soon as we give to any class of voters the power to qualify their sons as voters by inheritance. In this case it is the first step that tells with fatal and irrevocable effect. The argument is irresistible that offices should follow the blood, if the power that created them is to follow the blood of inheritance; and this is all that is meant in the British system of title nobility which alone legislates in the House of Lords and of regal blood and prerogative which upholds the throne and the power of appointment to office which is an appendage of the throne, and the pardoning power over which the people have no control.

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To believe in advantages for the few, to speak of charity in making possible decent living conditions for those that society (all of us, including real estate men) has forced to live in slums because they cannot help themselves or do not know how to help themselves. Is that democracy? 7-4-45

To fail to believe in the dignity of man, in the brotherhood of man, to distrust the ability of the average man to make a commonsense decision, and thus to keep the electorate small, so that only a chosen few vote and make decisions for all, resulting, whether that is the intention or not, in an electorate that is more easily controlled and more easily manipulated, one that machines may more easily dominate. Is that democracy? We might add, is it Christian?

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As for me, I want no more laws and regulations than are necessary and consistent with the freedom of the individual, but if I have to choose between such control at home and more power in the federal government, then by all means let's have more federal control. It seems to me the lesser of two evils, the more humane, the more far-sighted and, may I say, the more democratic and more in keeping with equality of opportunity and "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," words to which so many of us give lip service while hiding our true beliefs in the darkness of our own hearts.

O tempera, O mores! How long are you going to abuse our patience, O senators.

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1450 South 21st Way.

MAKE DEMOCRACY A REALITY

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To accomplish such a task it will take the best and clear thinking men and women of both races. We must not hesitate to tackle this national problem, but with faith, courage and justice we should move to bring this problem to its quickest possible solution. Birmingham Ala.

First may I say, "The character and integrity of an individual may be defined by his ability to perform and his intelligence to act."

Second, that as long as mankind trods the earth there will be different classes of people in every race. Most white people are inclined to believe that all Negroes are in the same class in general, because the class that they come in contact with are those who haven't education enough to learn to respect authority and the rights of the other fellow, to which can be attributed discrimination in city, county and state educational facilities. It must be remembered that through education and racial understanding the world moves forward.

In the white race, as in the Negro race, you will find many who will not qualify to live in a society decent for human beings because they are narrow-minded, ill-bred and bigoted. Such unconstitutional and inhuman practices blocks the progress of a nation united for the general welfare of all its people.

I believe that any state or federal government that promotes the practices of segregation laws and discrimination against the Negro race should be liberal enough to provide them with facilities and means to administer themselves in every instance. The colored administration would hold meetings with the white heads of their respective offices as often as necessary to express views and promote good will between the races. By these means the Negro will become self-reliant and progressive, and live in his own world socially and economically. 7-4-45

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On the other hand, let us not forget that on foreign fronts Americans of all color and creed are fighting and dying for freedom without discrimination while we here at home say that we, too, are fighting for freedom dedicated to human supremacy. To prove that good intention, the Negro could be given his statutory rights both civil and political as a citizen under the constitution. 15 Nov 1945

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No State today has a higher class of representation in Congress. Ours is real statesmanship; the kind that looks not to the next election, but to the welfare of the next generation.

Then in your editorial of the next day you pick up the old thread of harping on the poll tax again. Why should a public-spirited person in one breath admit that our State political affairs are honestly and efficiently managed, and in the next contend for a policy which would dilute and tear down the electorate and statesmanship that have given us that honesty and efficiency? Why do you so viciously and unceasingly bark at the heels of the outstanding statesmanship in Virginia? If our present electorate is responsible for our governmental efficiency, why disturb it? Why throw down the bars and let every nondescript and purchasable vote into the electorate? Isn't the main object clean, efficient and economical government?

Is it because you are an "out" and are willing to sacrifice the probability of good government in the hope of getting "in"? Or more likely, is it because you are one of the many blind unreasoning worshippers of the New Deal oligarchy, which looks so enviously upon the rich and juicy plum of Virginia's unencumbered financial position? Can it be that you are such a devout worshipper of the past 12 years of wanton, selfish spending that you are ready to tear down our present high electorate by letting every irresponsible go to the polls in hopes that they will be added to those who would deliver Virginia from its present wise leadership, and into the hands of a group who would not hesitate at destroying our democracy and dissipating its wealth, in order that they may retain their undemocratic control of this country?

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It is generally forgotten today that most Negroes in the North were not enfranchised until the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments were ratified in 1868-69.

When the Constitution was adopted in 1789, free Negroes enjoyed the right to vote in all but two of the 13 colonies —Georgia and South Carolina. But as the number of freemen increased, they were disfranchised by law, not only in the South but also in all the new western states and in some of the northern states.

By the time of the Civil War, Negroes enjoyed full franchise rights in only four states—Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Vermont. In New York they could vote only under property qualifications which did not apply to whites. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments compelled the northern and western states to remove their discrimination against Negro voters, a discrimination still operating in the South by means of various well-known devices.

Today, however, in some northern industrial states the Negro holds what could be the voting balance of power. In 1890, only 10 per cent of all Negroes in the United States lived in the north. In 1940 it was 23 per cent, and later migrations northward probably have brought the figure up to 25 or even 30 per cent.

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Now No "Solid South"

Politicians from the South say their section is no longer "solid" in its opposition to Negro voting and that rapid progress toward full enjoyment of the franchise by Negroes can be expected in the post-war years. An editorial in the Columbus (Georgia) Ledger a year ago (July 27, 1944) said:

"In our considered judgment two things are bound to happen in the life-span of this generation, probably within this very decade. One is the total elimination of the poll tax as a prerequisite of voting, which has no justification in morals and precious little as a revenue device. The other is universal suffrage for the Negro. It seems to us high time for the Deep South to reexamine its reasons for keeping the Negro out of party politics and determine if local expediency outweighs the larger values implicit in sound ethics and constitutional morality.

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Prior to their concentration on anti-poll tax legislation, "friends of the Negro" from the North and West gave principal attention to anti-lynching legislation. Anti-lynching bills were passed by the House, April 15, 1937, 277 to 120, and Jan. 10, 1940, 252 to 131. Like the more recent anti-poll tax bills, both these measures were killed by filibusters of southern senators. The general position of southerners in Congress has been that federal legislation of this nature is unconstitutional and that their states will deal properly with the Negro problem if interference from Washington is withheld. This they seem to have done, at least in the case of lynching—through better observance of state anti-lynching laws and better protection of prisoners by law enforcement officers. The number of lynchings reported by Tuskegee Institute for 1935 was 20. All except two of the persons lynched were Negroes. The number of lynchings last year was two, both of Negroes. (In one of these cases there is dispute as to whether it comes within the definition of a "lynching.")

Now No "Solid South"

Politicians from the South say their section is no longer "solid" in its opposition to Negro voting and that rapid progress toward full enjoyment of the franchise by Negroes can be expected in the post-war years. An editorial in the Columbus (Georgia) Ledger a year ago (July 27, 1944) said:

"In our considered judgment two things are bound to happen in the life-span of this generation, probably within this very decade. One is the total elimination of the poll tax as a prerequisite of voting, which has no justification in morals and precious little as a revenue device. The other is universal suffrage for the Negro. It seems to us high time for the Deep South to reexamine its reasons for keeping the Negro out of party politics and determine if local expediency outweighs the larger values implicit in sound ethics and constitutional morality.

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Political- Taxes

Negroes and Taxes

Richmond Times, Va.

IN EXPRESSING to GOVERNOR DARDEN their general approval of the recommendations of the Denny Commission, a group of Negro educators, representing the Virginia State Teachers' Association, entered a protest against one statement in the commission's report. It was that many Negroes in Virginia "pay no State taxes whatever." 2-3-45.

These spokesmen said their enthusiasm for the report was so great that they were reluctant "to speak unfavorably of anything therein, lest our objections overshadow our approval." However, they felt impelled to describe that statement as "unfortunate."

Quite correctly, they point out that it overlooks entirely the principle of indirect taxation. Very properly also, they remark that it fails to take into account "the thousands of submarginal white citizens who, like many Negroes, pay taxes only indirectly."

The statement too often is made in the Southern States, and also in the Northern States having large Negro populations, that "Negroes don't pay taxes." This fallacy is an easy one to fall into, but it is also an easy one to explode. Everybody who spends any money at all to live—and there are relatively few who do not—pays State and local taxes indirectly. The fact may be easily demonstrated. For example, every rent receipt is in part a tax receipt. The Negro, or the white person, who rents a place to live provides the money with which his landlord pays the property taxes on his house. Incidentally, Negro rental property is generally regarded as a profitable investment in real estate.

Similarly, purchases of food, clothing, furniture or any other article, and payments for services of all kinds, help to pay business taxes and licenses. The money that Negroes spend in these ways is indistinguishable from that spent by white people. 2-3-45

It is true that Negroes contribute less in taxes, directly or indirectly, than white people, on the average. But that is because they have less. It is also true, however, that persons with low incomes, whether white or colored, are harder hit by indirect taxes than those with larger incomes, because they have less margin in utilizing their money. Indirect taxation takes a proportionately larger slice of money from them than from those who are better off.

It will not only be just, but it will also be conducive to sounder thinking about many things, if we get rid of the false idea that "Negroes don't pay taxes."

Poll Tax and Property Tax

Richmond Times

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

Your Voice of the People column of January 8 carries a letter signed Sidney Guy Cabell, which states:

(1) "To talk about the poll tax as taking away any one's right to vote, of course, is absurd.

(2) "Does the tax on property take away one's right to own property?"

Answering these questions, permit me to say: 1-13-45

(1) If one fails to pay the poll tax, which is prerequisite to voting under our present law, unquestionably he is deprived of a right which every American should have, a free right of self-expression independent of $1.50 tax.

(2) If one fails to pay his property tax, the State steps in and shows him who is owner.

No one objects to paying a tax of $1.50 or $5.50 for a school or any other worthy purpose, but many thousands do object to the State's saying, if you do not pay for the voting privilege you cannot vote. Personally, I've voted in every election for 50 years, since attaining my majority, paying the tax, but I'm opposed to it. 1-13-45

FRANK W. LAUGHTON.

Richmond.

61a-1945

Negro Candidates Lose In November 6 Election

The Informer
Houston, Texas

WASHINGTON—

By The NNPA News Service

Colored candidates in the elections of November 6 fared badly with few exceptions, according to reports received by the Washington Bureau of the NNPA News Service up to Saturday. 11-17-45

One of the exceptions was Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., who was seeking re-election to the New York City Council as a Communist. In the first official count his election appeared certain. With 659 of 973 election districts in Manhattan sorted, he had 39,335 first choice votes.

Mr. Davis led in first choice ballots until late Friday afternoon when Stanley M. Isaacs, Republican, wrested the lead from him.

Walker Loser

An upset was the defeat of William O. Walker, editor of the Cleveland Call and Post, who was beaten by Charles V. Carr, the first colored Democrat ever elected to the Cleveland City Council. Mr. Carr won by 95 votes.

Mr. Walker was a veteran Republican councilman in Ward 17, and his defeat was the most startling in a wave of upsets which unseated six councilmen and gave the Democrats a 19-14 majority.

In other councilmanic races, Augustus C. Parker defeated Jean Murrell Capers in Ward 11, and Harold T. Gassaway defeated John H. Morgan in Ward 18. Both Parker and Gassaway were incumbents.

Ted Williams, assistant police prosecutor, was defeated in Ward 12 by Herman H. Finkle, a veteran councilman, by a scant 930 votes. Mr. Finkle has been accustomed to large majorities during his twenty-five years in the City Council.

In Kentucky, Charles W. Anderson, unopposed, was re-elected to the Kentucky House of Representatives from Louisville for a sixth term. 11-17-45

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'Give Rankin Hell,' New Yorkers Told Davis - - and He Did!

The Worker New York, New York 9-30-45

By ABNER BERRY

The Wood Committee on Un-American Activities (commonly known as the Un-American Committee) bit off more democracy than it could digest when it grabbed Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., last week. Davis had proven himself a "hot potato" when he cut through the committee red tape to brand the committee hearings a "witch hunt" and the entire procedure "un-American."

Committee member John Rankin showed his distaste for democratic fare offered by gagging on Negro rights. "Let's not discuss the nigras," the Mississippian muttered in answer to Davis' accusation of anti-Negroism. Rankin tried to protect himself from Davis' blasts by a contempt citation, but his colleagues would not go along with him.

'POSTPONE' DAVIS HEARING

Congressman Bonner of North Carolina finally had to save the day by getting a postponement. Then, with a night to think matters over, the committee decided to postpone the questioning of New York Councilman indefinitely. They were eating crow. Backing down. It was an admission of partial defeat. It must have been a hard decision for Rankin and John S. Wood, committee chairman. For, as Davis protested to committee counsel, these men come from the dictatorship ridden states of Mississippi and Georgia.

Their reason for backing down was simple: They had met the force of democratic action and couldn't face it down. When Davis stood up in the committee room and boomed out, "Mr. Chairman, I wish to protest this procedure! . . ." he was conscious of a mandate. He was more than a councilman in the midst of an election campaign. He represented the people of America who really meant it when they said we were fighting the wa rdemocracy. He had received more than four times the votes cast for Rankin and Wood combined—over 43,000. Rankin and Wood together had received less than 10,000. He was conscious that the very presence of Rankin and Wood in the House of Representatives was in contempt of everything democratic and American (they come from one-party states where Negroes and poor whites don't vote).

New York's only Negro councilman faced Rankin and Wood with a mandate from the people. The organizations of the Harlem ministers passed resolutions against the Wood Committee. They considered the attack on Ben Davis as an attack on themselves and their right to select and elect their own candidate. Doctors, lawyers, waiters, bootblacks, newspapermen, war veterans, seamen, clerks, shipbuilders — labor and the Negro people — united to give Davis a send-off and a mandate for Washington and the lawmakers.

THE PEOPLE BACK HIM

Here's where the mandate came from:

An Air Force sergeant witnessing the send-off at Penn Station elbowed himself to the middle of the crowd and asked to be introduced to Davis. "Now what's this all about?" he asked. He was told all about the Wood committee and why Davis was called. "Did you say Rankin?" he mocked. frowing, "Well, go on down there, Buddy, and give him hell for me." Ben spoke for him.

Inside the station Redcaps came up to Davis to shake hands and express solidarity. "We're with you, Mr. Davis!" was their unanimous refrain. A well-dressed young man with a professorial bearing watches the singing demonstrators intently and carefully reads the slogans carried by them. He fishes a five dollar bill from his pocket and gives it to the committee "to help Mr. Davis along in his fight with Rankin." Soldier after soldier stops to inquire. One pauses to find out the issues.

The Redcaps got into a huddle as if planning football strategy. They had mixed business with politics. One job had to do with "getting Mr. Davis seats for his party"; the other was to organize a Redcap Committee for the re-Election of Benjamin J. Davis, jr. They announced success on both.

On the train the Redcap tipped off the waiters and a table was reserved.

NEGROES UNITED ON ISSUE

A committee met Davis in Washington and drove his party to the Roger Smith Hotel at 18th and Pennsylvania, N. W. There was no little surprise when, after Davis had presented his proof of reservation, the clerk was over-prompt in saying, "Oh, yes, here's your key." In the living memory of Washingtonians spoken to this was the first time a Negro had been accepted as a guest at this hotel. Davis remarked later on this:

"You see when we fight in New York we win victories in Washington."

The avalanche of protest which had started rolling in Harlem had now grown strong enough to shatter Jimcrow walls of one of our most southern cities.

The movement continued to gain momentum. Negro leaders expressed their support of Davis as he stood in the hall outside the committee room. The Reverend Morris Shepard, Recorder of Deeds, walked over and shook hands and made a facetious remark about himself "being investigated." Negro reporters, more articulate, were on hand with handshakes and curses for the committee, as were congressional secretaries and government workers.

The Negro people were united and angry—in a fighting mood—ready to challenge the polltaxers and their system. And they were reinforced heavily by the labor movement. Marine workers and shipbuilders were there. Five hundred CIO delegates from New Jersey offered to picket Rankin's office but were told that police wouldn't permit picketing of government buildings.

Councilman Davis was too much for the witch hunters. His whole stay in Washington was a challenge to their system. Of his tussle with the committee he says, "We have made contact with the enemy and he is now on the defensive before the people's forces. Let us go on to smash his whole un-American system of anti-Negro, anti-democratic, polltax, Jimcrow rule."

Two Champions: T/Sgt. Joe Louis, world's heavyweight titleholder, says goodbye to Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., at the end of his furlough in New York this week. Sgt. Louis returned to Camp Shanks. —The Worker Photo

FIRST NEGRO SEEKING SAN FRANCISCO OFFICE

New York Times 11-4-45

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 3—War industries which drew throngs of workers from other sections, including the deep South, raised the Negro population of the San Francisco Bay area to an estimated 70,000, of whom nearly 30,000 live in this city.

One result is that for the first time in San Francisco's history a Negro is aspiring to public office. The Rev. F. D. Haynes, pastor of the Third Baptist Church and chairman of the colored ministers of the city, is a candidate for membership on the Board of Supervisors at next Tuesday's municipal election.

Among his supporters are members of the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

11-4-45

At a final meeting Monday night in behalf of Mr. Haynes' candidacy, Joe Louis, the heavyweight champion, and Rochester, the film and radio comedian, are scheduled to appear.

Davis Demands End to Witch-Hunt

Daily Worker
N.Y., N.Y. 10-8-45

Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., yesterday demanded an end to the new Dies Committee hearings as well as revocation of subpoenas against him and other members of the Communist Party.

"I protest any further questioning by this committee as open sabotage of my election campaign and of the progressive labor ticket in the New York elections," Davis said in a letter to Rep. John S. Wood, chairman of the un-American committee.

DAVIS

Davis' demand was placed after the publication of a Hearst Daily Mirror story to the effect that the committee intends to call him again to testify on Oct. 15.

He asked Wood, **"Is the Hearst press the official mouthpiece of the Rankin committee?"**

NAILS HEARST TIE-UP

The full text of Davis' letter follows:

10-8-45

"Dear Sir:

"The pro-Fascist Hearst **Daily Mirror** published a story to the effect that your committee intends to call me again to testify on October 15th.

"Is this true? If so, is the Hearst press the official mouthpiece of the Rankin committee?

"I protest any further questioning by this committee as open sabotage of my election campaign and of the progressive labor ticket in the New York elections.

"I demand that the subpoenas for me, for William Z. Foster and for other members of the Communist Party leadership be revoked.

"The committee should investigate the anti-Semitic and anti-Negro outbreaks taking place now in New York; investigate the jim-crow system against the Negro people; investigate the fascist attacks upon the auto workers of Detroit and the steel workers of Chicago. Investigate Bilbo and Rankin for their un-American activities and because they are not legally elected to the Congress of the United States. 10-8-45

"I consider Rankin's attacks as an attempt to extend the polltax-lynch system to New York.

"I expect an immediate reply to this letter confirming or denying the story in the pro-fascist Hearst newspaper in order that I can properly schedule the remaining weeks of my campaign.

"Sincerely yours,
"BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, Jr.
"Councilman, Boro of Manhattan."

SAYS TROTZKYITES AID DEWEY, GOLDSTEIN

Daily Worker

Informed by the New York press that the Trotzkyist so-called Socialist Workers Party is calling for second choice votes for Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Robert Thompson, State Chairman, issued the following statement in behalf of the New York State Communist Party: N.Y., N.Y.

The reputed "endorsement" of Councilman Davis by the so-called "Socialist Workers Party" is a deliberate and provocative attempt to smear Davis and the Communist Party and to sow confusion in the ranks of the progressive coalition of Negro and white citizens in Manhattan. With the increasing popularity of Councilman Davis' candidacy in Manhattan, reaction is stepping up its attacks upon this outstanding champion of progress and Negro-white unity. After the obvious failure of the Rankin "Un-American Committee's" effort to defeat Davis, the Dewey-Hoover-Big Business reactionaries are now calling upon their Trotzkyist agents to try and succeed where Rankin failed. The progressive people of Manhattan will defeat this new maneuver as resoundingly as they did that of Congressman Rankin.

This is not the first time that the labor and progressive movement has had to deal with this small but poisonous band of Fifth Columnists. Labor knows them for what they are in fact—agents of pro-fascist reaction who masquerade under names such as the "Socialist Workers Party" better to serve their bosses in disrupting the unity of the people. These gangster elements are no more "socialist" or "workers" than Hitler's National Socialist Party was "socialist" or in the "national" interest of the German people.

This new maneuver on the part of the Trotzkyists is typical of their double - dealing, treacherous and traitorous role throughout the world. In Spain, under the guise of "support" to the People's Front they stabbed the Republic in the back and paved the way for Franco. In the Soviet Union they were rooted out and crushed when, under the guise of "world revolutionists" they made deals with Hitler and sought to open up the frontiers to Hitlerism.

In America's all-out, victorious war effort, the Trotzkyist traitors sabotage that effort and sought to bring about the defeat of American and world democracy at the hands of Hitler-Japanese fascism. Today, these vermin seek to undermine enduring peace with their provocative attacks against Anglo-American-Soviet unity, and to break the unity and discipline of labor in the face of the growing attacks of Big Business. 10-13-45

The Communist Party, since the moment Trotzkyism reared its ugly head in our country, has unceasingly fought this criminal, conspiratorial band. We have branded them for what they are: agents of the most reactionary section of American imperialism in the ranks of the labor and progressive movement. We have warned against their provocations and helped the labor movement to defeat their double-dealing maneuvers.

The Communist Party denounces the Trotzkyist "endorsement" of Councilman Davis as a deliberate and unprincipled effort to defeat this outstanding Manhattan Councilman, to divide the Negro people, to confuse and demobilize the popular coalition around Davis, to smear the Communist Party and the labor and democratic coalition, and to aid the Dewey-Hoover-Goldstein-Dubinsky coalition in the municipal elections.

attempt to split the Negro and progressive vote and prevent the election of any Negro to the City Council. Davis' statement follows:

The endorsement of my candidacy by the Trotzkyite (Socialist Workers) Party is a contemptible device to undermine the very labor and progressive forces of which my candidacy and my Party are an integral part in this election. It is a deliberate provocation calculated to work mischief and confusion in the ranks of labor and the progressive coalition.

I repudiate totally and utterly any and all support from this clique of unprincipled disrupters and wreckers. I wish my name and that of the Communist Party, of which I am a member, to be completely disassociated from the Trotzkyite political gangsters whom recent history and experience have proven to be agents of fascism and reaction. Long ago, the labor movement repudiated the Trotzkyites but now they're trying to sneak in through the back door of an "endorsement."

In this election campaign, my platform is above all for full employment and fair employment, for security, for equality and for the end of Jimcrow, anti-Semitism and all other forms of discrimination. This is the peoples program. The Trotzkyites are the worst enemies of that program. 10-14-45

Their so-called "endorsement" is only the most convenient way in which they could draw attention to their foul attacks, against me, my Party and the labor-progressive movement. It is the same kind of smear campaign as that of the Rankins and Bilbos, only the Trotzkyites try to hide behind slimy maneuvers such as this "endorsement." But it is obvious that they are trying to split the Negro and progressive vote and to prevent any Negro from being elected to the City Council. I am confident that the people will be alert to this latest underhand trick of the Trotzkyites and will decisively repudiate them.

Clayton Credits Negro Gains To G.O.P., Aid

The Courier Journal
Louisville, Kentucky
10-24-45

Aldermanic Nominee Speaks Over WGRC

All of the progress in the "painful struggle" of the Negro for equal treatment in Louisville has been made during Republican administration, Eugene Clayton, Negro, Republican nominee for alderman from the 10th Ward, declared last night.

Speaking over WGRC, Clayton said his primary interest as a member of the board would be the construction and enlargement of a new Central High School building.

Calls Streets Terrible.

"I have observed to my sorrow that the only change that has been made in the school since I was graduated is that the building is some 30 years older than it was when I was there," he said.

Clayton charged that streets in the Negro section of the city are "in a terrible condition," and promised "to see that a program of repair is started immediately."

He said the terms of Charles W. Anderson, Negro, as State Representative since 1934 has demonstrated that Negroes and whites "can work together to their mutual satisfaction on problems that arise."

Harmony to Be Goal.

"When elected, I will not try to create a series of conflicts between the white and Negro populations of Louisville, but I will use my best efforts to create an atmosphere of harmony and goodwill, and by working with everyone see if we can't solve our mutual problems and make Louisville a better place in which to live," he said.

"For the past 12 years," he concluded, "the Democratic Party has handed to us cake that has been bitter, and my people don't want any more of this cake with Taylor-made icing."

Ben Davis Denounces Trotzkyite 'Endorsement' as Trickery

Daily Worker
New York, N.Y.
10-13-45

Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Coucilmanic candidate, last night repudiated the endorsement of his candidacy by the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party. He denounced it as a provocative

61a-1945

Benjamin J; Davis

Two Men Brooklyn Needs In the Next City Council

The Worker Newyork, New York 4-30-45

Because of his outstanding record as a City Councilman and champion of people's rights in his own borough, the Worker urges its readers in Brooklyn to work and vote for Communist Councilman Peter V. Cacchione for first choice.

We also urge that the two designees of the Brooklyn Labor Party, whose story we present below, should get second and third choice votes. In an earlier edition, we told of Councilman Cacchione's record and activity. Here are the records of Milton Goell and Bertram L. Baker, ALP-Democratic designees:

By MICHAEL SINGER

HE SPEAKS softly, slowly, with a slight drawl. His face is boyish, his movements young and when he laughs his eyes wrinkle up. A quiet, eager, alert young man. But one day while walking down Bergen Street with his wife, Milton J. Goell got mad. There was that pudgy-faced, brawny man across the street, six feet tall, braying in a husky, whiskey-soaked voice: "Kill the Jews."

Goell cupped his ears. He got the words right. Then he handed the package in his hand to his wife, said: "wait a minute, dear," walked across the street, still in that slow, confident step he has, told the man to shut up, was called names and just as quietly, just as confidently almost broke the man's jaw.

"When you get mad, you do something about it," he said later.

Milton J. Goell has been mad about a lot of things in his 41 years of living. He's been mad about slums. He's become downright vehement about race hatred. He's swelled up in anger over unemployment and crowded schools and poor transit.

Sometimes he writes about this anger. He's a pamphleteer and a poet—a ranking poet too. His pamphlets are powerful messages. Like the one, "A Postwar Plan for Brownsville," which set the entire community to work and helped bring this teeming, tenement-drenched working class section of Brooklyn a grand, new housing project.

But Milton J. Goell thinks he can fight best, can express his anger about big and little injustices best in the City Council. "I'm not a politician in the generally accepted sense of the word," he says. "But the people are sick and tired of the 'generally accepted' anyway. They want fresh, vigorous, quick changes. And that goes for politicians too. So I decided to go into politics."

It wasn't just Goell's decision at that. The citizens of the 18th and 23rd Assembly Districts, comprising Brownsville and Crown Heights, who know him best, made Goell go into politics. Worker, businessman, Jew, Negro, Christian, civic worker, professional, youth—in those districts are stumping for this amazing young man, who at 41 has run a gamut of experiences from tramping on foot through Palestine and writing a book about it to organizing OPA federal workers in the CIO.

Milton J. Goell is the number one candidate on the American Labor Party in the 18th, the 23rd and most of the rest of Brooklyn's districts. He's also the number one Democratic Party candidate for City Council in the 18th and 23rd. His Independent Citizens Committee was formed by American Labor Party people, Democrats—and even a few who still think Jonah Goldstein should be mayor. This is a really Independent Committee — all parties, all sections of the population in Brooklyn, all political viewpoints; but ALL determined to elect Goell.

But Goell is clear-cut about the Mayoralty election. "I want Gen. William O'Dwyer," he says, "because only O'Dwyer represents the progressive coalition of forces in this mayoralty campaign. Only O'Dwyer reflects the best traditions of Roosevelt and only O'Dwyer will react to the people's demands for progressive city government."

The **Brooklyn Daily Eagle** last Feb. 9 said editorially:

"Mr. Goell is an unusual combination. A lawyer and a business man, he has a practical approach and knows how to get things done. Yet he is also a poet and a dreamer who has a vision of a better future. . . ."

Reciting Goell's extraordinary energies in behalf of the people of Brownsville, the same editorial declared:

"He led a campaign that won approval for a housing development, that is now definitely

MILTON J. GOELL

scheduled for that area. And it was partly due to his efforts that an allotment has been secured for a new health center building there. . . . Mr. Goell's program covers many fields—nursery for working mothers, inclosed public market, centrally located post office, a new IRT subway spur through Pitkin Ave., covering the 'Long Island Railroad trench' west of Van Sicklen Ave., more housing developments, both public and private; a community center building, more libraries."

The **Brooklyn Eagle** could have gone on and on enumerating Goell's efforts to help bring sunshine and health to Brownsville. But Goell's activities are far from limited to this section. His vision covers all of Brooklyn, sees into the other four boroughs and sweeps the nation.

When Goell goes into things, he goes all the way. As a lawyer he is Chairman of the Committee on Social Aspects of the Law of the Brooklyn Bar Association, and member of the Committee on Municipal Legislation. As an OPA attorney he has fought for victimized tenants and against ceiling-evasion landlords. He did more. He saw the need for organizing his fellow workers into the Federal Workers Union and became CIO shop steward in the OPA office. As a leader for decent homes and government-sponsored projects, he wrote a stirring pamphlet, "A Postwar Plan for Brownsville," became chairman of the Brownsville Neighborhood Council and helped win a Federal grant for a new development. He is chairman of the Brooklyn Committee for Better Housing, member of the Citizens Housing Committee, and the National Public Housing Conference.

As a battler against anti-Semitism and for racial unity he became active in the American Jewish Congress and chairs its sub-Committee on Public Relations of the Brooklyn Commission on Anti-Semitism; is executive member of the Eastern Parkway Division of the Zionist organization; director of the Hebrew Free School; a member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Whatever the issue, whatever the struggle—if it means a better life for the people, more opportunity, more health, more unity, Goell is in there punching —and writing.

He doesn't talk much about himself as an author and a poet. But he can put words together with beautiful sensitivity. His Tramping Through Palestine, his several volumes of poetry, particularly his forthcoming book, The Wall That Is My Skin, a series of poems about the Negro, have established Goell as a writer of serious repute and courage.

Goell has quite an athletic side to his life, which the anti-Semites, Negro - haters and Brooklyn Coughlinites are never prone to forget at public meetings. A very handy gentleman with or without gloves. As a member of the boxing team at Cambridge, England, and a participant in American Legion boxing matches after the last war, Goell can hit hard even as he speaks softly.

Louis H. Pink, head of the Associated Hospital Service, is one of the long list of enthusiastic endorsers of Goell. Another is Saul Mills, secretary treasurer of the Greater New York Industrial Union Council. Doctors and businessmen, social workers and trade unionists—the letters supporting Goell pour in all day long at the offices of the Independent Citizens Committee For Goell.

When you talk to Goell, he always has much to say about another City Council candidate, Bertram L. Baker. Goell is an American Labor Party [illegible] also nominated by the Democrats in Brooklyn; Baker is Democratic candidate also nominated by the American Labor Party—an affinity that has brought the two into a close working relationship. Baker, an outstanding representative of

BERTRAM L. BAKER

the Negro people in Brooklyn for many years, has a strong chance of winning. In 1941, running for Council on the Democratic ticket, he received the highest vote any Negro candidate for that office ever had.

Brooklyn Negroes, especially in the Bedford - Stuyvesant area, know him to be a quiet, unassuming speaker who says things that hold fire for a long time and that evoke activity—the right kind of activity. Baker knows his city politics. As Deputy Collector of Internal Revenue and now as Confidential Inspector for the Borough President, he has won the respect and confidence of Negroes and white people alike for his integrity, uncompromising stand against intolerance and vigorous pressure for progressive legislation.

In the 17th, 5th and 19th districts Baker is number one choice on the American Labor and Democratic tickets for City Councilman from Brooklyn. Thousands

Councilman and first-rate tennis player, Ben Davis. In this way the ALP is utilizing the respective "home ground" Goell and Baker are the only of each candidate for a maximum American Labor Party candidates response.

campaigning for the City Council. Two other candidates for City The entire apparatus of the Kings County ALP has been endorsed by Greater New York and a member of the Kings Council have been mobilized the finest Negro tennis of the Board of Directors of the American Labor Party in each candidate. In the players in the East and is ex- maximum vote for Kings: Peter V. Cacchione, Com- NAACP, Baker has waged a vigor- In the 23rd and 18th Assembly Districts, Goell is Democrat. ous fight for a permanent FEPC ecutive secretary of the Amer- munist, and Joseph V. Sharkey, ican Tennis Association. In the 17th, the No. 1 choice; in the 17th, 5th and 19th AD's, Baker has the and elimination of such public legislation with another Negro reptiles like Bilbo and Rankin. No. 1 ALP designation.

9-30-45

Davis Hearing Off Indefinately

The Washington Tribune
Washington, D. C. (1945) 10-6-45

(NNPA)—The House un-American Activities Committee, last Wednesday, postponed indefinitely its questioning of Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., New York City councilman and vice president of the American Communist Party.

Davis had denounced the inquiry as a "witch hunt" and accused the committee of attempting to defeat his reelection in the New York City municipal elections on November 2, by holding him here for questioning in its investigation into current activities of the Communist party.

The decision to defer examination of Davis was announced by Representative John S. Wood, Democrat, of Georgia, committeeman. He said he had "no idea" when Davis would be called again.

Representative J. Parnell Thomas, Republican, of New Jersey, said Davis would not be asked to testify until after the elections.

"After all, he's running for reelection to the Council and we don't want to interfere with his campaign," Thomas told reporters. He added, however, that Davis would "most certainly" appear at sometime.

Davis was called as a witness at the committee's initial hearing Wednesday of last week. The first witness called, however, was Earl Browder, deposed Communist party leader, who identified himself as "unemployed" and put the committee on notice that he would not answer any questions about his political opinions.

At the outset, Joseph R. Brodsky, Davis's counsel, asked the committee to hear Davis first, but he was told to take his seat by Chairman Wood.

Meeting Adjourns

Later, when the hearing was ajourned at noon, Davis himself asked recognition and said that he wanted to testify immediately. He said the investigation was "taking valuable time" from his New York campaign and that unless he were allowed to either testify at once or return to New York he would have to consider the inquiry a "witch hunt" designed to interfere with his reelection.

Representative John E. Rankin, Democrat, of Mississippi, interjected that Davis could be held in contempt of the committee. Davis replied that "You can hardly talk about contempt." He added that he expected no consideration from Rankin. Rankin, a race-baiter, made no reply.

Activity Increasing in Labor's Ranks to Reelect Councilman Davis

The Worker
N. Y. N. Y.

Mounting labor activity in the campaign to reelect Councilman Davis was announced yesterday by the Trade Union Committee to Reelect Benjamin J. Davis Jr.

Davis has been endorsed by the Greater New York CIO Council, representing some 500,000 members in the five boros.

In the labor coalition backing Davis are the AFL, CIO and the Railroad Brotherhoods.

Among labor leaders backing Davis are Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union; Michael J. Quill, president of the United Transport Workers; Lewis Merril, United Office and Professional Workers; State, County, Municipal Workers, Irvin Dicther, of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, and Saul Mills, executive secretary of the CIO Council.

POPULARITY RISES

Since Davis told off Congressman John Rankin of Mississippi of the new "Dies" Committee his popularity among trade unionists has risen to new heights. 10-11-45

Chairman of the trade union committee for Davis' reelection is Ben Gold, president of the International Fur Workers Union. Charles Collins, of Hotel and Restaurant Workers Local 6, is co-chairman. Theodore Jackson, of Local 370 Dining Car Workers, AFL, is secretary; Josh Lawrence, of the NMU, is treasurer.

Endorsements of Davis have been made by District 4, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers; Furriers Joint Council of New York; the Furniture, Bedding and Allied Trades Council; the Joint Board of the Bakery and Confectionary Workers, AFL; Locals 848 and 905 of the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators, AFL, and many others.

Locals affiliated with 19 different international unions are going out officially for Davis. The slogan in many of these unions is to answer Rankin by putting Davis back in the City Council with the highest vote in Manhattan.

Vivian Rifkin to Perform At Ben Davis Victory Rally

Daily Worker
New York, N.Y.

Vivian Rifkin, distinguished pianist, will be one of the headliners among dozens of artists of stage and screen who will appear at the Ben Davis Victory Rally and Show, to be held Sunday afternoon, Oct. 28, at the Golden Gate Ballroom in Harlem.

10-12-45

Miss Rifkin, who studied with Carl Friedberg of the Julliard Graduate School, made her solo debut in Carnegie Hall last April, in a benefit performance for the Sweethearts of Servicemen. Her Town Hall debut was in 1940.

This young artist evinces a deep interest in Soviet music. She has given first American performances of works by both Shostokovich and Prokofieff. She has made a record of the Shostokovich Piano Quintet for Columbia.

Miss Rifkin, who hates all forms of discrimination, has a special interest in bringing women into the field of music. With a view to breaking down the bars against women accompanists, this outstanding solo artist has appeared again and again as accompanist for important soloists.

As to discrimination against Negroes, Miss Rifkin says, "The Negro's problem is also the white artist's problem. If we break down discrimination against the Negro people, we will enrich the artistic world with more great Negro musicians."

10-12-45

Other outstanding artists who will appear at the Golden Gate affair include Pearl Primus, the Golden Gate Quartette, Ray Lev, Billy Holliday, Mary Lou Williams, Art Tatum, the Calypso Artists.

One thousand leaders in the arts, who have formed the Artists, Writers and Professional Division of the Citizens Non-Partisan Committee to Elect Benjamin Davis, Jr., are sponsoring the affair.

Official Count Shows Davis Re-elected By 63,000 Votes

Atlanta, Ga. Daily World

NEW YORK —(ANP)— Council Benjamin J. Davis Jr., was officially returned to the city council here by 63,000 votes, which was the second highest of the five candidates elected from Manhattan.

Davis, who was first elected to the city council in 1943 to the surprise of political observers, will take his seat along with 22 other members of the city's governing body.

During his two years in office he succeeded in putting through no less than 10 bills and resolutions dealing with racial discrimination in employment, housing, wages, democratic rights and Negro recognition. He also succeeded in getting the council to pass resolutions asking to set up a permanent national FEPC and to pass anti-poll tax legislation.

11-18-45

Davis pushed the designation of Negro history week through the council and condemned jim crow practices in big league baseball.

Ben Davis, Fighter for Justice

Daily Worker
Manhattan, N. Y.

Editor, Daily Worker: N.Y.N.Y.

All hail to a great citizen and beloved patriot, Ben Davis, and congratulations on his reelection. Long may he carry on a noble American tradition of militant fighting for justice, welfare and non-discrimination. We knew he would be elected and stood firmly united behind him.

Real, intelligent, honest Southerners hate tyranny and injustice as much as any other sort of American. Both Davis and the writer are southern born. It is a mistaken idea that some like Bilbo and Rankin represent the true South. Everywhere people are good or bad according to their innate honesty and character. We should never generalize and condemn a whole geographical area because of dirty rats that crawl out of the sewer there 11-20-45

M. CORNWALL.

They all come to Ben

Two of his constituents meet with Councilman Davis in his office at 200 West 135th St.

Meet some of the people who bring their problems to City Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr. They send him mail; they come to his office because they know they'll get help.

The Worker

By JEAN KARSAVINA

New York, N.Y.

THEY all come to Ben.

His office is like his heart—room for everyone. He finds time to listen. He finds ways to help. He knows that little people have big troubles. He knows it because he's not just a politician, he's a human being.

Go into his place any day of the week, look over his shoulder as he reads his heavy mail. These are some of the letters you will see:

"Dear Councilman: I am wondering couldn't you help . . . you seem to understand everything. Where could I write or go to find out about opening a news stand?" . . . "Dear Mr. Davis: I am up against discrimination on my war job because of my color . . ." "Dear Sir: My son has been wounded overseas, and the insurance company refuses to pay benefits, but insists on keeping the premiums we paid during all this time . . ." "Dear Ben: My husband is eligible for parole from State Prison if he can go straight into a job. . . . Can you help us find a job?"

How to get a license for a bootblack stand? How to apply for an apartment in one of the fine new housing projects? How to get into the United States from the West Indies, establish residence and citizenship? How to get the landlord to rid a house of rats? How to cut red tape and get an old-age pension that ought to be coming along? 10-7-45

These are the kind of questions Ben and his two capable secretaries cope with every day, answer as carefully as they can. Often, the questions do not come by mail. People drop in. The phone rings and they make appointments. Can they see Ben early before work . . . or else after work, late?

Meet the People Who Rely on Ben

Want to meet some of them?

There is Mrs. Annie-Mae Belle who lives in a second-floor apartment on Lenox Avenue with her two small boys, Billie, five, and Walter, four. They wouldn't be a family today if it weren't for Ben. Writes Mrs. Belle, "If it weren't for your human interest and sincere sympathy, as well as prompt action, I don't know what we would have done . . ."

Here is what happened: One day last April, Mrs. Belle had to go to a sick friend, and there was no one with whom to leave the children. So she gave each one plenty of food and water, and knowing their interest in the kitchen gas jets, locked each separately in two adjoining rooms. She promised to be back by suppertime. She knew they were safe.

Billie and Walter did not mind, but soon they got bored, and yelling to each other through the closed door agreed on a new game: It would be fun to throw food and water out the windows and watch everything go splash on the sidewalk. . . . They had a wonderful time—until a neighbor complained. 10-7-45

Soon a social worker arrived and took the children to a shelter. Mrs. Belle was charged with being an improper mother. Children's Court threatened to put the boys in a foster home.

Frantic, unable even to see her babies, Mrs. Belle appealed to Ben. And Ben got her a good lawyer to represent her in court. It was a tough fight, because the judge was prejudiced—he even abused the lawyer. But in the end Billie and Walter were returned to their mother. A child care center was found where Mrs. Belle can now take the boys anytime she is forced to be away from home for any length of time. They are all pretty happy about it.

Assists Desperate Mother, Arrested Corporal

Mrs. Ella Lee Lewis' husband, Richard, had been a seaman first class until the time over a year ago when he was injured by a torpedo explosion. Ever since then he has been hospitalized, and Mrs. Lewis has had the job of keeping a family of eight together. By spring she was desperate. Another baby was under way, so that she could not work. Her allotment checks had stopped with her husband's honorable discharge, but for some reason the family was not getting the veterans' compensation they were entitled to.

The only money coming into the house was a weekly check from the Red Cross—a very slim check which could never be stretched quite far enough. The children were always a little hungry. Mrs. Lewis herself was hungry, at a time when she should have been getting plenty of milk and oranges and all the things that give a new baby healthy tissues and strong bones. 10-7-45

When she appealed to the Red Cross, they said she had better go to her parents in Georgia. Her parents lived on a farm, and that would be a fine place for the children, wouldn't it? Mrs. Lewis pointed out that the old folks had only a tiny old-age pension themselves. She argued that what she should be getting was the help she was really entitled to.

But the more she argued, the more started coming. And he saw to it that with attempt to often she made the rounds from home to a bed should be reserved for her in a of his protests Red Cross to Veterans' Administration to hospital, so that the youngest Lewis baby in $5,000 bail fo American Legion, to hospital, the more might come into the world well tended, was assigned to complicated things seemed to get. Until as a baby should. much was done finally the Dorrie Miller Vets' Organiza- Young John Smith, of West 154 St., Even more tion brought her to Ben. And Ben quickly private first class, was on his way from than about him cut through the red tape. He got action Camp Pol, La., because his sister Norma in jail—for how on the pension all right. He also got the was dying and his mother had sent for that bail money Red Cross to increase Mrs. Lewis' allow- him. During a layover in Columbia, O., died, and John's company was sent over- Cross.

Within a few weeks John Smith won

complete exoneration.

True, some of the harm that had been done could not be undone. There was no saying goodbye to Norma. There was no service overseas for him. But he was free, the AWOL charge was quashed, and he was granted further leave to come to New York. One guess as to where the Smiths went the moment John's train pulled in? To Ben's office, of course.

Loan Shark Victims Also Get His Help

A girl whose name we won't mention for obvious reasons got in trouble for making loans under forged names from loan companies—only a better name for them is loan sharks. She was just a youngster—a minor under the law. It was her father who came to Ben for help. He was frantic. Unless he made good on that $1,600, his daughter would be sent to jail!

The father never thought that there was anything to be done but pay the debt—what he was worried about was the ways and means. If he did what the loan company demanded, half of the family's monthly income would be swallowed up. But if he didn't—

At this point Ben asked a few leading questions. Was it the loan company that had suggested a deal to the father? And how carefully had they investigated the girl each time she had made an application for a new loan?

Ben was on the war-path, you see—for the loan shark is an evil all Harlem suffers from. The loan shark takes shrewd advantage of the people's desperate need for money. The loan shark encourages youngsters to borrow, and makes no effort whatever to investigate age, responsibility, ability to pay. 10-7-43

While the girl has been irresponsible and not too honest, Ben felt the loan shark was the real criminal.

So he got in touch with the District Attorney and with the Mayor's office. He made sure about a ruling that says minors are not responsible for loans secured from agencies—and the next thing that happened was that the loan company found itself being prosecuted for extortion and conspiracy. As for the girl, she was indicted on a technical charge, partly to make the case against the company possible, partly to give her a good scare. But it looks as if no judge in the city would convict her.

Then there was Pasquale Piscitelli, of East 114 St., whose first letter to Ben was signed "a citizen."

An Italian by birth, Mr. Piscitelli was very proud of his country of adoption. He was proud of his son, a recent veteran. He wanted his family to live the way Americans are supposed to live, with full right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

But it seemed as if everyone was in conspiracy against the Piscitellis—determined not to let them live that way. There was the landlord, and the social worker, and whoever was responsible for an Army pension check. Wherever the family turned, there was trouble. Characteristically, though, when Pasquale finally did write Ben, it was for help on a matter of good citizenship. 10-7-43

This is what he wrote: "There were 150 tons of ashes and dirt in our cellar. When I ask the landlord to clean it out, he says it costs too much. When I ask again, he made us move. I found a place in a house next door and did move, **but I still want to see the dirt cleaned up.** I have complained to the Housing and Building Department, but they said it would take a long time. What can I do?"

It was while trying to help Pasquale with this matter of good citizenship that Ben discovered in how many other different ways the family needed help.

Pasquale was incurably ill. He had been unable to work for years, and now recent X-ray pictures of his chest came back to the clinic doctor marked "Urgent." No wonder, Pasquale shrugged, living like we do, in that filthy house! Not eating right. . . . Money? There wasn't any. He had been on relief, but someone told the investigator that his son-in-law was helping him. The relief checks stopped. His son's pension stopped too, because though the boy's Army discharge came as a result of a weak heart he developed while in uniform, he had been told he was well enough to do light office work. But how could a boy with no training do office work? Who would hire him?

The story came out bit by bit, because Pasquale was proud and not given to complaining. But finally Ben knew all of it, and as usual he did something about it. He wrote the relief supervisor, explaining how matters stood. He wrote the Veterans' Administration. Wheels were set in motion. Pasquale Piscitelli beamed. "It's something to be an American citizen all right, all right."

There are hundreds of others whose stories you might learn if you spent a day in Ben's office. People like any of us, like me and you. They get help from Ben. They get action. It's a good thing for the community to have a man like Ben in office.

Let's keep him in there.

Reelect Benjamin J. Davis, Jr. to the City Council. 10-7-43

Write the number 1 before Benjamin J. Davis, Jr. on the paper ballot.

Seamen Back Ben Davis; They Got His Help in Wage Fight

Daily Worker

New York N. Y.

Campaigning on the Waterfront: **Nathan Jacobson, New York agent of the Marine Cooks Association of the Pacific Coast, distributes election material supporting Councilman Ben Davis, J r., among union men who have just hit shore here.**

Merchant seamen are backing the reelection of Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., because, among other reasons, he actively fought for their wage increase demands.

Councilman Davis introduced a resolution into the City Council supporting the 55 cents an hour minimum wage demand of the seamen. The resolution was passed unanimously. The seamen say this helped a great deal in winning higher wages. 10-30-45

The NMU has gone into the campaign with enthusiasm. It has set up Harlem headquarters at 110 St. and Lenox Ave., from which seamen are canvassing, giving out leaflets and speaking at meetings, both street and indoor. They have given considerable aid to the campaign.

A seaman speaking at a joint mass meeting of the Communist Party and the Upper West Side non-Partisan Committee at St. Cyprian Temple Thursday night, said, "There is no person in public life that has done more for the oppressed people than has Ben Davis. He has been a staunch fighter against anti-Semitism and the Negro-baiters, and has helped in the fight for labor's demands."

Office workers of the NMU have also gone into action. They, too, have canvassed, spoken at meetings. They say, "We will give Ben Davis our vote, but we will also see that our friends do the same."

Red Caps, too, are supporting Ben Davis. At a Red Caps dance in Harlem Thursday evening, Ben Davis was introduced and received a warm welcome. Man after man came to the box and told Davis they were backing him. There were statements like, "There are 250 votes in my district. I will work to see that you get each one of them." Or, "a real fighter for the people rises above party line, that's why I'm for you, Councilman Davis."

Recently at the Rennaissance Ballroom, Mrs. Edna Mae Crinshaw, a leading beautician of Harlem gave a dance in honor of Davis. Mrs. Crinshaw gave a financial contribution to the campaign.

Ben Davis and the Democrats

Daily Worker

COUNCILMAN BEN DAVIS has received the official Democratic designation because that was what the people of New York wanted. As Tammany leader Edward V. Loughlin pointed out, there was an overwhelming popular demand for his nomination from the Negro people of Harlem and from hundreds of labor and civic organizations. It is understood that no less than 107 CIO and AFL unions urged his nomination by the Democrats.

Ben Davis is a veteran Communist running as a Communist. It was the insistence of the people that won him the Democratic nomination. And there is now a similar demand that he be given the Republican and ALP designations.

7-24-45

Few political leaders get this kind of grass roots support from the people. Ben Davis has amply earned it on the basis of the record.

Davis has done an outstanding job in fighting for the rights of the Negro people. He led the battle to eliminate Jimcrow in semi-public housing projects. He worked for a little FEPC in New York City. He won unanimous support of the City Council for a resolution against Jimcrow in baseball.

Ben Davis has fought hard for all the people of New York. For example, he has been a champion of the underpaid city employes and has opposed all budget-cutting at their expense.

N.Y. N.Y.

Of course, there are now cries of anguish at the Davis designation by the assorted red-baiters of New York. There are bitter protests from the Liberal Party, the front for Dewey reaction in New York, and from self-styled Democratic leaders.

It is significant that these protests were started by Thomas F. Cohalan, head of the Democrats for Goldstein. The fact is that those forces already fighting the candidacy of Gen. O'Dwyer as Mayor have screamed the loudest about Davis.

And this is perfectly natural. The designation of Davis strengthens the candidacy of Gen. O'Dwyer. It consolidates the coalition of the Negro people, labor and the progressives. This kind of coalition is an asset to every genuinely liberal candidate running in New York.

It will be strengthened by a real fight against the forces trying to use the Communist issue against O'Dwyer, while any concessions to the red-baiters will only undermine the solid front for O'Dwyer and the candidates running with him.

7-29-45

We are confident that Cohalan and other reactionary Democrats of his stripe don't speak for the rank and file of their party who will overwhelmingly endorse the action of the New York county committee in designating Ben Davis for City Council.

Labor organization, civic bodies and leaders of the Negro community who urged Davis' nomination by the Democrats should uphold this action by letting both Loughlin and Gen. O'Dwyer know their sentiments. Such expression of support will advance the cause of a people's victory in November, a victory that will be won through the steadily growing unity of labor, the Negro people and all those working for progressive and good government in our great city.

M'LAURIN ASSAILS DAVIS

N.Y. Times

N.Y.C. 7-28-45

Says Negroes Want No Part of Soviet Republic in South

Benjamin F. McLaurin, Liberal party and Republican candidate for City Council from Harlem, charged yesterday that Benjamin J. Davis Jr., the incumbent candidate for re-election, "is still a Communist candidate, but his fantastic scheme of a Soviet Negro Republic in the South has completely discredited him with the Negro voters, who want no part of communism, no segregation in any form, but do want complete integration in all patterns of American life."

Mr. McLaurin, who is an international field organizer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, added:

N.Y.

"These conditions will only be overcome when the Negroes have a spokesman in the City Council who is free and is not bound by a commitment to any totalitarian movement, either within or outside our country."

Davis Spurs Plan for Harlem Job Conference

Daily Worker

7-12-45

Harlem organizations are preparing for a mass job conference in three weeks, it was revealed yesterday by Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr.

Davis stated he had been discussing informally the urgent job plight existing throughout the city, especially in Negro communities, with representatives of the Negro Labor Victory Committee, and the National Negro Congress. Unofficial agreement, he said, had been reached on a date for the job conference not later than three weeks ahead, but this will have to await official confirmation when each organization meets.

DAVIS

Action in Harlem should be in collaboration with progressives and labor forces throughout the city, Davis stressed.

"Jobs," he added, "is the atomic issue of this campaign."

Davis also announced he was leading a delegation to Washington Friday. The delegation will meet with various congressional committees and New York representatives and will press for a permanent FEPC, passage of the Murray Full Employment Bill and expulsion of Bilbo from the Senate.

In discussing the FEPC, Davis recalled that the New York State FEPC had gone into effect July 1, but that nothing of significance had been accomplished by it. He said a query from his office concerning Jimcrow in baseball had elicited the reply that Elmer A. Carter, committee member, was investigating.

"That was back in July," he stated, and continued angrily, "But what is there to investigate?

"It is about time that the State FEPC announced some success in smashing the worst Jimcrow offenders—that means getting the Giants, Dodgers and Yankees to give equal employment opportunities to Negroes."

Expressing alarm at the attacks on Jews in Brooklyn and the Bronx, Davis felt that "New York should be the first to outlaw Jimcrow and anti-Semitism." He called attention to his resolution now in a City Council committee to set up a city inter-racial affairs committee.

Davis declared he would introduce two new resolutions at the next Council meeting. One resolution will call for action by the Police Department curbing police attacks in Harlem, the other for a special session of the State Legislature to deal with the problem of returning veterans, jobs and reconversion.

Crew of SS Booker T. Washington Endorses Davis for Council

The mixed Negro and white crew of the Liberty ship Booker T. Washington, led by its Negro skipper, Hugh F. Mulzac, made public yesterday a resolution endorsing Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., for reelection to the City Council.

The SS Booker T. Washington recently docked at the 31st St. pier, Brooklyn, after three years of carrying war supplies to ports in Europe, Asia, South and Central America and the West Indies.

The resolution commends Davis for his work and promises "material assistance in his campaign."

Captain Mulzac, who guided his ship through 22 ocean crossings, issued an accompanying statement saying that postwar prospects for merchant seamen were "not very bright." He said that Davis was "the logical man for the Council, regardless of party."

Ben Davis Demands Subpenas Be Revoked

The Daily Worker Newyork, New York

9-28-45

Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., yesterday demanded that the subpena foisted on him by the un-American witch hunt committee be revoked immediately.

At the same time he hailed as a partial victory the committee's decision to postpone indefinitely its plans to question him.

"The committee's attempt to take me out of my campaign has been temporarily defeated," Davis told a press conference at his office at 200 W. 135 St. "This reflects the effective pressure of the people."

In a telegram to Rep. John S. Wood (D-Ga), committee chairman, Davis also demanded the revocation of subpenas against all members of the Communist Party. The committee, he said, still has the job of investigating its own members, its Rankins, Bilbos and Eastlands.

Proof of the committee's attempt to interfere with his campaign and with the New York City free elections was in a New York Times story yesterday, Davis added. The story said that the committee planned moving from Washington to New York City to conduct an inquiry into the mayoralty campaign.

"This fight with the un-American committee is the biggest thing in the post-election scene," Daivs said. "That's why the election struggle must mobilize the people against Rankinism and Bilboism."

Dr. George D. Cannon, chairman of the Citizens Non-Partisan Committee to Reelect Ben Davis, and co-chairmen Rep. Adam Clayton Powell and Frederick V. Field yesterday wired Rep. Wood:

"You have given New York City people a further reason to vote overwhelmingly for Benjamin J. Davis, candidate of their choice."

They also demanded that the committee withdraw the subpenas from Davis as well as from "all others who stand for democratic rights." 9-29-45

An appeal for funds to help the Councilman's fight was issued yesterday by Audley Moore, campaign manager.

Women Play Leading Part in Davis Drive

Women are playing a leading part in the campaign to reelect Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Manhattan Communist leader. Officially launched at special Communist club meetings throughout the county last Tuesday night, the campaign's first non-partisan affair was a reception for the Councilman the following evening arranged by Negro women leaders at the Hotel Theresa in Harlem.

The reception was intended for about 60 people but some 150 leaders packed the hall and overflowed into the corridors,

Mrs. Robbie White of Philadelphia, informed about the affair by her daughter, had travelled up a day earlier to be present. She emphasized the national character of the fight to re-elect Davis.

"If he is not elected," she said, "we will feel it in Philadelphia. If he is elected, Bilbo will feel it in Mississippi."

INSPIRED BY AFFAIR

Judge Francis Watkins of North Carolina, there with his wife, told the women that the affair was one of the most inspiring he had ever attended.

"The people of my state are very much interested in this campaign and in their name I wish it well," he said.

Judge Watkins is believed to be the only Negro judge in North Carolina.

Anna Moore, head of the Negro Women, Inc., one of the most influential women's organizations in Harlem, stated she had never mixed in politics except to elect Councilman Davis in 1943, to send A. Clayton Powell to Congress last year and this year to reelect Councilman Davis.

Mrs. Louise Pitmer, prominent in New York church and civic affairs, called for 500 active members in the Women's Committee to guarantee Davis' reelection.

She is a co-chairman of the Women's Division of the Citizens Committee to Re-elect Davis, which arranged the affair.

Dudley Moore, campaign manager of the Citizens Committee to Reelect Davis, presided.

The Councilman opened the open air phase of his campaign Saturday evening at 124th St. and 8th Ave. before an unusually large and enthusiastic audience. Provocateurs, were quickly squelched by the crowd when they attempted to interfere with Councilman Davis while he was speaking.

Davis Faces Fight; GOP Out To 'Get' Only Negro Councilman

By MAX GORDON

While supporters of Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., are confident the job can be done, they claim it will require an organization of at least 2,000 active workers to guarantee that he will win a place in the next City Council.

SEE 450,000 VOTE

There are two candidates in the field. It is generally predicted that the valid councilmanic vote will run about 450,000, giving the borough six councilmen. There is a slim chance that it will go to 500,000 which will add a councilman, but there is also a possibility that the valid vote may drop below 425,000 thereby cutting the number to five.

Three candidates generally conceded certain of election are Councilman Stanley Isaacs, independent Republican who has the GOP designation, and the two incumbent Democrats, Samuel DiFalco and William Carroll.

Eugene P. Connolly, American Laborite running with Democratic designation, is also considered a fairly certain winner.

While Davis is conceded an excellent chance of getting one of the other two seats, there is a "ganging-up" against him by the reactionary GOP-Liberal Party coalition which will require a hard fight on his part.

As the outstanding Negro champion in city politics, Davis has strong support in Harlem. The tactic of the opposition is to try to split that support. They are concentrating for that purpose on Benjamin F. McLaurin, a follower of David Dubinsky's reactionary Social Democratic group, and an official of the Sleeping Car Porters Union.

The Liberal Party in particular is determined to defeat Davis, even if it means there will be no Negro spokesman in the City Council. Besides McLaurin, they have one other candidate in the field, David I. Kaplan. On the bulk of the councilmanic ballots, Kaplan, who, it is hoped, will attract liberal Jewish voters, will come just before McLaurin's name.

The situation is complicated by the candidacy of another Negro, Ruth W. Whaley, Democratic designee, whose entry may aid the Liberal-GOP coalition in their efforts to split the Harlem vote. A fourth Negro candidate, Louise Simpson, has been entered by the Trotzkyites for splitting reasons.

To counteract the Liberal Party-GOP campaign, Councilman Davis' backers are out to guarantee at least 60,000 first choice votes for him through the work of the Communist Party, as well as through the trade unions that have endorsed him and been organized for him. They are not depending on second or later choice votes.

The American Labor Party, while it has failed to give Davis its designation, has endorsed him. Both ALP leaders in various localities and supporters of Davis are planning a joint one-two campaign, in which those campaigning for Davis will urge number two for Connolly and vice-versa.

Why BEN DAVIS is "The People's Choice"

VII

Councilman Ben Davis symbolizes and works to strengthen the growing unity between the Negro people and the progressive labor movement of America.

One of the most important developments of the recent period has been the establishment of a large body of Negro industrial workers in our great cities, their rapid influx into the ranks of organized labor, and the growing trade union struggles for Negro democratic rights.

Ben Davis has long been closely identified with and recognized as a leader of this movement for Negro-labor unity. That is why the Greater New York CIO Council calls for his reelection with this statement:

"Benjamin J. Davis, in his first term as Councilman, demonstrated his capacity for forceful, honest and vigorous leadership in behalf of the people. He has led the fight against racial and religious discrimination in all phases of our city's life, in housing, in private and city employment, in our schools and hospitals. He is the representative in the Council of the Negro people not only of Harlem but of all the City. He is in city affairs a symbol of the unity between the Negro people and people of all races. He has, at the same time, zealously represented and fought in the interests of labor and of all people in our city. He has confirmed the wisdom of CIO's endorsement of his candidacy in 1943."

Ben Davis expresses the will of the Negro people for ever closer alignment with the American labor movement. That is one more reason why he is the people's choice for reelection to City Council.

61a-1945

TAMMANY DISSENT OVER DAVIS GROWS

Goldstein Forces, Meanwhile, Seek Proof of Communist Tie-Up for O'Dwyer

N. Y. Times

Dissatisfaction with Tammany's designation of Benjamin J. Davis Jr., Negro Communist, for re-election to the City Council was reported yesterday to be increasing among members of that organization. Meantime, supporters of Judge Jonah J. Goldstein, Republican, Liberal and City Fusion party candidate for Mayor, were seeking to find what they asserted to be proof of a Democratic-Communist tie-up in the nomination of District Attorney William O'Dwyer, Democratic and American Labor party Mayoralty candidate, a leading issue of the city campaign.

To oppose Mr. Davis, who is conceded to have great strength in Harlem, the Liberal party designated Benjamin F. McLaurin, Negro labor leader, as one of the party's two candidates for Councilman in Manhattan, and David I. Kaplan, principal of Public School 110, as its other candidate.

B. F. McLaurin's Affiliations

Mr. McLaurin is a close associate of A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, American Federation of Labor, and is international representative of that union. He is a leading member of the Negro Labor Committee and has been prominently identified with the Nationa lCouncil for a Fair Employment Practices Committee and many other labor and civic movements.

"Unlike Benjamin J. Davis, the Communist-Tammany candidate, who in his capacity as a former editor of The Daily Worker opposed our national defense program and fought President Roosevelt's re-election in 1940, Mr. McLaurin has a consistent record of adherence to democratic ideals," said Alex Rose, administrative committee chairman of the Liberal party, in announcing Mr. McLaurin's designation.

"The people of Harlem now have a clear choice between two candidates to represent them in the City Council. Each stands for an altogether different set of principles. One is a progressive, nurtured in the American tradition; the other an avowed Communist, subject to authoritarian discipline from outside."

The designation of Mr. Davis by Tammany apparently will stand despite strong opposition among the rank-and-file members of that organization. The attempt of Michael J. Kennedy, leader of the middle part of the Third Assembly District, to get a meeting of the Tammany executive committee to revoke the designation seems unlikely to succeed because the executive committee lacks the necessary power.

The Democratic committee of New York County adopted a resolution recently empowering the county chairman, or in his absence a vice chairman of the county committee, to designate candidates for the Council. As the legal power resides in the county committee and not in the executive committee, which is created by the county committee, the power of designation now rests with David H. Knott, county chairman, who presumably was consulted by Edward V. Loughlin, leader of Tammany, before he announced the designation of Mr. Davis.

It was said that the formal designation of Mr. Davis as the Tammany candidate would be filed with the Board of Elections when his nominating petitions were filed, and that this would entitle him to the Democratic emblem on the Council ballot.

Mr. Kennedy, who with Edward J. Barry, a leader of the Tenth Assembly District, notified Mr. Loughlin that he would not circulate Davis nominating petitions in his district, announced that he had called a meeting of his election district captains for tonight at his club, 728 Ninth Avenue.

"There isn't a Democrat in my Assembly district but resents the brazen attempt by Loughlin to deliver our party in the hands of the Communists," Mr. Kennedy said. "Every decent element in our county organization will join us in this fight. The attitude of the Democrats in my district, I know, is no different from that of Democrats generally throughout the entire city.

"Certainly the weakest excuse that could be offered by Loughlin and his associates is that expediency dictated that they try to do something to hold the Negro vote. They are paying the hundreds of thousands of fine colored men and women in the city no compliment when they select a Communist to represent them."

The National Maritime Union, of which Joseph Curran is president, came to the support of Mr. Davis by sending to leaders of the Democratic, Republican and Labor parties copies of a resolution calling upon them to nominate Mr. Davis. The appeal was addressed particularly to the Labor party, as a section of the resolution read:

"We especially call upon the political arm of the labor movement, the American Labor party of the County of New York, to designate him as a candidate so that he may continue the fine work he has so ably begun."

Representative ito Marcantonio, New York County chairman of the Labor party, who has resisted repeated efforts for the designation of Mr. Davis on the ground that to do so would jeopardize the chance of election of Eugene P. Connolly, the Labor party's only Manhattan Council candidate, said immediately after Tammany's designation of Mr. Davis that he would not receive the Labor party designation.

With Tammany's designation of Mr. Davis virtually certain to cause the city ticket headed by Mr. O'Dwyer a loss of votes in Manhattan, a situation has developed in the Bronx that may also be unfavorable to the Brooklyn District Attorney. In that borough, the Democratic organization headed by National Committeeman Edward J. Flynn has refused to combine with the Labor party because of its strong Communist element and is running borough, county and local candidates without Labor party endorsement.

Election of the local Bronx Democratic candidates is regarded as probable, as there will be four tickets — Democratic, Republican, Labor and Liberal—but a large vote for Judge Goldstein is expected there.

That Democratic organization defection from the O'Dwyer ticket has extended to Brooklyn was indicated yesterday when Assemblyman Philip J. Schupler announced his withdrawal as an independent candidate for the Council to devote all his time to working for the election of Mr. O'Dwyer.

Mr. Schupler, Assemblyman from the Nineteenth Brooklyn District, charged that Kenneth F. Sutherland, Coney Island Democratic leader, and the leader of his own Assembly district were giving only lip service to Mr. O'Dwyer and that members and officers of their organizations were campaigning openly against the Democratic city ticket.

"The job of cleaning house in the Democratic party of my Assembly district and assuring the election of Judge O'Dwyer will make it necessary that I devote all of my time to counteract the traitorous elements," Mr. Schupler said. "The only consideration which motivates these political charlatans is a personal hatred of Judge O'Dwyer whose independence and high standards of political morality are foreign to their small minds. I and the members of the Victory Democratic Club, Nineteenth Assembly District, Kings, will expose these elements and will drive them from positions of influence in the Democratic party."

Benjamin J. Davis

Barry, America Firster, Joins Attack on Naming of Davis

Daily Worker 7-24-45

Rep. William B. Barry (D-NY) yesterday joined the ranks of disgruntled and reactionary Democrats protesting the designation of Councilman Benjamin Davis, Negro Communist leader, as a candidate by the New York County organization of the Democratic Party.

The Queens Congressman, who was an active America Firster and once spoke from the same platform as Laura Ingals, convicted Nazi agent, said he was "thoroughly disgusted" with the designation of Davis.

Leading the opposition to Davis was Thomas F. Cohalan, head of the Democrats for Goldstein. Michael J. Kennedy, Tammany leader in the Third Assembly District, has also joined the handful of disgruntled Democrats.

Liberal Party leaders, who have fronted from the start of the campaign for the Republican forces backing Judge Jonah Goldstein for Mayor, have been articulate in red-baiting.

In an effort to split the solid support for Davis in Harlem, the Liberal Party has nominated Benjamin F. McLaurin, an associate of A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Employes.

Brooklyn Assemblyman Philip J. Schupler withdrew from the councilmanic race to devote his full time to the mayoralty campaign of Brig. Gen. William O'Dwyer.

Schupler charged that Democratic leaders in Brooklyn were sabotaging the O'Dwyer campaign.

NEGRO SOVIET PLAN REVIVED BY DAVIS

Communist Who Is Endorsed by Tammany Apologizes for Dropping U. S. Project

N. Y. Times

The Communist dream of an independent Negro Soviet Republic to be carved out of the American South, which frequently has been used as part of the Communist recruiting campaign among American Negroes, is being revived by Benjamin J. Davis Jr., Communist member of the New York City Council, whose recent nomination by Tammany for another term has aroused Democratic protest.

Writing in last Sunday's edition of The Daily Worker, Communist organ, Mr. Davis apologized for his part in allowing the dream to fade. It happened, he explained, under the influence of "regisionist errors" that Earl Browder allowed to creep into Communist doctrine when the Communists abandoned their position as a political party and became the Communist Political Association.

Mr. Davis's explanation and apology were said to be part of the stage setting being arranged to justify an impending elimination of "revisionist errors" and possibly also the replacement of Earl Browder as spokesman for Aemrican Communists by William Z. Foster.

7-24-45

Conceding responsibility for the revision of Communist doctrine, Mr. Davis explained that "I accepted this false position because I considered it correct; I applied it in all my work and most specifically in the field of Negro work, with resulting serious weaknesses in that work." As justification he added that "I did not detect the errors because I was not sufficiently mature and equipped as a Marxist."

Acceptance of "Errors"

Acceptance of the main "error," according to Mr. Davis, led in turn to the acceptance of others, until the Communist Political Association in Harlem was "deeply infected with liquidation tendencies."

"When, therefore," he continued, "the cardinal principle of the right of self-determination for the Black Belt was liquidated, I had been conditioned to this step by my acceptance of the original deforming of the Teheran Concord. I even expressed dissatisfaction that some of us more intimately connected with the Negro people had not pre-dated Browder in arriving at this conclusion.

In pre-Browder Communist doctrine the party was on record in favor of establishment of a so-called Black Belt running in a self-determination reflected a serious revision of the national aspects of the Negro question. The stage had been set for this by a critical lack of creative Marxist theory on the Negro question. I must accept a major responsibility for this state of affairs."

"In this territory," one official Communist statement said, "we demand that the Negroes be given the complete right of self-determination, the right to set up their own Government in this territory if they so-wish, from the right to separate, if they State lines and of setting up a Ne-

Davis Receives Official Democratic Designation

By MAX GORDON Daily Worker

Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., candidate for reelection on the Communist ticket, yesterday received the official Democratic designation from the New Yor county committee of that party.

Councilman Davis is the only Negro in the city's legislative body. He was one of two Communists elected in 1943. N.Y.

In announcing the Democratic county committee's action, Edward V. Loughlin said it was a result of an "overwhelming popular demand for his reelection by the people and organizations of Harlem and by hundreds of labor and civic organizations in other parts of the city."

The nomination was sponsored by Democratic leaders of Harlem, led by J. Raymond Jones, leader of the 13th assembly district east, and including Rep. A. Clayton Powell, James Pemberton, leader of the 14th district, Joseph Pinckney, leader of the 11th district, and Guy R. Brewer and Joseph E. Ford, leaders of the 12th district.

107 UNIONS URGED IT

In addition, a group of outstanding ministers and leaders of civic and labor organizations urged Davis' designation. Democratic circles reported that 107 CIO, AFL and independent union locals had asked for it.

Earlier, the Democrats had designated as the councilmanic candidates Eugene P. Connolly, American Labor Party leader who is the ALP nominee, and Councilmen William Carroll and Samuel DiFalco, present Democratic incumbents.

The fact that Davis would receive the Democratic nomination was announced by J. Raymond Jones at the Ben Davis ball a few months ago. Some doubt developed afterwards, however, as to whether it would actually be forthcoming.

Following is Loughlin's full statement announcing the designation:

7-21-45

"I am happy to announce on behalf of the New York County Committee of the Democratic Party that we have designated Hon. Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., for reelection to the City Council. Mr. Davis, who is an enrolled Democrat, has established a distinguished record in the city during the last two years. In designating him, we are acting according

ENDORSED BY CIO

DAVIS

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to the recommendation of the leaders of the Democratic Party in Harlem, on the basis of his record, and in response to the overwhelming popular demand for his reelection by the people and organizations of Harlem and by hundreds of labor and civic organizations in other parts of the city."

Davis Scores 'Fabrication' On Negro Issue

Daily Worker 2-36-45

Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., yesterday charged that recent newspaper stories claiming he advocated a "separate Negro state" were a "gross fabrication."

The stories referred to Councilman Davis' article in the "Worker" last Sunday in which Davis criticized the manner in which Earl Browder had eliminated the principle of self-determination of the Negro people in the "Black Belt" in the South. N.Y.

Councilman Davis' statement follows in full:

"It is well-known that I believe in and fight for the immediate, full unconditional political, economic and social equality of the Negro people all over America, including the South.

"The gross fabrications in the press with reference to my seeking a 'separate Negro state' in the South were begun by the **World-Telegram** which is notorious for its policy of malicious misrepresentation of Negroes, Communists and other minority groups. With respect to this question, it is my view that the Negro people in the South must have the fullest guarantee of the expression of their democratic rights.

"The purpose of the **World-Telegram** and its reactionary associates and backers is quite the contrary. It is to prevent the establishment of my guarantees whatsoever for the full citizenship rights of the Negro to destroy the wartime gains achieved by the Negro people. My candidacy symbolizes the fight not only for the protection of those gains but for their broadest and most rapid extension, as well as for constantly improving the general welfare of the people of New York."

Davis Scores Withdrawal of Demo Designation

N.Y. Daily Worker

Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., charged yesterday that the action of the Democrats in withdrawing their designation of him for reelection was "a disservice to the democratic coalition of forces" and a concession to the "reactionary forces in the election." These forces, he said, were "centered primarily around the Dewey-controlled Republican Party."

The withdrawal of the designation was announced late Tuesday evening by Edward V. Loughlin, Manhattan Democratic leader. The designation was given to Davis last Saturday.

The withdrawal is reported to have been demanded by Mayoralty candidate William O'Dwyer as a result of pressure from national and state Democratic circles. The Democrats are expected to nominate another Negro candidate.

The Liberal Party will also announce the designation of a Negro candidate today. He is Benjamin F. McLaurin, leading official of the Brotherhood of Sleepingcar Porters, which is headed by A. Philip Randolph. McLaurin may get GOP backing. 7-26-45

In his statement, Davis warned that the success of the reactionaries in forcing his withdrawal as a Democratic candidate makes it necessary to "fight all the harder" to make certain they do not win control of the city. The withdrawal does not, of course, affect Davis' decision to run for reelection. He has received extremely wide backing throughout the city.

Following is Davis' full statement:

The withdrawal of my designation by the New York County Democratic organization was a disservice to the democratic coalition of forces which must be closely united for victory in this election, as well as in the crucial congressional elections of 1946.

The designation was granted, to use the words of the Democratic Party leaders, on the basis of my "distinguished record" in the City Council and on the basis of "overwhelming popular demand" from the Negro people, labor and other progressive forces throughout the city. To now withdraw that designation, without any change in the basic reasons why it was first granted, is to yield to a minority of reactionary forces within and without the Democratic Party. If the newspaper reports are true, it is unfortunate that Mr. O'Dwyer, standard bearer of the democratic coalition, permitted himself to become a party to the withdrawal.

To place the withdrawal on the basis of the so-called newly discovered fact that I am a Communist is ridiculous. I was elected in 1943 as a Communist and it was well-known all along that I am a member of the Communist Political Association.

The reactionary forces in these elections, centered primarily around the Dewey-controlled Republican Party, hope to destroy the democratic coalition of labor and the Negro people, of Jew and Gentile, of Communists and non-Communists, of white and black, and they are doing so under the smokescreen of red-baiting. It is the function of Dubinsky's phony Liberal Party outfit to poison the atmosphere of this election campaign with red-baiting.

The only way to defeat these forces is to meet head-on their tactic of divide and rule by standing firm against their unscrupulous provocations. To capitulate in this instance leads to capitulation on other principled issues and questions until reaction emerges victorious.

If the forces of reaction which oppose the democratic coalition can wield so much power as to compel an overriding of the will of the people in this situation, we shall have to fight all the harder to make sure they do not control New York City.

I am quite certain that the Negro people, labor and other progressives will resist this provocation and will build their unity more strongly than ever in the elections. I am equally certain that no one can keep the Negro people from playing their full and equal role in the coalition, in having their say, and in continuing with their labor and progressive allies, until the stench and shame of Jimcrow is wiped from our city.

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Benjamin J. Davis, Jr.

Davis Cheered on Departure To Face House Witch-Hunters

The Daily Worker New York, New York 9-26-45

Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., went to Washington last night to face an un-American witch-hunt by the new Dies Committee. He went with smiles and confidence, cheered on by a large delegation of fellow New Yorkers, Negro and white, who saw him off at Pennsylvania Station.

These New Yorkers were chiefly trade unionists—AFL food workers, and CIO maritime, office, fur, wholesale, retail and social workers. They came because they bitterly resented the Washington inquisition and because they are solidly behind Davis' campaign for re-election to the City Council.

As the large crowd gathered at 6 p. m. on the Seventh Avenue side of the station, the Davis motorcade drove up, accompanied by a police escort. Then the tall, buoyant councilman stepped out, and a great demonstration got going.

"I'm going to Washington to express the sentiment and protest of New York City people, black and white, against the un-American action of the Rankin Committee," Davis told the demonstration.

"I denounce its attempts to interfere in the free elections of New York City. I think I was subpoenaed because of the fight I have put up in the City Council for the rights of all our citizens, and particularly the rights of labor and minority groups such as the Negro and Jewish people."

Workers crowding around Davis as he spoke wore arm and chest bands and carried their union standards. Popular slogans were: "Veterans Back Ben Davis," "Investigate Jimcrow, Rankin, Bilbo, Anti-Semitism," "The Polltax is un-Americanism," "Investigate the Rapists of Mrs. Recy Taylor," and "Ben Davis Gets 75,000 Votes; Rankin Gets 3,000."

As the Councilman waited for his train, the crowd broke into song, singing, "Davis is our leader, we shall not be moved."

Asked why they had come, workers gave these answers—which show how they feel about a councilman who speaks for the average man:

Third Mate Colin Clarke: "I'm here in the interest of unity—and Ben Davis is its protector. I'm here with smiles and confidence, to show him that we back him against this Dies Committee investigation which in itself is un-American."

Morton Weinkrantz, a veteran, fur worker: "This investigation is a crime against the democracy I've been fighting for.

Walter Kane, Local 19, CIO, office workers: "This witch-hunt won't swerve the people's loyalty from Councilman Davis."

Morris Doswell, Local 65: "Labor is behind Ben Davis wholeheartedly, despite attempts to keep a true American out of public office."

Peter Riccobaldi, AFL food workers Local 1: "I'm here because I want to investigate Bilbo and Rankin."

9-26-45

The crowd kept on singing and cheering until 7:30 p. m., when Davis boarded his train.

Let's Face It

The Daily Worker New York, New York 10-3-45

by Max Gordon

AN EAST SIDE Jewish veteran of this war war got pretty excited when he read of the dramatic encounter between Councilman Ben Davis and Rep. John Rankin in Washington last week.

"I went into the Army right after Mike Edelstein dropped dead answering Rankin's attack on the Jews," he explained.

He was referring to that bitter incident in the summer of 1941 when Rep. Michael Edelstein, product of New York's lower East Side, got up to answer the vile and unconcealed anti-Semitic agitation of the Mississippi fascist.

"Wall Street and a little group of our international Jewish brethren" are responsible for this war this member of the current, curiously titled, "Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities" had said on the floor of Congress that day.

Rep. Edelstein asked for one minute to reply.

"I deplore the House attempt to use the Jews as a scapegoat," he said. "I say it is unfair. I say it is un-American. As a member of this House I deplore such allegations because we are living in a democracy."

Five minutes later Edelstein was dead, a victim of heart failure.

More than one Jewish citizen in New York recalled the event in reading of Davis and Rankin.

* * *

CERTAINLY, there was drama in the meeting between the Negro Communist leader, famed nationally as a fighter for the rights of the so-called minority groups, and this poisonous relic of feudal decay, symbol of the hated racist doctrine in America. But there was more than that.

That meeting carried a political impact which will be felt in the New York elections this year, though not in the manner intended by Rankin. It will be felt in far wider circles as the Negro press throughout the country carries the story into the South and into the Negro communities in the cities of the North.

Yet, incredible though it may seem, on the very day that Davis appeared before Rankin and his committee, there were Negro and Jewish politicians who were publicly feeding Rankin with ammunition to use against Davis; who were doing their best to swing the public to Rankin's side.

The place was Madison Square Garden; the occasion a Liberal Party rally. Frank Crosswaith, Negro Social Democratic "front" for David Dubinsky, was speaking on behalf of the candidacy of Benjamin F. McLaurin, another Negro Social Democratic unionist. McLaurin had been nominated for City Council by the Liberal Party and endorsed by the Republican Party for the specific purpose of defeating Councilman Davis for re-election.

The beginning, the middle, the conclusion of Crosswaith's speech, its substance, its essence, its content and its core was the plea that Davis was a man who "has his feet in New York and his head over in Europe." What did Crosswaith mean? Simply that Davis was an 'agent of Moscow."

10-3-45

WHY did Rankin's committee call Davis and his Communist colleagues down to Washington? Simply to "establish" that in their struggle for the rights of the Negro people, in their fiht for progress and for democracy, they were "agents of Moscow."

And just as Dewey quoted Dubinsky in his Boston speech of last year to "prove" that FDR was a creature of the Communists, it is not beyond the realm of possibility that Rep. John Rankin will quote Crosswaith or Jonah Goldstein or David Dubinsky or Alex Rose that Davis is an "agent of Moscow." They all said it in one way or another at that and numerous other meetings.

If Rankin does not quote them, it is not their fault. They did their best to help him.

Rankin is consistent, Jew-baiter, Negro hater, Hitler-protector, red-baiting fighter against unity of the democratic and progressive forces in New York and in the nation, battler against economic and social progress—he is all of a piece. You cannot be his ally in one phase of his activity and pretend to oppose him in others.

Davis Confronts Rankin

The Daily Worker New York, New York 9-28-45

IT WAS a dramatic meeting between Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr. and Rep. John Rankin in Washington.

One of the nation's outstanding fighters for the rights of minorities confronted the man who has become the symbol for the hideous fascist doctrines of racism in America.

Rankin was cast in the role of accuser; Davis in the role of accused. But behind Davis was all the force of the democratic aspirations of the common folk of America, while behind Rankin was the rotting feudal aristocracy of the South, desperately trying to hold on to its authoritarian rule by imposing it on the rest of the nation.

The people were stronger and the roles were reversed. The accused became the accuser and John Rankin scuttled for cover, at least for the moment.

9-28-45

Why did they call Councilman Davis down to Washington and why does this committee now threaten to come to New York to "investigate" the elections here?

The answer is in the record of the notorious Dies Committee. In the gubernatorial and congressional elections of 1938, the Dies Committee picked crucial spots in the struggle between the New Deal and reaction to develop its witch-hunts against labor and with some success.

In the current New York City campaign, the labor and progressive forces are united in a struggle against Deweyism. The coalition of the Negro people and labor is being strengthened in the campaign to reelect Davis. Hence, like its infamous predecessor, the present committee has picked New York for its initial public witch-hunt.

One wonders at the gall of Rankin and his fellow polltaxer John Wood of Georgia, who formally heads the committee. They dare come to New York to tell the people here how to run an election!

It is now plain to everyone that the aim of the committee is to impose the Rankin brand of "democracy" on the rest of the nation. It must not be allowed to continue. Every democratic American should raise his or her voice in the demand that witch-hunts stop in postwar America.

Witch-Hunt Suspended; Set Date Nearer Election Day

The Daily Worker New York, New York 9-28-

By ADAM LAPIN

WASHINGTON, Sept. 27.—The witch-hunt of the so-called House Committee on Un-American Activities suspended temporarily this afternoon, but not until every anti-Communist fable of the past 20 years was put into the record. After clumsy and unsuccessful efforts to bait the two witnesses thus far, Jack Stachel, National Board member of the Communist Party, and Earl Browder, former head of the Communist Political Association, the committee put off further hearings until mid-October.

William Z. Foster, chairman of the Communist Party will be called to testify Oct. 17. Browder will be recalled Oct. 18. It is reported that Councilman Benjamin Davis of New York will be called to the stand at about the same time.

This would give the committee better timing in its efforts to smear Davis and defeat his campaign for re-election.

While establishing nothing whatever about anything, it appeared clear that the committee was attempting to create the atmosphere for its future witch-hunt plans.

The committee is now reported to be engaged in an effort to accumulate personnel records of temporary war agencies in order to press charges against government employes alleged to be anti-Fascist.

After a lot of meandering around by the committee about Stachel's activities in the Communist movement for the past 20 years, the committee finally got down to the present.

"Do you believe in continued cooperation between capital and labor for reconversion." Chairman John S. Wood D-Ga), asked.

"I do," Stachel emphasized.

Stachel said he "agreed substantially" with a statement read to him from a Communist Party pamphlet stating that the Soviet Union was the "most consistent" force for freedom in the world today.

He said that he didn't want "to underestimate the role our country must play for peace," and he warned that "powerful forces here are still trying to upset the peace while in Russia the people are united behind the government."

Stachel also said that reconversion was being hindered by the fear of men like Sen. Robert Taft of Ohio that "full employment means socialism."

"These people are against full employment because they are so afraid of socialism and of the workers," Stachel said.

In questioning Browder, Rep. John Rankin (D-Miss) and Rep. J. Parnell Thomas (R-NJ) tried to red-bait the late President Roosevelt.

Rankin asked Browder:

"You had an idea that the President of the United States was a Communist, didn't you?"

"I certainly did not," Browder replied.

"Did you regard Mrs. Roosevelt as a Communist?" Thomas asked.

"Of course not," Browder said.

In preparation for the anticipated attack on Davis, committee counsel Ernie Adamson, asked both Stachel and Browder about stories alleging that the Negro Councilman had advocated "Negro Soviets."

Adamson cited an article to this effect by Howard Rushmore in the Hearst Journal-American.

Stachel denied that he had heard anything of this kind discussed at the recent Communist Party convention.

Rankin asked whether "Karl Marx had renounced Christianity."

"Karl Marx was a Jew, I believe," Browder replied.

STUPID QUESTION

The prize exhibit of stupidity came from committee counsel Adamson.

Adamson advanced the theory that in recent discussions Browder wanted "to make the headquarters of the Communist International in the United States," while Jacques Duclos, French Communist leader, wanted them in Moscow.

After explaining that the Communist International had been dissolved in 1943 and that the American Communists had disaffiliated in 1940, Browder said of Adamson's brain-storm:

"Such an idea is so completely fantastic that it could arise only in the mind of someone suffering from delusions or some other form of insanity."

Browder dismissed as "fantastic" a World-Telegram story by Frederick Woltman alleging that he had charged Soviet domination of the Communist movement in this country.

"Was it your objective to cooperate with capitalistic governments?" Adamson asked.

"It was the purpose of the Communist Political Association when I was its spokesman to cooperate with the government to win the war, establish a durable peace and maximum well-being for the American people," Browder stated.

Browder protested he had prior engagements in New York which were important to him because he is "unemployed" at present, and asked that he be excused.

"If you had not tried to repeat the substance of hearings six years ago you would have dispensed with me in an hour," he said.

Asked by Rep. Gerald Landis (R-Ind) whether he believed in "revolution," Browder said that he could not repudiate revolution "because my country was born in revolution."

Davis Walks on Freedom Road

The Daily Worker New York, New York

(Written for The Artists, Writers and Professionals Division of the Citizens Nonpartisan Committee for the Reelection of Benjamin J. Davis to the City Council.) 10-17-45

By HOWARD FAST

IN 1932, 600 white and Negro unemployed workers marched to the courthouse in Atlanta, Georgia, and stated their demands. Orderly but determined they asked for jobs, relief—for enough food to stop the hunger in their children's bellies. . . . They were driven away and denied any sort of hearing, and a few days later their leader, a young Negro named Angelo Herndon, was arrested. It was no ordinary arrest on a routine charge of disturbing the peace. Herndon was charged with attempting to incite insurrection against the Sovereign State of Georgia—and if found guilty, he would be condemned to death.

The International Labor Defense hired a Southern lawyer to defend Herndon. This lawyer agreed to take the case, provided that Herndon accepted three conditions. The first was that the constitutionality of the statute under which he was being tried should not be challenged; the second was that the right of a white, jim-crow jury to try a Negro should not be challenged; and the third was that Herndon should disavow any connection with the Communist Party.

All three conditions were rejected by Herndon and the I. L. D. and the Southern lawyer dropped the case. It was at that point that a young Atlanta lawyer, a Negro named Ben Davis, stepped forward and offered his services in Herndon's defense. It was at that point too that Ben Davis stepped onto the stage of history and made his double compact—a compact he has kept ever since—with his people and with freedom.

* * *

That was two months after Ben Davis had hung out his shingle in Atlanta and advertised for practice. He faced a comfortable future; there were not many Negro lawyers, and certainly no other one who possessed degrees from Amherst College and Harvard Law. All he had to do was nurse his practice and know his place. Success waited for him providing that he never interested himself in a thing called justice, providing that he kept hands off such delicate and basic matters as this Herndon case, providing that he never fought for the constitutional rights of his own people; providing he did none of those things, he would become as successful as a Negro may in the South; he would live in relative peace and comfort, and he would know many of the material rewards of life.

Well, Ben Davis made his decision, and he has abided by that decision ever since. . . .

* * *

In 1943, he entered the Council race, not because he was politically ambitious, but because he believed that the City of New York should have at least one Negro on its governing goard.

Ben Davis brought his case to the people. We are fortunate in our city to have Proportional Representation, for in that way, all of the people of Manhattan heard his case, and all of them made their choice. And there were enough men of good will, both black and white, to send Ben Davis to the City Council. His record during the next two years speaks for the people's judgment.

Here is some of that record:

He offered a resolution that there be an official designation of Negro History Week in New York. It was passed and so designated.

With Stanley Isaacs, he cosponsored a bill to remove tax-free rights from any housing project which discriminated against any race, religion, or nationality. It was passed, and became known as the Anti-discriminatory Housing Law.

He moved for an investigation of Jimcrow practices in the fire department. The investigation resulted in the promotion of two Negro firemen to Lieutenant's rank, the first time in a generation such a thing occurred.

He introduced a resolution in support of State FEPC. The Mayor used this resolution in Albany, and it materially contributed to the passage of the Ives Quinn Law.

He introduced a resolution on behalf of a permanent national FEPC, and the resolution was passed. 10-17-45

He introduced a resolution calling upon Congress to pass the anti-poll tax bill. The resolution was unanimously accepted.

He introduced a resolution condemning Jimcrow practice in big league baseball, and calling upon the State FEPC to act. The city Council stood behind him and accepted this resolution unanimously.

He introduced a resolution supporting the demands of the National Maritime Union for a minimum wage of 55 cents. Responding to his leadership, the City Council once again voted unanimously—the first time in history that New York City has gone on record to support the demands of a trade union.

He fought constantly and fearlessly for every city group and minority, as evidenced by his introduction of a resolution condemning Senator Bilbo.

And still pending at the time of this writing is the bill which he introduced to set up an anti-discrimination committee, with broad powers to act on all immediate city problems.

These are laws and resolutions which Ben Davis introduced. But along with that, in his position as the people's representative, he fought the people's fight on every issue, for the maintenance of OPA, for improvement of education, for the five cent fare—down the line on every issue in which we had a stake.

* * *

So there is the record. I think a theme runs through it, a simple and matter-of-fact theme; a man in relation to a democratic society, a man who will not retreat an inch, either in principle or practice, where democracy is concerned. That's the core of the reason why I am voting for Ben Davis and why I am asking you to vote for him. . . .

We know what we want; we want jobs, jobs for veterans, for all men, black and white . . . for everyone who wants to work. We want an end to discrimination, an end to anti-Semitism, an end to Jimcrow. We want peace and a good world and we are going to fight for those things and vote for the men who will fight for them. Ben Davis is such a man; he has always fought for those things. And he will go on fighting for them.

Labor's Twofold Task

Daily Worker

Statement by Robert Thompson
Chairman, Communist Party, N. Y.

THE 11th-hour shift of PM from William O'Dwyer to Newbold Morris sharply points up the necessity for the labor movement to register its independent position at the polls tomorrow. New York, N. Y.

The crucial conditions for the maintenance and further development of the labor-progressive coalition are these: a sweeping victory for the Communist councilmen, Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., and Peter V. Cacchione; an overwhelming vote for Michael Quill and other ALP councilmanic candidates; a mass vote for O'Dwyer on labor's terms, on the ALP line. 11-5-45

PM's action, therefore, can only be regarded as a treacherous blow at labor and the entire progressive movement. What the editors of PM have not understood—and what must be understood—is that labor's ability to exert and register its independent strength is the key factor in New York politics for the present and for the future.

The primary purpose of PM's reversal is to cut down the size of the vote for O'Dwyer on the ALP line. Cutting down the ALP mayoralty vote means strengthening reaction, regardless of who is elected.

On the other hand enlarging the ALP vote means strengthening labor's ability to make its will felt for a democratic foreign policy, for a legislative program which meets the needs of the workers and the mass of people, for a firm coalition of all democratic forces based on total rejection of red baiting.

PM has disregarded all this. Its original endorsement of O'Dwyer was based on middle class illusions about O'Dwyer as an individual and not on the solid working class consideration that in this election O'Dwyer is the candidate of the only progressive-labor coalition in New York. The simple fact is that PM, by its last minute switch, has lined up with the most reactionary forces of big business who, irrespective of their political labels, are out to destroy labor as an independent political force. PM has taken a position designated to weaken labor's independent role and no amount of middle class moralizing, at which the editors of PM are so adept, can change that fact.

Let us state the worst that has to be stated about William O'Dwyer. O'Dwyer has redbaited; O'Dwyer has yielded to the pressure of reactionaries within his own party—Farley and Flynn. O'Dwyer has not publicly indicated that he has broken with the Truman administration on the crucial issue of foreign policy.

If only things were as simple as the not-so-simple editors of PM would make them seem! The whole election picture must be looked at from the point of view of what will best answer labor's needs and what practical objectives must be achieved now so that labor's needs can be met and solved after elections. It is within the framework of this realistic view of the campaign that labor's twofold task must be accomplished. 11-5-45

Two Vital Tasks

The first part of this task is to defeat Goldstein, the candidate of open reaction, and at the same time prevent the candidacy of the silk-stocking reformer, Morris, from diverting labor votes from labor's camp. The second part of the task is to strengthen the independent position and influence of labor within the progressive coalition, recognizing that labor is the core of that coalition.

Insofar as the mayoralty campaign is concerned, the only method through which this objective can be accomplished is by a record vote on the ALP line for O'Dwyer.

But this is not enough. Labor must back up this record vote for O'Dwyer on the ALP line with an overwhelming vote for the Communist and ALP candidates for city council. Without a strong bloc of independent councilmen, including in the first place Communists, the task of meeting labor's needs after election day will be impossible. With the ALP, independent and Communist councilmen in the new City Council, labor will have active fighters on its behalf blocking the trend toward reaction within the O'Dwyer camp. 11-5-45

It is not necessary to speak of the role of most New York papers in this election. They have served their masters, the big financial interests, the red baiters and the labor haters and served them well. The **Post** and **World-Telegram** have played reaction's and social democracy's dangerous game of red-baiting. **PM** has vacillated, emoted and changed face—but in the end, **PM** has knifed labor. **Among all of New York's newspapers only The Worker and the Daily Worker have fought labor's fight without** vacillation and have not hesitated to correct conclusions in a difficult political situation.

On this, the eve of election, we are confident of the outcome. This confidence is not wishful thinking nor the platitudes of a campaign manager. It is based upon an appraisal of labor's understanding. Labor understands that red-baiting is a prime danger to the labor movement, and that is why the outcome will show a record vote for Benjamin J. Davis and Peter V. Cacchione. Labor understands the crucial role of the ALP and that is why Michael Quill and other ALP councilmanic candidates will be sent to office. And labor knows that it has two jobs ahead: to fight for its rights and to maintain its position in the coalition supporting O'Dwyer — **that is why the vote for O'Dwyer on the ALP line will be a record vote.**

61a-1945 Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr.

Daily Worker — New York N.Y.
"We're With You"! 9-22-45

Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., gets a hearty farewell handshake from an unidentified sergeant as he left Tuesday to testify before the Washington witch hunt committee. Scene is Pennsylvania Station, with only a small part of the crowd of trade unionists squeezing into this photo taken Tuesday evening. That's a National Maritime Union banner in the background. Arm bands say, "You Tell 'Em, Ben," "Veterans Back Ben Davis," "Investigate Jim-crow. Rankin Bilbo."

—Daily Worker Photo.

Ben Davis: Symbol of New York People's Unity

The Daily Worker New York, New York 9-22-45

by Claudia Jones

A NEGRO mother wished her blessing on **Councilman Ben Davis a few weeks ago** when she called at his office. Her soldier son had been freed after 60 days under false arrest in Columbus, Ohio. She had come to thank Ben for his intercedence with the Red Cross, Army officials and Columbus authorities, together with other leaders of the community. And another rung was wrought out in the battle for equality for our Negro servicemen in the armed forces.

A few months earlier, several Negro firemen called on the Councilman. They called to thank Ben for his almost single-handed efforts and success in ending the practice of the Fire Department of having special Jimcrow beds for Negro firemen. This fight resulted in the promotion—the first in 25 years—of two firemen who testified to the veracity of such a practice.

Many other "firsts" can be attributed to the presence of Councilman Ben Davis in the City Council; such as the unanimous adoption of his resolution demanding an end to Jimcrow in big league baseball; the indignant and unanimous resolution of the Council castigating Bilbo and Bilboism as an insult, not only to the Negro people, but to the entire citizenry of New York and the nation; his significant voice and vote in increasing the city budget which resulted in the long over-due wage increase to city employees.

With such "firsts" it is difficult to imagine New York's City Council without Ben Davis. It is a City Council today that is more attuned to the needs of the people and to the times we live in.

But it is precisely of this that the Dewey-Liberal reactionary Social-Democratic coalition wish to rob the people of New York. Bedecked in sheep's clothing, they cry to the four winds that their aim is "solely" to defeat Ben Davis "**the Communist**," and to assure "**adequate**" Negro representation in the City Council.

* * *

DOES the fact that Davis may not be re-elected disturb these self-proclaimed **"champions of the Negro people"** one whit? Of course not! It matters little to them whether or not there is **any** Negro representation in the City Council of New York. As the **"best qualified representative"** of the Negro people, in the words of the influential Negro newspaper, the **Chicago Defender**, and, as a Communist, whose very name symbolizes an uncompromising fight for complete equality of the Negro people, the reactionaries are finding it difficult to toss around the double-edged sword that Davis represents. Hence, their task is divided. On the one hand—give begrudging credit to his record. (What else can even **they** do?) On the other: confuse the issues of his reelection through red-baiting.

But this still does not fully expose their **real aim**. It is to foist **"white supremacy"** on one of the most important legislative councils of the land; it is **this** that they hope to achieve by robbing the people of New York of what the New York CIO Council termed when it endorsed Davis as being: **"above all —the symbol of the unity between the Negro people and the people of all races"** as well as an ardent and zealous fighter in the interests of labor. This is the chief significance of their summary entering of three other Negro candidates in the field, who have no possible chance of election. It is their hope by splitting the Negro vote and confusing the issue on red-baiting lines to eliminate Negro representation, and therefore give unbridled reign to the Bilbo-ic attacks against Negroes, Jews, Italians and other minorities.

Failure of labor, the progressive white citizenry and the Negro people to recognize this cardinal truth could only result in a go-signal for the "white supremacy" forces of the nation! 9-22-45

* * *

IS IT too early to speak of Davis' reelection in such terms? On the contrary. Historically, in our country, the resurgence of reaction has come in the form of "white supremacy." It was true during the close of the Civil War, when the Black Hundreds instituted a reign of terror which all but wiped out the Negro people's gains following a war to unite the nation and to free it from chattel slavery. In the anti-Semitic, anti-Negro, pro-fascist slanders against America's minorities by the Bilbos and Eastlands, this same drive is evidenced today, particularly against the heroic and dauntless sons and veterans of the Negro people.

Davis represents the challenge to "white supremacy." He represents the challenge to all pro-fascists and reactionaries, and the struggle to reelect him might well be compared to the fight of the immortal hero of Howard Fast's Freedom Road, Gideon Jackson. As true as was Gideon's fight to stop the reactionaries of that day, so is Ben's reelection the stop-gap to the reactionary coalition who would run riot over the people's gains of the last decade! 9-22-45

Although there is this similarity, there are also key differences. Chief of these is the recognition that it is possible—nay necessary—to reelect Davis in this crucial period in which the full results of our victory, security and peace, and America's role and future history is being shaped.

Therefore, it might be stated, that Davis' reelection is the No. 1 national example of labor and the peoples' responsibility to maintain and extend the democratic wartime gains of the Negro people. If it is an example, then it is also a challenge. For in the deepest sense, maintenance and extension of these gains represent the essence of the nation's unity; the fruits of our hard-won victory, future peace and security.

* * *

IT IS **this** that underlies the widespread national response to his reelection by the Negro people themselves. Inherent in the response is not only that the Negro people desire that New York's City Council should not be without a Negro Councilman; it is that the Negro people are demanding that the times we live in make it necessary for their representative to be a spokesman for their interests, particularly against racial discrimination and pro-fascist "white supremacy" ideologies and practices; as well as a spokesman for the interests of labor, the progressive white citizens and their organizations.

There are manifold lessons to be drawn from this development. One is that the Negro people are evidencing their deep political maturity and are serving notice to reaction that they will not be split on nationalistic or divisive-baiting lines. (The sanguine observation of the **Chicago Defender** editorial should be voiced for all who have ears to hear—namely that Negroes recognize "that red-baiting is akin to Negro-baiting!") Second is that such recognition is based on their experiences in their struggle for equality in the last decade.

The key aspect of this struggle was that labor and a significant section of white Americans played an outstanding role in supporting the demands of the Negro people—demands which they are learning more and more is in their own fundamental self-interest!

This solidarity will have no greater test than in the coming councilmanic campaign around the reelection of Ben Davis.

As a fighter for Negro-white unity, as a champion of the interests of labor and all the people, Davis represents the symbol of the people's unity and their strength in the coming elections. 9-22-45

* * *

IT IS this fundamental understanding that has led the Communist Party to attach signal importance to the reelection of Davis in Manhattan, and to marshal all its forces for an all-out campaign to assure his reelection. For it is based on the recognition that Communists are the staunchest and uncompromising fighters for the rights of the Negro people, for the alliance of labor and the Negro people, against the fomentors of "white supremacy" and fascist reaction, and for achieving the complete fulfillment of the people's victory over Nazi-Japanese fascist militarism. 9-22-45

To consider Davis' reelection in these basic terms, therefore, is to recognize that this understanding must be brought to the Negro and white voters of New York, to make them grasp the deep significance of the oft-used phrase: that Davis is not only a fighter for the Negro people but of labor and the progressive white citizenry as a whole.

There is reason to feel confident that deepening of the understanding of the voters as **to the issues involved, the Davis record and** the symbol that his reelection represents, can be the best weapon that we can and must use to defeat the splitters in the Dewey-Liberal-Social-Democratic reactionary coalition who hope to rob the people of New York of the champion fighter and unity symbol in city government in the nation. 9-22-45

The people—Negro and white—did it before. They can do it again, under new conditions, with a recognition that it's an **all-out** fight; for our city's future and therefore that of the nation!

Negro Red Rouses Anger Of Rankin

The Courier-Journal
Louisville, Kentucky
9-27-45

Davis Calls Group Un-American Itself

Washington, Sept. 26 (U.P.)—Earl Browder, ousted Communist Party leader, told the House Un-American Activities Investigating Committee a little about communism today, but the spotlight was stolen from him by burly Benjamin J. Davis, Negro Communist councilman of New York City.

The stocky "unemployed" Kansas-born Browder, who was deposed as party leader in the United States early this year, answered committee questions in a quiet, matter-of-fact voice.

Davis, however, aroused threats of contempt action from Committeeman John E. Rankin (D., Miss.), when he charged that the committee is conducting a "witch-hunt" in its investigation of communism. He demanded that he be allowed "to testify now and get this thing over with."

Baptist

Calls Committee Unfair.

"I'm right in the middle of a campaign," he added.

Rankin murmured that the committee would decide in a closed session when it wished him to appear.

"Then I must protest," Davis shouted. "I hardly except Mr. Rankin to show any consideration for a Negro. This is an attempt to defeat me for re-election. This committee is most un-American."

"Now, that's certainly contempt," said Rankin. "I didn't say a word about this—"

"I deeply resent being called—," interrupted Davis, but Chairman John S. Wood (D., Ga.) banged his gavel to silence him. Wood assured Davis that he would be given "every consideration" and would be informed exactly when he wanted him to appear.

Asked About Changes.

Davis and Browder were ordered to appear today to tell what they know about the recent change in the Communist Party setup. Browder headed the wartime "political association" which was supplanted this year by a revived "political party."

Browder said that since 1940 "American Communists have had no organizational contact with any foreign group." He emphasized, however, that he was speaking only of the period in which he was leader, that he was not now an "active" party member, and that he knew nothing about the connections of the resurrected "political party."

LENA HORNE

MARGARET WEBSTER

HOWARD FAST

PAUL ROBESON

Thousand Artists, Writers Back Davis

The Daily Worker New York N. Y.
9-25-45

Formation of an artists, writers and professionals group for the reelection of Benjamin J. Davis was announced yesterday by Paul Robeson, chairman of the new group.

More than 1,000 citizens including some of the most outstanding in the theatre, radio, motion picture, fine arts, dance, publishing, literature, educational and allied fields have already joined the division which will actively campaign for the reelection of Davis.

Sponsors of the Artists Writers and Professional Division include Paul Robeson, chairman, Margaret Webster, Jose Ferrer, Lena Horne, Olin Downes, Hazel Scott, Leonard Bernstein, Joan Tetzel, Howard Fast, Hilda Simms, Frederick O'Neal, Edward Chodorov, Betty Comdon, Adolph Green, Betty Garrett, Howard Bay, Muriel Draper, Fritz Mahlor.

Also: Howard da Silva, Mildred Biley, Irene Wicker, Arthur (The Street Singer) Tracy, Sono Osato, Paul Laurence, Anton Dolin, Canada Lee, Adolph Dehn, Rockwell Kent, Count Basie, Max Webber, Kenneth Spencer, Jerome Robbins, Teddy Wilson, Irving Caesar, Doris Dalton, Leon Janney Holiday, Richard Huey, Joan Alexander, Moses Soyer, Raphael Soyer, Theron Bamberger.

OTHERS ON COMMITTEE

Also: Samson Raphaelson, Alfred Kreyborg, Fredie Washington, Langston Hughes, Alice Hughes, Crockett Johnson, Minerva Pious, Minna Harkavy, James Sloan, Jerry Wayne, Arthur Pollack, Dean Dixon, Joe Hirsh, Goddard Leiberson, H. Glintenkamp, Henrietta Buckmaster, William M. Sweets, Walter Pach, Leo Huberman, Helen Tamiris, Frank Papp, Doris Humphrey, Marc Blitzstein, Lucky Roberts, Bob Russell, Robert L. shayon.

Also: Roy Lockwood, Mrs. P. Munsell, Donna Keath, J. Rosamond Johnson, Helen Hall, Will Geer, Robert Hastings Nichols, Edward Lasker, Milton Avery, Bill Gropper, Richard O. Boyer.

6,000 at Golden Gate Davis Rally Pledge All-Out Effort

Daily Worker
New York, New York

Six thousand people jammed Harlem's Golden Gate Ballroom yesterday afternoon, sang lustily "We want Ben Davis for the City Council," as the Family Chorus led off to the tune of John Brown's Body. The keynote of the rally and show for Ben Davis was expressed by Rabbi Max Felshin who told the crowd before he gave the invocation:

"Let me caution you, my dear friends, as much as I believe in prayer, that prayer alone, however efficacious, hope alone will not elect Ben Davis. You've got to get out on Election Day and do it."

Rabbi Felshin expressed hope that some day Councilman Davis will be in Congress as chairman of the Committee on un-American activities, where he will be able to "judge his judgers."

10-29-45

The invocation was accompanied by the singing of the National Negro Hymn by the National Negro Opera chorus.

Resolutions were passed by the crowd denouncing the lynching of Jesse Payne at Madison, Fla. on Oct. 11 and calling for a complete end to Jimcrow in baseball.

"Our main battle from now on is a battle for jobs," Davis told the audience. "I will have to tell you that a lot of people are losing jobs now. Two Negroes to one white person are losing jobs."

"I will also continue to battle against racial and religious discrimination."

DAVIS

"The people of New York are ready to fight, ready for action less and less afraid of red-baiting Jew-baiting and Negro-baiting."

Michael J. Quill, Bronx Councilman, told the audience: **"Passing resolutions and wearing Davis buttons will not elect Ben Davis. Only ringing doorbells will elect him." He said that in the name of the Greater New York CIO Political Action Committee the CIO is rallying all its members to ring doorbells. If we don't do it now, it might be that not in three years but in three months from now, we will be in the same position as the Indonesian people. That is why we are calling upon our people of the CIO to forget there is any other thing but the name of Ben Davis from now until election night.**

Gordon Heath, star of Deep Are the Roots, recited Langston Hughes' poem to the resistance movement in Europe, "Our Spring Will Come."

Dr. George Cannon, chairman, introduced Hope Stephens who said "A colony of 80,000 West Indians in Harlem, while many of them can't vote, all have one candidate, Ben Davis."

The Rev. Ben Richardson denounced Liberal Party candidate Benjamin McLaurin for raising the question of the Scottsboro case. That man makes us ashamed of him, Richardson said. "Where was he at the time of the Scottsboro case?"

A delegation of Indonesian strikers from the Dutch ships came to the meeting with greetings from the Indonesian seamen.

Artists appearing on the program included Josh White singing his Free and Equal Blues, Ray Lev, Teddy Wilson.

Pearl Primus Talks About Davis

By ANN RIVINGTON

The Daily Worker New York, New York 10-26-45

Pearl Primus, one of the outstanding Negro dancers of the day, will perform in honor of Councilman Benjamin Davis, Jr., at Golden Gate Ballroom in Harlem next Sunday afternoon as her first appearance of the season. But dancing isn't enough—it's necessary to vote for Councilman Davis, Miss Primus told the **Daily Worker.**

Miss Primus, who will be one of dozens of high ranking artists of the concert stage, theater, screen and radio to appear at the Golden Gate Ballroom rally, says that every parent in New York City ought to vote for Ben Davis because of his fight in the City Council to get a playground for the children of Harlem.

As Miss Primus dashed into the sedate office of her publicity agent, Austin Wilder, where we interviewed her, she filled the room with her gay vitality.

END JIM CROW

Tossing her coat on a chair, she immediately began talking about Councilman Davis' fight to end jim-crow in baseball.

"Imagine baseball—and football, too,—without discrimination!" she said. "And I think we're moving toward it, thanks in great part to Ben Davis. I actually think I'm going to see it in my lifetime!"

As to the playground Councilman Davis won for the children, Miss Primus has made her own investigations and reports enthusiastically, "It's getting wonderful results in an area of high tension."

More playgrounds, with intelligent progressive leaders, the young dancer pointed out, can **"defeat the seeds of fascism that could otherwise be sowed among children."**

Further, she explained, the winning of a playground in one area, such as Harlem, makes it easier to get playgrounds in other congested areas, where they are badly needed.

Miss Primus says she often goes to Mr. Davis with her own artistic problems. "He doesn't always have a solution," she told the **Daily Worker,** "but he always has ideas, and takes time to listen. **When you** know Ben Davis, you know a person who has simplicity and humility, and these are the qualities that go to make real greatness. Of course, beyond that, it's necessary to have an intelligent and honest leader of the people in the City Council, and Ben is just that."

WORK WITH CHILDREN

It is no accident that Miss Primus stresses the Communist Councilman's fight for playgrounds. It was through her own work with children, as a Hunter College student in 1940, when she became a recreation worker under the National Youth Administration, that she discovered her own abilities as a dancer. To this day, as part of a schedule which includes study toward a Doctor's degree at Columbia University in addition to public performances

PEARL PRIMUS

rehearsal, practice and lessons in Russian and swimming, Miss Primus finds time to teach several children's classes in the dance. She is thus doing her part to "defeat the seeds of fascism" among children.

Miss Primus made her professional debut in 1943, at the Young Men's Hebrew Association. The same year her first night club engagement began, at Cafe Society. Last year she appeared as solo dancer at the Belasco Theatre, and appeared with her own company at the Roxy. Her second appearance this season will be in a recital at Textile High School, on Sunday evening, November 4.

COMMUNISTS LEAD IN PR FIRST COUNT

New York Times
11-9-45

Cacchione and Davis Ahead in Brooklyn and Manhattan in Early Stages of Tally

A continued trend toward the incumbents, plus a steady flow of blank or invalid ballots that operates against a large council membership, marked the second day of counting of ballots under proportional representation for the election of members of the City Council.

The two Communist members of the present Council, Peter V. Cacchione in Brooklyn and Benjamin J. Davis Jr. in Manhattan, led in these boroughs as far as the counting went. With 340 of Brooklyn's 1,296 election districts counted the first time, Mr. Cacchione was running far ahead of anyone else, with 16,212 first choice votes, while in Manhattan Mr. Davis had 26,410 votes with 400 of the 973 districts tabulated. His nearest competitor was Stanley M. Isaacs, Republican independent, with 20,864 votes.

Otherwise, Democratic incumbents, and candidates of the American Labor party were generally running well. Gertrude Weil Klein, Bronx incumbent and independent, may be defeated, though it is too early to count her out.

A summary of the count, with the first count not yet complete in any borough, follows; with asterisks for the incumbents:

MANHATTAN
11-9-45

400 Districts Out of 973

*Benjamin J. Davis Jr., Communist	26,410
*Stanley M. Isaacs, Republican	20,864
*S. Samuel Di Falco	16,382
*William A. Carroll, Democrat	14,968
*Eugene P. Connolly, Democrat and ALP	14,488
Morton Moses, Democrat	10,554
David I. Kaplan, Liberal	7,612
Morris Weinfeld	7,201

It is not expected that the valid votes in Manhattan will be sufficient to elect more than five Council members.

Pack the Golden Gate Tomorrow

Daily Worker

TOMORROW'S Golden Gate rally in Harlem is the climax of the drive to reelect Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr. New York, N.Y.

It is, however, more than an ordinary election rally, just as the struggle to send Davis back to the Council is more than an ordinary election campaign. 10-27-45

The fight for Davis is a fight for the political rights of the Negro people. It is being watched throughout the nation, and its outcome will influence our national life. It is an expression of the political bond between the Negro people and the progressive trade union movement.

Thus, the Golden Gate rally tomorrow is a demonstration of Negro-white unity on behalf of the Davis campaign. It must, and can, be a powerful one.

Reaction is trying to disrupt that unity through a vicious smear campaign against Davis. It hopes to confuse and divide the Negro people. Tomorrow's rally can deliver a stinging blow to those hopes. 10-27-45

The wide popular support Davis has among all sections of the people of Manhattan should receive its expression at the rally. It should serve as a stimulus for organizing that support in the last week of the campaign and for getting it to the polls on Election Day.

We urge all our readers, all backers of Davis, to pack the Golden Gate tomorrow on behalf of his candidacy.

Our Councilmanic Choices

11-2-45 (Daily Worker)

THE councilmanic elections have emerged as the paramount phase of New York's municipal campaign.

There are two reasons for this. First, it is only in these elections that the two parties of labor, the Communists and the American Labor Party, are running independent candidates around whom they are conducting independent campaigns. Daily Worker

Second, it is clear now that if New York is to have progressive government in the next four years, it will require an aggressive, enlightened City Council and an alert, organized citizenry. The two Communist incumbents, Benjamin Davis and Peter Cacchione, have taught the people of New York how people's representatives fight for progress both within the Council and among the people.

Councilman Davis is the symbol of unity of labor and the Negro people. His fight for reelection is being eagerly watched by the Negro people throughout the nation as a step in the struggle for their political rights.

Councilman Cacchione is the pioneer of that new type of city official, one that combines struggle on the Council floor with organization of the people outside.

New York New York

Communist Candidates

The reelection of the two Communist Councilmen is of key importance, nationally as well as locally. It will demonstrate to the nation that while candidates may retreat under pressure of the red-baiters, the people refuse to be stampeded by that technique of fascists and other reactionaries. It will show that the people are ready to stand united behind a program of progress and democracy and will back those who are fighting for such a program, including the Communists; that they will not permit any division through red-baiting of the progressive, anti-fascist coalition, which must of necessity include the Communists. It will bolster the independent position of labor in the city.

The bigger the size of the vote for the Communist candidates in their respective boroughs, the more emphatic the lesson it brings. Experience has shown that a huge vote is possible, that large sections of the voters know the fighting records of Davis and Cacchione, support their program and are ready to vote for them.

Whether that potential vote will be realized depends largely on the extent to which the people are reached with the record and the program, and with instructions on how to vote. Their backers, and certainly all available Communists, should devote themselves over the weekend and on Election Day to getting every possible vote out for Davis and Cacchione.

Labor's independent strength will also be reflected in the showing of the councilmanic candidates of the American Labor Party, in addition to the ALP vote for the citywide ticket.

Outstanding among those candidates is the one incumbent laborite Councilman running for reelection on the ALP ticket, Councilman Michael Quill of the Bronx, who has also been untiring in his work as an organizer and educator of the people.

The ALP has the opportunity to elect five additional Councilmen. Should it succeed, it would give the City Council a representation of eight labor-progressive members of a probable membership of 22 or 23.

It would encourage labor nationally to step up its activities politically and would serve as a warning to the Truman administration and to Congress that labor's position cannot be ignored.

It is labor's independent political activity and influence that can alone bring the nation's policies in line with the hopes and desires of the people for a stable peace, for a full employment and decent wage program and for the maintenance and extension of our democracy.

Because the Communist and ALP vote is the expression of labor's independent strength, and because the Communist and labor Councilmen are the most aggressive, most intelligent fighters for progress, we recommend that all our readers vote for, and work for these candidates:

Manhattan: **First choice, Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Com.**; second choice, Eugene P. Connolly, ALP.

Brooklyn: **First choice, Peter V. Cacchione, Com.**; second and third choice, Milton Goell, ALP, and Bertram Baker, ALP, in either order.

Bronx: **First choice, Michael J. Quill, ALP**; second choice, Charles Rubinstein.

Queens: **First choice, Charles Belous, ALP**; second choice, Edward Washington, Ind. (endorsed by ALP).

Richmond: **First choice, Sidney Rose.**

Isaacs Leads in PR Vote Here; Schick First to Win Council Seat

New York Times

Stanley M. Isaacs, Republican, wrested the lead from Benjamin J. Davis Jr., Communist, in the Manhattan race for the City Council yesterday as Frederick M. Schick, Richmond Democrat, became the first candidate to be declared elected officially. It is the fifth time that Mr. Schick of the Council has taken the honor. New York, N.Y.

party candidate.

Other incumbents, such as Mr. Isaacs, who were candidates for re-election, were among the leaders in their respective boroughs, with indications that all but one or two would be returned. 11-10-45

During the day's counting there was frequent revisions in the estimate of the total number of councilmen who will be elected this time as the proportion of invalid ballots rose and fell. The size of the ballots continued, it became almost certain that the three incumbents with extreme left views would be re-elected. They are Mr. Davis in Manhattan, Peter Cacchione, another Communist, in Brooklyn, and Michael J. Quill, president of the Transport Workers Union, who ran in the Bronx as an American Labor

As the sorting and tabulation of the Council depends on the number of valid PR votes polled. Each petitor in the proportional representation of 50,000 with a minimum of one for each borough.

One possibility was a twenty-three member Council with eight from Brooklyn, five each from Manhattan, the Bronx and Queens and one from Richmond. The present Council has seventeen members.

A possibility arose as sorting of ballots preparatory to a first official count continued in all boroughs but Richmond that Mr. Quill and Mr. Cacchione would be declared re-elected by the end of the first count. Any candidate polling 75,000 votes forthwith is declared elected.

Near the end of the day, Mr. Davis had 49,458 first choice votes, with several hundred districts yet to be counted. His nearest competitor in the Bronx was Edward J. Cunningham, Democrats, with 24,565.

In the other boroughs the latest count showed:

MANHATTAN

*Stanley M. Isaacs, Rep.	42,496
*Benjamin J. Davis Jr., Communist	39,335
*Eugene P. Connolly, Democrat and American Labor party	28,635
William A. Carroll, Dem.	27,170
*S. Samuel DiFalco, Dem.	25,860
Morton Moses, Democrat.	20,533
David I. Kaplan, Liberal.	14,118
Morris Weinfeld, Democrat.	13,465

At about the same hour, with a mini-

Isaacs Forges Ahead

less than half the Brooklyn vote distributed, Mr. Cacchione had 26,275. In second place was Joseph T. Sharkey, the Democratic leader of the Council, with 24,565.

Isaacs Forges Ahead

In the Manhattan count, Mr.

Negro Weekly Blasts Witch-Hunt Against Davis

Daily Worker

The Rankin committee's "red scare" tactics are given a trouncing in an editorial by The Black Dispatch, an Oklahoma City independent weekly newspaper. Benjamin Davis' fight for full and fair employment and for political rights is compared with Polltaxer Rankin's opposition to the New Deal program.

The editorial follows in full:

CONGRESSMAN RANKIN VS. COMMUNISM 11-2-45

Polltaxer Rankin of Mississippi, who in 1940 was reelected to Congress by 7,079 votes, had the effrontery to drag Councilman Ben Davis of New York City, before the new "Dies Committee" last week in an effort to scare conservative Negroes in Gotham away from voting for Davis in the November elections.

Rankin feels that to raise the "Red" scare among Negroes will stampede the Harlem vote away from the able and aggressive New York councilman, and that he, Rankin, can extend his KuKlux influence from Washington on down to Manhattan. This Negro baiting Fascist, who comes from a little cotton farm down Tupelo-way, where white folk along with the blacks are disfranchised and down-trodden, seeks to have influence in free elections. 11-2-45

Think of it! Ben Davis, in the councilmanic district where he serves, was elected by six times as many voters as Rankin down in Mississippi. Ben Davis received 43,000 votes when he took his seat in the New York City council, representing around about 70 per cent of the voters in his district, while Rankin was elected by about three per cent of the voters in his fascist-ruled empire. He now organizes his "gestapo" to smear Ben Davis with a fresh coat of red paint, thinking he can spread terror among Negro voters. Daily Worker

But the New York voters knew four years ago that Ben Davis was a Communist when they elected him to office, and the Negroes in Harlem and all over the nation gleaned knowledge of Councilman Davis' real value as a trustworthy leader when he led in the fight down in Georgia and Alabama for the freedom of the Scottsboro boys and Angelo Herndon. American Negroes know that if Ben Davis had the intestinal fortitude to catapult himself into civil rights struggles in a vicious political environment where civilization is a stranger, he will have the courage of his convictions on the New York City council. 11-2-45

But since "Polltaxer," "Ku Kluxer" Rankin has the brazenness to attack a sincere believer in democracy, such as Ben Davis, raising an issue about his political faith, the **Black Dispatch** believes it would be an excellent thing just at this moment to compare "Rankin democracy" with "Ben Davis Communism." There's no need allowing this Mississippi gangster to allege he has discovered a Frankenstein in New York and start Negroes running without examining the "supposed to be monster." N. Y.

STAND ON JOBS

For instance, Rankin, who would lure the Negro vote to his way of thinking, is opposed to full employment. Ben Davis and Communists believe that government should find some method by which the employment lags occurring in the realm of private enterprise can be eliminated. Ben Davis and Communists believe that a well organized public works program will serve this end, which perhaps might mean the taking over control of housing, road building, electric energy, coal, iron and many other basic industries. Why should ordinary people be seized with fright when democracy, measured by the yardstick of Rankin, means depression, idleness and destitution, while Ben Davis and Communism argues for a full dinner pail, continuous labor and full employment.

Polltaxer Rankin and his crowd are opposed to a fair employment practice committee. Even if we had full employment and Ku Kluxers had their will, few Negroes would secure work because discriminatory practices would bar the way. Rankin led the fight against FEPC and is fighting now in Congress to prevent any consideration whatsoever of this type of legislation. But Ben Davis was one of the first in New York state to demand and support such legislation. It was because of his influence and the political organization he represents that Governor Dewey supported and safely piloted through the New York legislature this safeguard for minority groups. Can Congressman Rankin guarantee that if Negroes repudiate Ben Davis, he in turn will take up the cudgel with which Davis fights for liberal causes? 11-2-45

There is not a black man on the outside of an insane asylum who should pay one iota of attention to anything that Congressman Rankin has to say regarding the politics of Councilman Ben Davis. Every adult member of the 13,000,000 blacks in the United States should recognize that dragging Ben Davis before the Wood committee is nothing more than a stupid attempt to scare Negroes away from this valiant son of Georgia, whose residence has been transplanted to Harlem.

FALSE ISSUE

The Wood committee even questioned Davis regarding a purported plan of his to colonize Negroes in separate political units, just as though, if Davis does harbor such notions there is anything unconstitutional or subversive in so doing. But why question the Negro councilman on this issue and attempt to make a case against him based upon the idea that he believes in the Negro organizing his collective political-economic strength? If the Wood committee wants to condemn someone for having such a thought would it not be a good idea to subpoena Senator Theodore Bilbo and indict him on his "Back to Africa" schemes? When we recall the tommy-rot Senator Bilbo has spouted on this subject for many moons, there is instantly exposed the hypocrisy and dissembling of Congressman Rankin.

President Truman recently outlined a liberal-progressive program for Congress to implement into law. It was an attempt to project farther into American life the agendum of the late President Roosevelt. The fact that Rankin opposes all of the New Deal program, while Davis and the Communists endorse it, should awaken every thoughtful citizen to the menace of reactionaries such as the man from Tupelo. 11-2-45

Too many Negroes start loping and running whenever someone shouts "Red," "Radical" and "Communist." There's nothing in a name save what one puts into it. For instance, the name "Rankin" today has an evil meaning that never before in history has it conveyed to human beings. Since Stalin and the Russians whipped Adolf Hitler, the term "Communism" has a different significance than it had before German legions started marching towards Stalingrad. If Ben Davis is a Communist, the fact that in his life book we find written the story of his labors for the Scottsboro boys; his unrelenting fight for Angelo Herndon, and his brilliant record on the New York City council, warrants belief that there is integrity in his leadership and that he should be re-elected to the high office he now holds.

New York voters should resolutely forget about the witch hunt Congressman Rankin has launched in their bailiwick. On election day they should go to the polls in solid phalanx to vote for a man whose character is above reproach, and who has never faltered in the struggle for social decency and democratic society.

Need Davis Reelected To Win City FEPC

the Worker

New Yorkers have the chance to set the pace in the fight against Jimcrow and Bilboism by returning Benjamin J. Davis to the City Council. The Negro leader has won nationwide fame for his brilliant fight against discrimination. He is the candidate of the Negro people and white progressives.

The whole city stands to gain by the election of Davis who has introduced Bill 201 into the City Council, which establishes a permanent anti-discrimination committee in the Mayor's office. Davis' re-election is essential for the passage of the City FEPC bill which will be a boon to all minorities.

Thousands of people in the South unable to vote themselves look to the people of Manhattan to send Davis back to the City Council. Last week a Negro sargent from the South who spent two and one-half years overseas said, "Yes the fellows remember the fight Davis put up to end Jimcrow in the Army, the fight for Negro nurses. I can't vote for him, but I'm in his corner."

Davis is loved every where he goes. The patrolman on the corner says "Ben, I can't vote for you, but I wish you luck, I'll vote for Mike Quill, he wrote letters, and helped us with our fight to get our bonus made permanent."

The Jewish rabbi on the lower East Side, who spent twenty minutes talking to a canvasser about why the Jewish people should vote for Ben Davis said, "Davis has been the most consistent fighter against anti-Semitism, and discrimination. That is the kind of person we need in the City Council."

Progressives all over the country take pride in Ben Davis' bout with Rankin. Every where he is loudly cheered when he tells the story of his "tangle with the American fascist." 11-4-45

Bill 201 is still in committee, letters and the telegrams will bring it on the floor. The city needs a fighting Councilman.

"I intend to see that all anti-Semitism, Jimcrow, and discrimination is wiped out of New York, and that our City is the first city of complete democracy in America," says Davis, who intends to keep his election promise.

Davis Says Yes To Teachers' Questionnaire

Daily Worker
New York N.Y.

Councilman Benjamin J. Davis yesterday informed the Joint Committee of Teachers Organizations that his answers is "yes" to the five questions in their questionnaire, but added that it was "strange" that he had never received a questionnaire.

The Committee had submitted five questions to candidates in the election but had omitted the Negro Communist. His answers to the questions were not included in the Committee's final report. A copy of the original questionnaire and the report were shown to him by a teacher he said, adding that he trusted the omission was "merely an oversight."

"This, unfortunately, may mislead your readers into believing that I am indifferent or opposed to the program outlined in this questionnaire," he said. "I agree with you that 'education is non-

pendence for the Board of Education and raising the levy for education as advocated by the Strayer Committee, and payment by the city of pension contributions of its teach-employe-veterans for time served in the armed forces.

also said "yes" on financial inde-

New York

South Eyes the Davis Vote --- Negroes With Hope, Bilbos Fear It

By ROBERT MINOR

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 4.—What is the most immediate necessity for the people of the South? For the people of the farms around Chesapeake Bay and Virginia, the workers of Norfolk and Atlanta and Birmingham, for the sharecroppers of Mississippi, and the people of New Orleans and up the Arkansas River and across the Sabine in Texas?

11-5-45

The most immediate need for them that can be forthcoming now is to hear, after the polls close Tuesday, that Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., is reelected to the City Council in New York. Many people in Maryland, especially Baltimore, and down in Virginia and here in the national capital speak about this Manhattan election as a national and not a local New York struggle. Among Southern Negroes, from workers to political leaders in the Democratic Party, and even among some of the most conservative of Negro Republican leaders, it is taken for granted that the reelection or defeat of Ben Davis in New York will be a nationally important test of the liberation struggle of the 13,000,000 Negro people of the country.

One Negro political figure, a Republican, who has not even broken with Hoover, admitted that Ben Davis' fight in New York will mark the trend toward success or failure of the movement for equal rights of the Negro for the immediate postwar period. He wanted me to take it for granted that he would vote for Davis if he lived in New York.

11-5-45

Among active men and women of the trade unions it is understood that Davis represents the new and important development—the growing alliance between the labor movement and the Negro people as a people. This for the struggle for jobs, wages and peace. The same is true of the candidacy of Pete Cacchione and of the candidates of the ALP, Mike Quill's union is a pioneer in the solidarity of Negro and white workers.

They almost talk about Ben Davis in the Senate. Not quite. But in a speech of Bilbo's last Thursday, you could see that the Mississippi senator is thinking of the trend of the fight for Negro rights in New York, takes it pessimistically from his point of view and expects many other cities to go in the same direction. He hopes to save Washington, where people vote even less than in Mississippi, in fact not at all.

Bilbo was telling the Senate about the wonderful new stadium that is projected for Washington—a huge outdoor structure that will hold 170,000 people, all of one color. He suggested that it will be a marvelous engineering feat, and hopes to have it so perfectly arranged that some of the world's greatest athletes cannot perform in it. America's world champion heavyweight boxer could not box in it, some of the finest of the world's musicians and singers and actors could not be heard in it, some baseball stars that are going to be signed up could never play there, and two members of the United States Congress perhaps could not enter its gates.

It is to be a stadium and at the same time a monument to the soldiers of the two world wars—except the Negro soldiers, Bilbo seems to mean. And he is so terrified about the trend of the fight for Negro rights that he proposes a complex device of private financing. His idea is to make it, as in the case of Constitution Hall, Jimcrow as a "private enterprise" and tax free as a public monument. When interrupted by Senator Chavez of New Mexico, Bilbo spoke of the evils of the FEPC as having some bearing on his plan for the stadium.

Washington, too, needs to hear that Ben Davis is reelected.

Why Davis, Cacchione Should Get No. 1 Vote

by Max Steinberg

Daily Worker

TO WHICH of the candidates for City Council shall the progressive voters in Manhattan and Brooklyn give their first-choice vote the coming Tuesday?

This question was posed to me by a group of trade unionists, among whom were some members of the International Workers Order and the Workmen's Circle.

N.Y.

Because the reactionary forces and Social Democrats are concentrating their attack on the American Labor Party, some of these workers ask whether it would not be wiser for all the progressive elements, including the Communists, to concentrate their efforts exclusively around the Labor Party candidates instead of working to secure first-choice votes for Davis and Cacchione, who, they believe, will be elected anyway.

11-5-45

Exactly because in this campaign the reactionaries are concentrating their attack on the ALP it is more important today than ever before to strengthen this coalition by a victory of the Communist candidates. A victory of the ALP, together with a Communist victory, will demonstrate the political maturity and independence of the workers and all other progressive people. This will establish the fact that the people are united and do not allow themselves to be confused or intimidated by the Communist-baiters.

It is no accident that in the very beginning of the election campaign the so-called congressional un-American committee, headed by the reactionary, anti-Semite, white chauvinist and fascist Rankin, began its attack on the Communist Party. It is no accident that simultaneously with this attack on the Communist Party, Rankin made his vicious slanders on the Jewish and Negro peoples by attacking the Jewish Congressman Celler and the Negro Congressman Adam Clayton Powell. The attacks on the Communists, Jews and Negroes are being carried through at the time when these reactionaries in Congress are reducing the taxes of the millionaires. Those Congressmen are attempting to carry through anti-labor bills, while legislation against discrimination is either pigeonholed or voted down.

N.Y.-N.Y.

* * *

THE reactionary forces can find no better instrument for carrying through their destructive activities in the progressive City of New York than the social democratically-led and controlled Liberal Party. They have therefore made partnership with the Social Democrats.

As far back as last July, Dubinsky declared that the role of the Liberal Party in this election campaign will be to isolate the Communists from all liberal elements and to convince all Democratic and Republican politicians (from the Roosevelt camp) that **to have any dealings with the Communists will mean a kiss of death.**

This strategy must be defeated. This can be accomplished only by voting for O Dwyer on the Labor Party line and by voting for all other ALP candidates, **and in Manhattan and Brooklyn by giving the largest number of first-choice votes for the Communist candidates Davis and Cacchione.**

11-5-45

This will mean a more energetic struggle against anti-labor and anti-people's legislation. This will force many of the legislators to give more heed to the will of the people.

* * *

THE elections in Britain and France have demonstrated that where the Communists got the largest number of votes and elected the largest number of their candidates, the whole people's front was strengthened. The election of Davis and Cacchione carries a similar significance for us as the victory of the Communists in France. The working class and the people as a whole will be strengthened by it.

It is dangerous for anyone to assume that Davis and Cacchione will be elected anyway. To achieve their election we must work the hardest in the final hours. We must be sure that they get the largest number of first-choice votes than ever received by any other candidate. This will be a real blow at reaction in our country.

That is why it is imperative that the Communists, sympathizers, the trade unionists and members of fraternal organizations shall first of all give their first-choice votes to **Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., and Peter V. Cacchione. This is our first responsibility tomorrow.**

61a-1945

Councilmen Benjamin J. Davis, Jr.

I'm Proud to Vote for Ben Davis

the Worker

NEXT Tuesday is Election Day in New York City—and 2,178,908 people are registered to vote—not enough, at that, as many failed to register on what politicians who want a low vote assure them is "an off-year." But it's as large a number as the population of many countries. And what we do here in the biggest city in the world is of global significance.

There are 10,292 more women registered in Manhattan than there are men. As a woman voter—one of those on this important little island—I'm proud to vote for Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., as my No 1 choice to represent me in the City Council.

Of course, first of all I'm voting for Davis as the candidate of my own party, the Communist Party. I want to see him and Peter V. Cacchione of Brooklyn reelected as Communists in New York City. It's the very least we can do here when in France 152 Communists have just been elected to the Assembly, including Thorez, Bonte, Cachin and Madam Peri, widow of the martyred editor of the Communist paper **Humanite.**

Every Manhattan Communist will naturally vote for Davis as their No. 1 choice. Anyone who would not is unworthy to be a member of this vanguard party. Either one is first and foremost a Communist—or one is not.

But the Communist Party vote alone cannot elect our candidates any more than it did in France, where the vote for the party candidates was four times greater than its one million members. Ben Davis is actually a people's candidate. We are but a part of thousands who want to keep him in the City Council on the splendid record he has made there in the past two years. Millions in France voted for our French comrades for the glorious records they had made in fighting the Nazis.

Many of Ben Davis' supporters are progressive Negro citizens, and naturally so. They justly consider him a leader among the Negro people, in their fight against Jimcrow, against segregation, discrimination, disenfranchisement and violence, so shamefully practiced against them as soldiers, as workers, as citizens. He is fearless and tireless in this worthy cause—**full equality for the Negro people**—and deserves their unanimous support and ours for the same reason.

N. Y. 11-4-45

It is unfortunate that divisive tactics, pitting other Negro candidates, including two women, against Davis are resorted to, not to guarantee the election of one Negro to the Council but to risk losing even this, to defeat Davis. Solidarity among the Negro people **behind the man they do know,** will guarantee the Negro people their champion in the Council. Dividing their votes among four Negro candidates risks losing altogether. His stand against Rankin alone deserves unanimous support.

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BUT Ben Davis does not represent only the Communists and the Negro people in the Council, even if they all voted for him. He also represents thousands of Jewish citizens who will vote for him because they know him as a foe of anti-Semitism and a fighter against all forms of discrimination against Jewish people. His bill, 201, now pending, calls for an inter-racial committee to stop it in New York City. He also represents labor in his fight for jobs and wages.

N. Y. 11-4-45

He is endorsed by the New York City CIO, by the American Labor Party, by the National Negro Congress. A Citizens' Nonpartisan Committee formed to sponsor his reelection grows every day. Joe Louis joined recently, adding his endorsement to famous artists, writers, singers, musicians, scientists, social workers, union leaders—men and women, Negro and white, Jew and gentile, American and foreign-born—a cross-section of America. The modest demand of the National Maritime Union for a wage of 55 cents an hour was endorsed by the City Council on his resolution, the first time it ever supported a trade union demand. He introduced Negro History Week in New York; sponsored a bill known as the Anti-Discrimination Housing Law; secured the promotion of Negro firemen; introduced resolutions to support state and federal FEPC and to abolish the polltax. All these resolutions were carried unanimously.

Since the day in Atlanta, Ga., as a young and promising attorney, he took the case of Angelo Herndon, as Howard Fast said, he "walks on Freedom Road."

I know Ben personally. I serve on the National Board of the Communist Party with him. He is a hard worker, a clear thinker, a man of decision and action, firm and stern on all matters of principle, uncompromising to carry out what must be done, as a representative of the people. He is pleasant, sunny dispositioned, friendly, has a wonderful sense of humor, is modest and unassuming.

•

WHEN somebody called him "a tribune of the people," he laughed and said, "That sounds terribly impressive." I looked it up, Lenin's definition of a tribune of the people—and it is one "able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it takes place, no matter what stratum or class of people it affects; he must be able to group all these manifestations into a single picture of police violence and capitalist exploitation; he must be able to take advantage of every petty event in order to explain his socialistic convictions and his Communist demands TO ALL; in order to explain TO ALL and everyone the world-historic significance of the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat."

This fits Ben Davis. Let us keep him in the Council next Tuesday, for the people.

Why Teachers Endorse Davis, Cacchione and Quill

Daily Worker

Shameful conditions in the city school system have been exposed and fought time and again by the three Councilmanic candidates, Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Manhattan; Peter V. Cacchione, Brooklyn, and Michael J. Quill, Bronx. Davis and Cacchione, Communists, and Quill, American Labor Party candidate, have worked tirelessly both in the City Council and with community organizations to correct the "chaotic" situation highlighted only a few weeks ago by the Karelsen resignation.

N.Y. N.Y.

Daily Worker headlines for October reveal the kind of fight all three Councilmen have consistently put up. For example, on Oct. 19, a head ran, "Students Hear Davis Attack Quota System." This referred to the racial quotas accepted by many colleges. On Oct. 20, the three Councilmen responded to the Karelsen exposure with the head running, "Thorough Overhauling of City Schools Urged by Councilmen." On Oct. 26, it was "Cacchione, Davis and Quill Hail the School Suspension of May Quinn," the fascist teacher soon to be tried. And on Oct. 28, another story ran, "Quill Played Leading Role in Fight to Oust May Quinn."

N.Y. 11-3-45

TEACHERS BACK THREE

The CIO Teachers Union, recognizing the contribution of Davis, Cacchione and Quill to improved education, has endorsed all three candidates for reelection. In its Oct. 27 issue of **Teacher News,** the union comments that Davis will sponsor a Council resolution calling for open hearings to be conducted by the Board of Education on the school set-up. The union also points out that Davis has been fighting for the elimination of anti-Semitic and anti-Negro textbooks.

Councilman Davis, who has long protested the inexcusable school conditions in Harlem, was the first to call on LaGuardia to investigate the anti-Negro disturbance at East Harlem's Benjamin Franklin High School.

Councilman Quill's platform contains many strong education planks. It calls for 10 new schools in the Bronx, more teachers, smaller classes, opening of the public schools for nurseries, modernizing of old school buildings, more adult education classes and federally paid free hot lunches. Quill also asks that fulltime doctors, nurses, dentists and child psychologists be assigned to every school district. And he calls for a coeducational Bronx College, as well as for eight new Bronx libraries.

CACCHIONE'S WORK

11-3-45

Councilman Cacchione's work in both the Council and his borough has been equally significant. Time and again he has exposed the shocking set-up in the predominantly Negro Bedford-Stuyvesant area where low academic standards, overcrowded classes, teacherless classes and dilapidated buildings are a disgrace to this city.

11-3-45

Cacchione, like Quill and Davis, has fought bias. He has urged that city and state funds be withheld from educational institutions discriminating against students because of race, color or creed. He has asked the Board of Education to end its bias against Negro teachers on the staffs of city colleges. And he has consistently protested cuts in the board's budget, while urging wage raises for teachers, clerks and other school personnel.

Tenants Found Davis, Cacchione, Quill In Their Corner in Housing Fight

Daily Worker New York, N.Y. 11-1-45

By LOUISE MITCHELL

New York tenants know they can take their landlord troubles to Councilmen Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Peter V. Cacchione and Michael J. Quill. These people's candidates have frontlined the fight for rent control and decent housing. They have turned their offices into rent clinics, led delegations to OPA offices, resisted tenant evictions and aided in the maintenance of decent living quarters. Perhaps the most outstanding has been their fight to end discrimination in housing because of race, color, or creed.

Councilman Cacchione urged the freezing of rents long before rent control went into effect. He also demanded rent curbs on commercial offices and lofts. The Board of Estimate was requested by the Brooklyn Communist to include in public housing contracts a prohibition against discrimination in selection of tenants. Cacchione also urged that the State Civil Rights Act be amended to bar discrimination in places of public accommodation.

Councilman Davis set the pace for the rest of the country when he co-sponsored, with Councilman Stanley Isaacs, the anti-discrimination law barring tax exemption to any government-aided project which discriminates against tenants because of color, race or creed. The law makes impossible the erection of any more government-aided projects like the walled city of Stuyvesant Town.

Councilman Davis is now calling for an investigation into the means of alleviating the housing crisis. The resolution is pending in the Council. Thousands of leaflets have been distributed throughout Harlem offering free information and advice on rights of tenants in wartime. Housing conditions and unfair rents are notorious in the Negro community, worse than any other area in the city. The leaflets advertised free rent clinics conducted at the Harlem Communist Freedom Road and Lincoln Douglas clubs. More recently Councilman Davis defended six Negro families about to be evicted from houses destined to be demolished in order to make way for housing projects. 11-1-45

As far back as January 1944, Councilman Quill opened a full-time office in the Bronx. The Bronx OPA rent office has been cooperating with the Laborite Councilman on hundreds of complaints which have been satisfactorily and quickly settled, according to Quill. The councilman has done an outstanding job in holding public educational meetings with OPA officials for discussions of tenants and consumers rights.

In the broader field of legislative action, Quill, in August 1944, presented a resolution to the City Council protesting the attempt of the Metropolitan Fair Rent Committee to hike rents ten percent over OPA ceilings. Although no action was taken on the resolution, the wide response from the public helped to influence the OPA to refuse the request.

As chairman of the City CIO's Housing Committee, Quill has fought for public housing for low-income groups. He is currently resisting attempts to boost rents under the pretext of minor wage increases to building service workers.

He is campaigning to bring more low rent projects to the Bronx and to end the segregation which keeps Negroes bottled up in "little

No wonder the Republican New York Age calls for "No. 1" votes for Ben Davis; that other Negro papers in Los Angeles, Chicago, Oklahoma City and elsewhere urge the re-election of Councilman Davis; that the progressive trade union movement of New York is solidly behind Davis, and that rank and file Negro workers throughout the nation are watching how we vote tomorrow and hoping that Davis goes back to the City Council. **Ben's election represents the democracy they are fighting for.** 11-5-45

No wonder the Hearst, McCormick and Scripps-Howard press all over the nation—along with so-called more "respectable" reactionary daily papers in New York City and elsewhere—threw their whole power into the fight last June to get the Democratic Party to void its nomination of Ben Davis, and have continued to snipe at him ever since; that Mississippi's John Rankin used his Dies Committee in an effort to smear Ben, prevent his reelection, and thereby keep any Negro from serving on the Council of America's greatest city. **Ben's defeat would strengthen their whole anti-Negro, anti-labor program of reaction for our nation.** 11-5-45

No wonder the **Pittsburgh Courier's** Negro "Pegler," George Schuyler, A. Philip Randolph and his social democratic friends, and the Trotzkyites have all joined hands in a disgraceful campaign of lies, slanders and distortions in an effort to defeat Ben Davis. **This is consistent with their usual role as so-called "leftists" servants of reaction.**

* * *

IN THE course of the people's war we have just won, the Negro, in close alliance with the progressive labor movement, began again to move rapidly toward freedom. The election of Ben Davis to the City Council in 1943—with more than six times as many first-choice votes as Sen. Bilbo received in Mississippi—was symptomatic of this strong progressive wartime trend.

The reactionary coalition of polltax southerners and northern big business is again trying to put the Negro people and organized labor "back in their place." That is one reason they so furiously assail the candidacy of Ben Davis. That is also why it is tremendously important for every genuine democrat to cast his vote for Ben Davis "No. 1" tomorrow, and to guarantee that dozens of his friends and associates do the same thing. 11-5-45

There is no more effective way by which the citizens of Manhattan can repudiate the anti-Negro, anti-labor forces of our country as a whole than by voting overwhelmingly for the reelection of Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr.

THERE was a time, about 80 years ago, when the Negro people were moving rap-

Toward Freedom

Ben Davis Symbolizes Negro Freedom Struggle

Daily Worker

by Doxey A. Wilkerson

THE people of New York have an opportunity tomorrow to strike a powerful blow at the whole rotten system of race hate—by voting overwhelmingly for the reelection of Benjamin Davis to the City Council.

It is not strange that Ben's candidacy has aroused nationwide interest and activity — both among Negroes and among their reactionary enemies; for here symbolized is precisely that democratic freedom which the Negro people everywhere are struggling to achieve, and which the Bilbos and Rankins and their powerful financial backers are trying to block.

idly towards the achievement of their full democratic rights. This was during the period of Reconstruction, an outstanding feature of which was the political democracy which brought Negro citizens into the leadership of state and national government.

But this whole progressive trend was defeated in the late 1870s and the decades which followed; and the Negro people were pushed back into a status closely akin to slavery, the southern white masses deprived of their economic and political freedom, and our nation as a whole plagued again by the powerful coalition of reaction from the semi-feudal South and the corporation-controlled North.

New York, N.Y.

NEW MASSES
(NEW YORK CITY)
OCT 9 - 1945

ALL-AMERICAN COUNCILMAN

By ABNER W. BERRY

IT ISN'T hard to understand why people say: "We're voting for ourselves when we vote for Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr."

New York's only Negro councilman is a symbol of what the people want, what they want to be, what they *are*. One of his first acts in the City Council was to fight Jim Crow in housing and to win restrictions on its future operations. New York had been stunned to learn that the Metropolitan Insurance Company was constructing the Stuyvesant Housing Project, aided by the city, for the exclusive use of white tenants. Davis' bill prohibiting aid to further projects which discriminate against any person because of race, creed or national origin is one of his proudest accomplishments.

Being a Negro the fight against racism and Jim Crow are not new to him. When he was nineteen he faced an Atlanta court for not standing in a street car when there were seats in the so-called "white section." Before he got to court the police had roughed him up, but he stood his ground. His father paid a fifty-dollar fine and young Davis was free, but he never forgot the incident. His battle for a city Fair Employment Practices Commission is based as much on his knowledge that human beings are degraded and personalities are distorted by inequalities as it is buttressed by a broad knowledge of politics and social science. The fight for equality is a part of his life. It wasn't discovered as a candidate for the council.

He ran up against Jim Crow on the campus at Amherst University, where he earned his A.B. degree in 1924. During his high school years in Georgia he had become well known for his skill at football and tennis and his virtuosity on the violin. When he came to Amherst he was not sure that he didn't want to make music his career. The music clubs on the campus, however, were not so uncertain. They barred him from membership. He thereupon floored the racists by serving as concertmaster for a joint Amherst-Mt. Holyoke Symphony Orchestra in a series of concerts.

When Davis was barred from the school's tennis team (he had been a ranking tennis player in Georgia) because of possible objections by Southern white opponents, he concentrated on football and won the all-Eastern citation for tackle in 1923. "During the summer of 1923," Ben relates, "I met Paul Robeson in New York. Paul was already famous at Rutgers. I sought pointers from him and give him much of the credit for my showing on the field."

It is from many of his own experiences as an athlete who suffered from Jim Crow practices that Davis draws much of his indignation against Jim Crow in organized baseball. He has seen that it not only hurts the Negro players but robs the sport fans of an opportunity to see the best in the game. That's why Ben is pushing his own bill for a municipal FEPC and pressing for action by the New York State FEPC.

"I'm not just a Harlem councilman, nor am I just a Negro councilman," he explains. "I'm the Manhattan councilman and I must look out for all of the borough. The problems of the Negroes and of Harlem cannot be solved in isolation from those of the rest of the population."

WHEN Ben says that he's talking from experience. In 1931, after three years out of Harvard Law School and a fling at newspaper work, he hung out his shingle in Atlanta. It was the year of the great depression, hunger marches, apple-selling and demonstrations. No mass of prospective clients made their way to the young lawyer's office. But before long news reached him that a young Negro had been arrested for having led an unemployed demonstration. The Negro had defied the court even as he was being sentenced to the electric chair under a barbaric pre-Civil War statute. Angelo Herndon was the young Negro's name. Ben volunteered as his lawyer while Herndon was in the death house. His first case.

Ben's first client was without a fee, but he says that he got more from that case than any lawyer could hope for. He discovered a new world. In this world Negroes didn't stand alone. There was for him now not one black America and one white America; America became a unity of black and white, a world-becoming, to be fought for and to be won. The Herndon case was a challenge to the Jim Crow under which he had chafed; and he discovered the secret of Herndon's defiance. Herndon was a Communist. Davis became one.

Ben's work in the Herndon and Scottsboro cases taught him that only part of the defense is in the court room. He learned to try cases before the court and to try prejudices of the court before the people.

These lessons carry over into his work in the New York City Council to which he was elected in November 1943. He is no one-day-a-week Councilman (the Council meets on Tuesdays). He and his office put in a full, six-day week. A soldier unjustly arrested in Ohio writes to his mother in New York. The arrest is brought to the attention of Ben who in turn contacts the proper authorities, and before long mother and soldier son are in the councilman's office with thanks. A young man fired because of prejudice from a plant in Brooklyn calls on the councilman and asks his aid. A phone call to the employer reinstates the worker. Tenants turn to him when chiseling landlords refuse to decorate or otherwise service rundown apartments. A visit from the councilman or his representative almost always gets results. A persistent rumor spreads that the OPA office in Harlem is about to close, leaving the area wide open to black market operators. Ben summons leaders of Harlem organizations and arranges a conference with OPA officials. Result: the OPA office remains open.

There is nothing formal or legalistic about Big Ben, as Rankin and Wood of the congressional "Un-American Committee" have found out. Summoned before this committee last week Ben cut through its red tape and spoke the people's piece to Rankin. The people won—temporarily at least—as the committee decided to postpone indefinitely its grilling of Davis, though it will continue its witch-hunt against the Communists.

Ben says he was attracted to the labor movement during his student days although he had not been connected with the movement directly. At Moorhouse College, a Negro school near Atlanta which he attended before going to Amherst, he led a student strike against harsh discipline. For that he was expelled but subsequently reinstated. In his father's newspaper, the *Atlanta Independent*, he defended the student strikers at Fisk University. In an adjoining column his father opposed the strikers and chided the opinions of the son. The same positions were taken when the Boston police went on strike. Young Ben held to his convictions and his father allowed him to express them in the news column.

There is a straight line from Ben, the student, to Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., the councilman. The student fought with the weapons at hand against injustice where he saw it; the councilman sees injustices more clearly and concentrates more persistently on labor problems. His resolution, recently passed by the City Council, calling on the War Labor Board to grant wage increases to maritime workers, is just one bit of evidence of this. "It would be a tragedy," he insists, "for the Negro people to become isolated from the labor movement. Both labor and the Negroes would be the losers."

Davis' supporters point with pride to his educational background and the great practical training he brings to his post. Davis, in turn, has placed his knowledge and training at the disposal of the people. He has caused the removal from the city schools of textbooks expounding racist theories; he introduced a successful resolution in the council commemorating "Negro History Week"; he keeps vigil, uncommon and fairly well-to-do. Young Ben didn't were not in themselves a solution to the problem. He found where the real answers lie. And because he has acted on his beliefs, and acted with superb effectiveness, he has won the respect and love of thousands, Negro and white, who do not share his political faith.

DAVIS' career has been a severe critique of those well-born Negroes who preferred to take things easy. In youths: a good home, good schools and travel were his. But he was sensitive. He learned early to hate the Jim Crow system and to see that it could be

Ben Davis' campaign committee reads like a *Who's Who* of Negro America, of the labor and progressive movement. His supporters cut across party lines, from the Republican New York *Age* through the New Deal Chicago *Defender* to the *Daily Worker*. The Artists, Writers and Professional Division of his committee with over 1,000 members includes, besides Paul Robeson as chairman, such men and women as Margaret Webster, Lena Horne, Jose Ferrer, Olin Downes, Hazel Scott, Leonard Bernstein, Hilda Simms, Edward Chodorov, Betty Comden, Adolph Green, Howard Bay, Fritz Mahler, Sono Osato, Max Weber, Crockett Johnson, Dean Dixon, Howard Fast, Doris Humphrey, Walter Pach, Marc Blitzstein, Langston Hughes and others.

As a member of the National Board of the Communist Party Davis is frequently Red-baited. In reply he tells his audiences: "I am a Negro, I am an American, and I am a Communist. I am proud of all three."

The Boston *Chronicle*, a Negro newspaper, wrote this striking characterization of Big Ben in 1943: "A clock, Big Ben, strikes the hour for parliamentary democracy in London, but our very human Big Ben will guard the interests of all the little people of the great city of New York."

JOE LOUIS

Harlem Agrees With Joe Louis: 'Elect Ben Davis'

The Worker
New York N.Y.

Joe Louis, world heavyweight champion and war veteran, expressed the feelings of thousands of people, Negro and white, when he said: "As a veteran and a Negro, I am calling upon all my friends to make Ben Davis their number one choice for reelection to the City Council. 10-21-45

"While the boys were knocking out Hitlerism abroad, Ben Davis kept punching here at home," Louis stated. "His program for the veterans, for jobs and for justice for all is what the war was fought for. We have got to keep punching for Ben Davis and send him back to the City Council."

There is nothing that can be added to the way the people of Harlem feel about Ben Davis.

There is also a great deal of enthusiasm for Davis felt by the people all over Manhattan, canvassers report. There was the white veteran in a moderate apartment on the East Side who answered the ring of the bell, and as he signed the pledge for Ben Davis said, "There was a time I would not sign a pledge for a Communist, but I have seen men die for freedom; that sort of thing changes one's mind."

Then there was the Italian woman on the lower East Side who said, "Bilbo called him a 'Nigger,' called me a 'Dago.' I know we've got to get together." 10-21-45

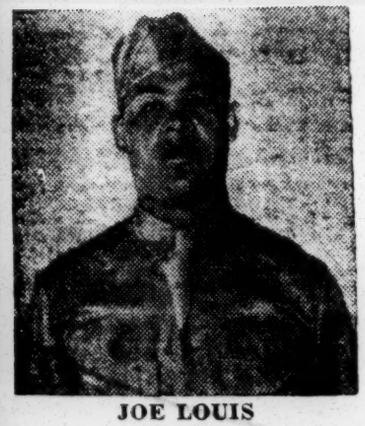
The old Negro woman who, when asked if she had registered, answered: "Yes, I've registered, although I haven't been outside in over a month. I have arthritis, but I must vote for Ben Davis." She lives on the fifth floor of a walk-up in Harlem.

To leaflet distributors on the streets people of all races express themselves like this: "He's my man," or "You don't need to give me that, I'll vote for Ben Davis anyway."

Several trade unions have moved forces into Harlem to aid in the campaign. The National Maritime Union has a headquarters at 100 St. and Lenox Ave. The United Electrical Union has a headquarters at 307 Lenox Ave. The Trade Union Committee for the Reelection of Benjamin Davis, Jr., has set up headquarters at 13 Astor Pl.

Ben Davis Is My Man -- Joe Louis

The Daily Worker New York, New York 10-17-45



JOE LOUIS

Joe Louis, world's heavyweigh champion, yesterday called for the reelection of Councilman Benjmain J. Davis.

Louis, speaking "as a veteran and a Negro," made his endorsement in accepting honorary chairmanship of the Veterans' Committee for Davis.

His statement follows:

"As a veteran and as a Negro, I am calling upon all my friends to make Ben Davis their No. 1 choice for reelection to the City Council. While the boys were knocking out Hitlerism abroad, Ben Davis kept punching against Hitlerism and Jimcrow back home. His program for the veterans, for jobs and for justice for all is what this war was fought for. We have got to keep punching for Ben Davis and send him back to the City Council."

BEN DAVIS

61a-1945

Councilman Benjamin J. Davis

Ben Davis Backed by 1,000 Leaders in the Arts

By Samuel Sillen

9-30-45

The campaign to reelect Benjamin J. Davis to the New York City Council is winning strong support from outstanding figures in the various cultural fields. Davis will have the active backing of leaders in the theater, radio, motion picture, literary, fine arts, music, dance, educational and allied fields.

Headed by Paul Robeson, more than 1,000 citizens in these crafts last week announced the formation of an Artists, Writers and Professional Division of the Davis nonpartisan committee. They believe with Paul Robeson that "if Ben is reelected that means we're in there."

For these cultural leaders have a double reason for supporting Davis. Both as citizens and as craftsmen they want him back in office. He stands for freedom of expression; he symbolizes the struggle against prejudice.

Robeson sums up the case in these words: "His campaign belongs to the people, to all the people—white and Negro, Gentile and Jew, cutting across all boundaries and partisan politics."

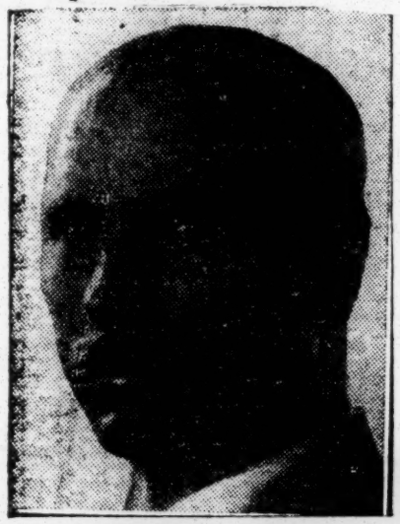
"When he was elected for the first time," writes Robeson, "people cheered until their throats were hoarse; they wept unashamed for joy." But perhaps it was summed up best by a small, thin woman who stood quietly in the crowd and said, simply: "Our Ben in the City Council. That means we're in there."

And now, Robeson continues, "with the critical postwar issues no longer in the future, but confronting us sharply today, Ben is needed more than before." The Worker

Sponsors of the Artists, Writers and Professional Division, in addition to Paul Robeson as chairman, include Margaret Webster, Lena Horne, Jose Ferrer, Olin Downes, Hazel Scott, Leonard Bernstein, Joan Tetzel, Hilda Simms, Frederick O'Neal, Edward Chodorov, Betty Comden, Adolph Green, Howard Bay, Fritz Mahler. N. Y. N. Y.

Also: Howard da Silva, Mildred Bailey, Sono Osato, Anton Dolin, Canada Lee, Adolph Dehn, Rockwell Kent, Count Basie, Max Weber, Kenneth Spencer, Jerome Robbins, Teddy Wilson, Irving Caesar, Richard Huey, Moses Soyer, Raphael Soyer, Theron Bamberger, Betty Garrett.

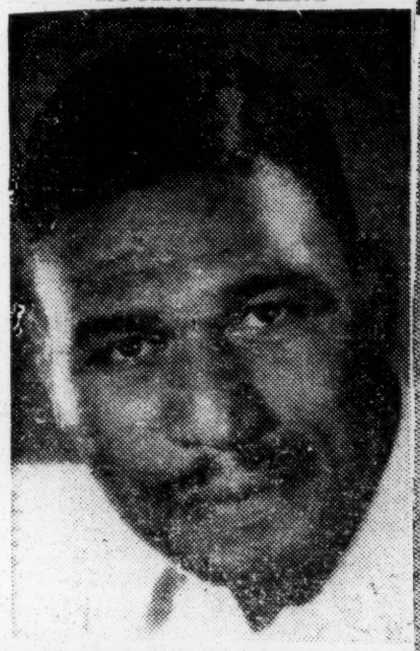
Also: Samson Raphaelson, Alfred Kreymborg, Fredie Washington, Langston Hughes, Crockett Johnson, Minerva Pious, Minna Harkavy, Henrietta Buckmaster, Dean Dixon, Joe Hirsh, Walter Pach, Helen Tamiris, Doris Humphrey, Marc Blitzstein, William Gropper, Howard Fast, J. Rosamond Johnson, Will Geer. Additional names appeared in the Daily Worker of Sept. 25.



ROCKWELL KENT

PAUL ROBESON

BEN DAVIS AND HENRIETTA BUCKMASTER



FREDERICK O'NEAL

MARGARET WEBSTER

LENA HORNE

LEONARD BERNSTEIN

JOAN TETZEL

HAZEL SCOTT

TEDDY WILSON

Negro Ministers Ask All Parties to Back Davis

Daily Worker - New York, N.Y.

A group of Negro Manhattan ministers, meeting yesterday, called on all Negro candidates for New York City Council to withdraw in favor of Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr. 10-9-45

The ministers have endorsed and will actively campaign to reelect Councilman Davis. The feeling of all present was that the others were on the ballot to split the vote of the Negro people, and to keep all Negroes out of the Council.

"We must have unity in the Harlem vote," said Dr. S. . Correthers, chairman of the meeting. "The people must have shoes, clothes, and food. They also must have representation in the City Council."

All parties interested in the Negro people should get behind the one man that can win, and that man is Councilman Davis, speakers declared.

"This is a national issue, we have to give here in New York the answer to the polltax in the South by reelecting Councilman Davis. It would be a disgrace to the Negro people all over the country if we failed to elect a representative for them for the next four years," said Rev. Robert Williams.

He also stressed the importance of registration.

The ministers passed a resolution to write an appeal to all parties to back Davis.

The resolution passed reads, in part: 10-9-45

"We have assembled to consider the various candidates in New York City for City Council. We, the undersigned, have decided to support one, regardless of party, on his record. The other candidates have entered the race to split the vote. We pledge our support to Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., that we may have representation for the next four years for the half million Negroes of New York."

The ministers pledged to go on the streets and campaign, and to appeal to the members of their churches.

Councilman Davis stressed his appreciation to the group, and pledged to continue his fight against discrimination and reaction.

This meeting was like the meeting held on Saturday by 20 members of the Doctors Non-Partisan Committee for the Reelection of Councilman Benjamin Davis. The physicians decided to meet the challenge of Rankin by actively campaigning for Ben Davis. The committee raised $500 for the campaign, and set next Saturday for initial appearance fo the doctors as speakers in the campaign.

Members of the committee include Dr. George Cannon, Dr. Roland Gunning, Dr. R. M. Carey, Dr. I. T. Donaldson, Dr. J. J. Jones and many others

Negro Press Lauds Ben Davis For Telling-Off Tory Rankin

Daily Worker N.Y., N.Y.

10-6-45

The Negro press this week is unanimous in its praise of Ben Davis for his handling Mississippi's John Rankin at the recent witch-hunt hearing in Washington. The Chicago **Defender,** the Baltimore **Afro-American,** the Pittsburgh **Courier** and the **People"s Voice** may be quoted as typical.

The top caption above a **Defender** photo of Davis, standing with his back to the Capitol building, reads "Ruffles Rankin." The botton caption reads:

"Councilman Ben Davis, Harlem candidate for re-election, who gained support and prestige when New Yorkers learned that he was subpoenaed and quizzed by Representative Rankin of the House Committee on Un-American Activities." 10-6-45

The accompanying story declares that the calling of Davis to Washington had "boomeranged sharply in favor of the Harlem candidate for reelection." The story adds that "New York Negro and white voters throughout Manhattan have taken careful note of the fact that when fascist Rep. Rankin expressed his fear and hatred of the Negro people through subpenaing one of their representatives, it was Ben Davis he called to Washington."

"Davis' forthright denunciation of the white-supremacist and his allegation to the committee counsel that 'I have contempt for this whole proceeding' has shot the Councilman's prestige higher than ever in the metropolis," declares the Defender story.

The **Afro-American,** reporting the Davis-Rankin setto with immense gusto, quoted wires to Rankin's committee as declaring that it had "given the people of New York further reason to vote overwhelmingly for Benjamin J. Davis, the candidate of their choice."

CRACKED JIMCROW

The **Afro-American** reports with unconcealed pride that the Negro Councilman while in Washington "obtained at the Roger Smith Hotel, which has never previously catered to colored."

"Ben Davis Muzzles Mississippi's Rankin" is the way the **Courier** headlines the story, This paper also carries Davis' picture on the front page. 10-6-45

The **Courier** story, distributed to the Negro press by the national Negro Publishers Association, details the facts of the abortive Washington hearing. The story is straight-forward, factual and distinctly friendly to the Councilman.

The Peoples Voice, declares that "the old red-baiting tune Martin Dies played so loud and long . . . faded away into an echo when it tried to drown out Benjamin J. Davis, Jr.," The story makes a point of the fact that Davis received "more than 43,000 votes" in running for the New York Council, whereas Mississippi's John Rankin and Georgia's John S. Wood [chairman of the un-American committee], in their statewide elections, received less than 10,000 votes, since they come from one-party states where far, far less than one half of the population votes."

Ben Davis' Work in Council A Record of Achievement

The Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, running for reelection, stands on his record, one of the best in the struggle for the people's interests.

A partial list of measures introduced by Councilman Davis has been issued by the Citizens Non-partisan Committee to Reelect Benjamin J. Davis. The list includes:

ON FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES

- Resolution in support of a permanent national FEPC. PASSED.
- Resolution in support of the establishment of a state FEPC. PASSED. Helped put present law through State Legislature.
- Resolution condemning Jimcrow practices in Big League Baseball and calling on the Yankees, Giants and Dodgers to employ Negro players. PASSED.
- Bill 301 which would set up an official city anti-discrimantion committee. PENDING.

ON DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

- Resolution calling for a federal law to abolish the polltax. PASSED.
- Resolution for investigation of anti-Semitic outrages. Co-sponsor. PENDING.

ON LABOR RIGHTS

- Resolution urging the National War Labor Board and President Truman to grant merchant seamen a wage increase. PASSED. The seamen got the largest wage increase they ever received. First time the City Council had ever gone on record in the support of a labor union.

ON HOUSING

- Co-sponsored the Anti-Discrimination Housing Law which bars tax exemption to any housing project which discriminates because of race, creed or color. PASSED. No more Stuyvesant towns.

AGAINST JIMCROW

- Resolution calling for an investigation into means of alleviating the housing crisis. PENDING.
- Resolution calling for investigation of Jimcrow practice in the use of beds by Negro firemen in certain Fire Department Headquarters. Hearing held. Discriminative practices discontinued. Two Negro firemen promoted to rank of lieutenant. 10-31-45
- Resolution supporting Powell bill for the end of segregation in the armed forces. PENDING.

NEGRO RECOGNITION

- Resolutions officially designating Negro History Week in 1944 and 1945. PASSED.
- Law naming new playground at 142 St. and Lenox Ave. after Colonel Charles Young. PASSED.

AGAINST OVERCHARGES BY PAWNBROKERS

- Bill abolishing service and "care" charges by pawnbrokers. Ceilings have been set on such charges, saving poor people hundreds of thousands of dollars.

VETERANS RIGHTS

- Initiated action calling on Gov. Dewey to certify the federal soldiers' ballot in 1944. PASSED.
- Resolution urging a New York State GI Bill of Rights. PENDING.
- Resolutions calling on Board of Education to set aside special education facilities for veterans and requiring New York City Corporation Counsel to furnish legal assistance to veterans. PENDING.

Ben Davis has also fought for the five-cent fare, increased state aid for education, increased penalties for OPA violations, abolition of the 24-hour work day in the Fire Department, legislation improving conditions of city employes and advocating both cost of living and permanent wage increases.

61a-1945

Candidates

Maligning A Public Servant

BY ERNEST LINDLEY

Birmingham News

At the conclusion of the hearings on Aubrey Williams, Senator Scott Lucas, of Illinois, made a statement which merits the consideration not only of every member of the Senate, but of every citizen who wants efficient public service and is interested in the fair play and dignity —indeed, the Americanism—of the Senate. In this statement, Senator Lucas said:

"Some six weeks ago Aubrey Williams was nominated as administrator of the REA. He called on me to answer any questions I desired to ask him about his past life, his activities, and theories of government. Frankly I was not interested in submitting questions to Mr. Williams at that time. I advised him I would reserve my questions for the hearing which would soon be held before the Senate committee on agriculture and forestry.

"Let me say to the committee that at that hour I was opposed to the confirmation of Mr. Williams, although I had made no statement. That was the first time I had ever met the man. I had heard so much about him through rumor, innuendo and general conversation that I had formed a preconceived notion about this man. I expected to see a long-haired professional type with his every utterance colored by communism.

"However, I found him to be a very soft-spoken, mild-mannered man.

"After listening to his testimony, after listening to the unfair, prejudiced, incompetent testimony being offered against this man, I was and am convinced that Aubrey Williams is competent and qualified to act as administrator of the REA.

"Mr. Chairman, in my 10 years in Congress I have never seen a witness under consideration for appointment as head of an important agency so abused and so maligned. Ninety-eight per cent of the evidence presented before this committee would not be allowed to be offered before a court of competent jurisdiction. If you could convict him of anything, it would be that he is a humanitarian."

* * *

What was the nature of the testimony against Aubrey Williams which moved Senator Lucas to this denunciation?

First, there was the attempt to tag Williams with the Communist label—an attempt supported chiefly by two witnesses whose records Lucas did not hesitate to describe as "unsavory." Most of the evidence was of the sort which red-baiters have used for years to try to smear as Communists such men as the late George W. Norris.

To bolster the thesis that Williams, if not a Communist, was some other kind of a foe of the American form of government,, Senator Bushfield, his chief inquisitor, quoted from Williams' speeches passages which reflected his dislike of monopoly and the concentration of wealth, his deep concern with overcoming poverty, and his desire to widen the doors of opportunity for all. If these were hostile to the American system, so were, or are, Thomas Jefferson, William Jennings Bryan, Robert M. LaFollette (father and son alike), Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, Franklin Roosevelt and Wendell Willkie.

The upshot was that the committee found out what a great many other people already knew, since he has never concealed it: that Williams is a progressive.

* * *

Williams' economic and political views may not be altogether irrelevant to his fitness to serve as REA administrator. But of what relevance are his views on Negro rights? Were the members who pursued this inquiry fearful that Williams would employ Negroes in REA or sell electricity to Negro farmers?

REA, like almost every other government agency, already has Negro employes. And, of course, it sells electricity to Negroes—indirectly, as it does to white farmers also, through cooperatives organized under state laws. Under these state laws Negroes are members of these cooperatives generally throughout the South and as a rule attend their meetings.

Even questions about Williams' religious associations and beliefs were brought up—although when Williams quietly reminded them that these were matters between him and God, most of the senators apparently realized that they had strayed onto dangerously un-American ground, and the subject was dropped.

Some members of the committee seemed to be only mildly interested in what, from the viewpoint of the public, is the pertinent question: Williams' competence as an administrator. The main attack on his record at NYA was routed by the comptroller general.

It is true that Williams is not an electrical engineer. J. A. Krug, chairman of the WPB, has never managed a factory, but his ability to administer the War Production Board is universally acknowledged. Williams is an experienced public administrator with an excellent record. That, above everything else, is what REA needs—and what it will get if a majority of the Senate does not lose its bearings under the influence of the testimony which, as Senator Lucas concluded, was unfair, prejudiced and incompetent.

Negro Candidates Win Support in Cambridge

Daily Worker N.Y.N.Y.

CAMBRIDGE, Mass., Nov. 4.—Negro-white unity is being achieved in Cambridge by the election campaigns of two prominent Negro ministers. Disgusted by the action of the present School Committee is virtually forbidding teachers to participate in interracial committees, numerous local labor leaders, middle class liberals and leaders in the Negro community are waging a vigorous fight to elect Rev. Kenneth Hughes to the School Committee.

These groups are also supporting Rev. Rembert Stokes in his race for City Council on a program of improved recreational and health facilities.

Bankhead Tells Why Senate Rejected Aubrey Williams

Montgomery Advertiser

By ATTICUS MULLIN

Aubrey Williams, said by the Dies committee to have been a member of several subversive organizations and who was defeated by the Senate on his nomination by President Roosevelt to be Rural Electrification Administrator, is not a citizen of Alabama, according to the record.

Senator John H. Bankhead of Alabama led the fight in the Senate against the confirmation of Williams and led it brilliantly and successfully in a letter to the writer enclosing some of the records of the committee hearings on Williams, encloses memoranda showing Williams to be a voter in Virginia.

Not only was the man Williams a voter in Virginia, although he had his name go to the Senate as an Alabamian, but in the last campaign he contributed $25 to an independent candidate of some kind who was trying to defeat the regular democratic incumbent in Congress and also democratic nominee, Howard Smith.

As a matter of fact Williams was born in Alabama and an Independent Presbyterian church in Birmingham undertook to educate him at a college in Arkansas but Dr. J. B. Broady, who was the pastor then, said Williams turned on the church after church money was used to help educate him. He left Alabama, has never voted in Alabama and the testimony clearly showed that he favored intermingling of whites and blacks in practically every relationship. In one of the quotations from a column he writes for a publication of the Farmers Union (which also fraternizes with negroes) Williams expressed glee that a union of plasterers in Georgia had decided to admit negroes on equal terms with the whites.

In his cross examination Williams brazenly admitted that he favored a rule which would prevent the segregation of the races in the cafeterias, rest rooms, etc., in the government buildings in Washington. He would have white girls working under negro men, etc. He wanted no separation of races when it came to eating or play or anything else. And he said he would favor the government stepping into any industry, even a small sawmill in the South, and telling the sawmill owner whom to employ if a negro applied for a job and was refused it.

Senator Bankhead did not wonder that Williams was defeated for confirmation by the Senate and that so many southerners voted against him.

Senate Rebuffs Roosevelt In Rejection Of Williams

Montgomery Advertiser

WASHINGTON, March 23—(AP)—The Senate rebuffed President Roosevelt today with a 52 to 36 rejection of his nomination of Aubrey Williams as rural electrification administrator.

Thirty-three Republicans and 19 Democrats joined to "blackball" the selection of the ardent new dealer for a job which in the early postwar period may involve lending up to a billion dollars to finance rural electric lines.

Voting for confirmation were 31 Democrats, four Republicans and Senator La Follette (Prog), Wisconsin.

President James G. Patton, president of the National Farmers Union, announced at a Williams news conference that the organization would hold a "victory dinner" in honor of Williams Wednesday. He said Mrs. Roosevelt had accepted an invitation to speak.

Patton told questioners it would be a victory dinner because "this is just the first battle, and it has shown us what is necessary to victory." He said there would be undertaken a "total war of issues to decide whether this country is to conduct itself for the people instead of vested interests and racial bigots."

Williams, commenting on the Senate action, said "it is time for the people to look into what is happening" here.

Expressing "great pride" in the contest his friends put up, the former National Youth administrator and WPA executive told a reporter:

"I am frank to say that certain things that developed, so far as they indicate what we have in the way of senatorial minds and attitudes, are pretty disturbing to me."

FDR and the Negro

New Republic

SIR: A significant fact about Mr. Roosevelt's fourth victory in a row is that in every election he could have given the electoral votes of the eleven states of the Solid South to his opponent and still have won in the Electoral College. This means there is absolutely no reason for any appeasement by President Roosevelt of the Southern "white-supremacy" bloc so far as concerns legislation desired by Negro voters who have stuck to him faithfully all through four elections. He has already declared himself in favor of the bill for a Permanent FEPC. He can and should come out for the federal anti-lynching bill and the bill abolishing the poll tax as a requirement for the right to vote in federal elections. He should enforce more vigorously his order abolishing segregation in the services provided for the men in the army camps and begin the abolition of segregation in the armed forces themselves. All this he owes alike to justice and to his supporters among the Negro voters. 2-19-45

CONSUELO C. YOUNG,
Publicity and Promotion Director,
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
New York City

First Negro to Run in Va. Democratic Primary

Daily Worker

By ALICE BURKE

RICHMOND, Va. May 13.—For the first time in Virginia Democratic Party history, a Negro has announced his candidacy for the State Legislature, subject to the Democratic Primary Aug. 7. 5-14-45

Rev. W. B. Ball, pastor of the Goodwill Baptist Church, Richmond, prominent in religious and civic circles, has announced his candidacy, filed petitions, paid the fee and qualified as a candidate in the primary. 5-14-45

BARRED UNTIL 1930

Rev. Ball has actively participated in the drive to qualify voters through the payment of the poll tax on the theory that the best way to abolish the poll tax is by paying it and forcing the State to kill it.

Until 1930, Negroes in Richmond were barred from the Democratic primaries. After bitter struggle and court fights, the courts finally ruled, in the West vs. Commonwealth case, that the Democratic Party's "lily white" primaries were illegal.

Since then Negroes have been voting in the primary under great handicap because of discriminatory practices by the Registrars who made it extremely difficult for Negroes to register—even after poll taxes had been paid. 5-14-45

During the past weeks a spirited drive to qualify the people by payment of poll taxes before the deadline last Saturday was conducted by the League of Women Voters, labor unions, Negro groups and civic organizations.

Local press reported that at the deadline the rush was terrific, with 80 percent of those paying poll taxes being Negro. 5-14-45

Rev. Ball is one of 15 candidates for seven seats in the Virginia General Assembly. His entrance into the race has created quite a stir.

PLAINFIELD, N. J.
COURIER-NEWS
Cir. D. 15,353
JUN 8 - 1945

Machine Runs Plainfield, Cary Charges

The rally staged last night in Washington School to help the campaign of Andrew J. Cary, Negro candidate for the Fourth Ward Republican nomination to the Common Council, attracted fewer than 50 persons. Start of the meeting was delayed an hour while the committee waited for the audience to grow. There were 35 present when it started and several more arrived during the speech making which continued until 11:15.

Mr. Cary charged Plainfield is now "run by a machine composed of a brazen minority." He said Councilman Andrew L. Saffron, his primary opponent, does not represent the best interests of the people of the Fourth Ward in the Council and that he has stooped to the low level of appealing for votes on a racial basis.

Talks of Housing

The candidate said his opponent lacks an issue while he, Cary, pledged himself to fight for an adequate housing project for the families of the low economic bracket, "for whites as well as Negroes." He said he would strive for suitable recreational facilities, expressed the opinion that the large number of Negroes in Plainfield should be entitled to better representation on the police force and in the public school teaching faculties. He spoke against any segregation of Negro students in a school or schools taught by Negro teachers, declaring such an arrangement is not "true Democracy." He told of his work as secretary of the Moorland (Negro) branch of the YMCA and of his affiliation for many years in Baptist Church work. He mentioned his experience in the real estate and building business.

Urges All to Vote

Joseph B. Judkins, Union County coroner, conducted the meeting which was opened with prayer by the Rev. John S. Tate, who later spoke, urging the supporters of Mr. Cary to get out the vote "while the opposition sleeps." "Half the people of Plainfield don't know there is an election next Tuesday," he said.

Others who spoke were William Danner, campaign manager for the candidate; Harry Krantz, secretary of the Plainfield Area N. J. Independent Voters League; the Rev. David N. Licorice, pastor of the Abyssinian Baptist Church of New York City and John Paradise, co-chairman of the Unity for Victory Committee of New Jersey.

August C. Ulrich of Hillside, candidate for one of the Assembly nominations, said he was sympathetic to the Negro group and believed those in it were entitled to better representation. He said there was no doubt in his mind that discrimination is being shown in this matter in the Plainfield school system. He also asked support for his own candidacy next Tuesday.

Negro GOP Paper Backs Ben Davis

Daily Worker
6-27-45

A powerful editorial plea for the reelection of Manhattan Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., is contained in this week's issue of the **New York Age**, leading Negro Republican newspaper.

The editorial offers convincing evidence that Councilman Davis will be supported by all sections of the Negro people, as well as of many white progressives.

Specifically, it demands that the Republican Party officially nominate Davis, a "brilliant and forceful Councilman," because of his record. But the arguments it offers apply, with equal force, to the Democratic and American Labor parties as well

Referring to the fact that Davis has been promised the official Democratic designation, it notes that the "Democrats have felt the pulse of the people and have been smart enough to respond. . . ."

The editorial follows, in part:

6-27-45

City Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., the second Negro City Councilman New York has had since elections were conducted under P. R. (proportional representation), is a candidate again for election this coming November. Officially elected as the Communist Party candidate, Mr. Davis will seek election this year as the Democratic Party candidate, the Communist Party having since been disbanded.

Before Councilman Davis received the Democratic Party's designation, he had announced that he would run for reelection as an independent candidate, without party label. When the Democratic designation was proferred to him, he naturally accapted.

The Republican organization has not as yet announced its candidates for the City Council. There is little likelihood that the local leadership will be any smarter than the state or national leadership has been recently, but will allow the fact that Mr. Davis is an avowed Communist to cause them either to attempt to designate a Negro candidate or else leave the ticket without a Negro candidate with Republican endorsement.

If the local Republican leadership wants to be wise, it will also endorse Mr. Davis for reelection, thereby practically reassuring his reelection. If the leadership wants to be stupid, then it will run another Negro candidate in opposition to Mr. Davis, thereby guaranteeing that Negroes will be deprived of all representation in the City Council. 6-27-45

The New York Age is a traditionally Republican newspaper, but it has always supported candidates on their merit rather than on their party label. When Mr. Davis ran two years ago, **The New York Age** urged its readers to vote number one for Mr. Davis and said at the time that the fact that he was a Communist should scare no one because he would make an able City Councilman

On his record alone, Councilman Davis deserves reelection. The Democrats have been alert enough to know that the people of Harlem want and need Ben Davis in the City Council. The Democrats have felt the pulse of the people and have been smart enough to respond with their endorsement of Mr. Davis. The Republicans can also be smart by doing likewise.

If the Republicans fail to endorse Mr. Davis and run a Negro candidate in opposition to his candidacy, and the new Council has no Negro member of it, then all the blame will fall on the shoulders of Republicans.

61a-1945

Change the World

Daily Worker New York N.Y.

by Mike Gold

I HAVE BEEN around recently making some speeches for Ben Davis. The people of New York lugged their groceries past our windy corner, or escorted their wives and sweethearts to a movie, while our faithful little band sent out messages of jobs, equal rights and human hope.

Some New Yorkers stopped to listen; some even argued with us, drunk or otherwise.

What interested me about the customary drunks and arguers in this campaign is that they seem to have developed a new line. The street opposition no longer emerges from dirty saloons smelling of stale beer and cheap floozies to yell: "Communists want to break up the home! Communists are free lovers!"

10-19-45

Nor do the same sodden Daily News specimens of embryo Storm Trooper accuse Communists of attacking God or religion.

No, the line has entirely changed; all of them now ask whether you would permit your sister to marry a Negro, or whether Jews should be tolerated after having started such a big world war against Hitler and the poor "gentiles" of Germany and Japan.

It's really incredible how racial exasperation has been grown in New York. The atmosphere is gloomy with shadows of future pogroms against Jew, Negro or Italian (and I mention Italian advisedly, since in the job competition now beginning the anti-Italian note can be heard almost as clearly as if Bilbo and the Kluxers had taken New York).

NOW it's no use blaming Mayor LaGuardia for the years in which he hush-hushed the spread of Christian Frontism in our schools and police department.

Nor can one be too angry at unfortunate dupes of the Nazi movement in New York—kindly, ignorant, working class folk who are betrayed by every propaganda means until they go crazy with superstition and fear and are ready to commit any Nazi atrocities against their fellow New Yorkers.

The main fault is our own. There are enough Jews, Negroes, Italians in New York, enough progressive Irish trade unionists, enough liberal business people of every minority, and anti-Nazi students, teamsters, housewives, seamen, garment workers—a mass of millions that hates Hitlerism and is ready to fight it to the last cinder.

Why are the people not organized to fight? It has to be done. Otherwise there is a vacuum into which organized fascists can easily penetrate.

N.Y. N.Y.

It's good to see that the great leader of Jews, Rabbi Stephen Wise, has recently announced that the Jewish Congress which he heads is urging an organized boycott of the anti-Semitic tabloid Daily News.

If the Jewish community does not defend itself, if it continues disorganized, indifferent, attracted by opportunistic will-o-the-wisps, what hope can there be for a New York free of fascism? When Jewish leaders and newspapers go on red-baiting campaigns, fascism unifies its underground.

* * *

JOE LOUIS, the great champion and great human being, has come out for Ben Davis and will head a veterans' committee to elect Ben.

This is the way things are going in Harlem. People of every church and political belief are uniting to put down fascism and kluxism in our big city.

A large vote for Ben Davis will serve them as a demonstration against fascism that instigated racial disturbances such as the one in the Ben Franklin High School. The people of Harlem are brushing aside red-baiting, the slander against Communists and will stand behind Ben Davis and Joe Louis.

I cannot help feeling that the new School for Jewish Studies (13 Astor Place) is also a symptom of the organization against New York fascism.

"The school was created to fill the great need for knowledge and unity in the American Jewish community. It seeks to promote an understanding of the culture, history, communal life and contributions of the Jewish people to America and the world.

"It seeks to help in the development of a leadership capable of assuming a greater share of the responsibilities of the future of the Jewish people, and of equipping them to combat anti-Semitism.

"The school welcomes students who are not Jewish. It will endeavor to develop better understanding among all national groups in our country by fostering the study of the history and culture of such groups."

Candidates

Rabbi Wise and Joe Louis Show How to Fight Fascism

election campaign. There are just 18 precious days left to do the job of getting out the vote which will guarantee the victory of Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Peter V. Cacchione and other progressive people's candidates.

I want to talk about the election campaigns of two Brooklyn councilmanic candidates in particular—Peter V. Cacchione and Bertram L. Baker.

N.Y., N.Y.

There have been disturbing reports that our campaign forces, especially over in Brooklyn, have been too few and too slow in getting into action. The pep and drive which two years ago gave Pete the highest number of first choice votes of any councilmanic candidate in the city has been lacking this year. This let-down, attributable perhaps to over-confidence or other psychological factors—but certainly not to any decline in Pete's top-flight record of achievement in the City Council—must be overcome. **And quickly.**

The failure to reelect Pete Cacchione—a possibility which must be frankly faced—must mean the personal shame and disgrace of every Communist Party member of Brooklyn. And more than that, it would mean a heavy and irreparable loss to all those for wrom and with whom Pete has labored as City Councilman—the trade unions, the Negro and other minority people, and all liberal and progressive forces in the borough. That must not happen!

10-18-45

In the final home-stretch drive of the Brooklyn campaign, a lot of lost ground must be made up in order to bring Pete home on top. It's up to every able-bodied one of us to shake a leg getting over to the campaign headquarters of his district—with as many workers as he can carry along—and get busy on the job that must be done. Let's do that **now.** Then there'll be no occasion for gloomy post-mortems on Nov. 7 about what **ought** to have been done.

AS A BROOKLYNITE myself, I'm also particularly concerned about the election of another councilmanic candidate from the home of the Dodgers—Bertram L. Baker. Brooklyn has never yet sent a Negro to the City Council—or to the state legislature either, for that matter. There have been well-qualified Negro candidates running in past elections, but they have failed to get the unified support of the Negro voters of all parties or adequate support on a borough-wide scale.

Daily Worker

This year, in the candidacy of Baker, a Democratic nominee with ALP endorsement, there is an excellent opportunity of overcoming both these obstacles and of enabling the large Negro population of Brooklyn to send its own representative to the City Council—as it rightfully should. But it can only be done—as it was done and **will be done again** in Manhattan in electing Ben Davis—with the help of all the progressive forces of the borough.

Brooklyn must reelect Peter V. Cacchione and elect Bertram L. Baker. Greater New York needs two Negro Councilmen as well as two Communist Councilmen. So let's shake a leg! History is ours to make.

Today's Guest Column

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

by Alphaeus Hunton

THIS is a period of important history. And whether it is a question of international politics or of a city election, it is the people, the workers, who determine the shape of history. This is worth remembering as we go into the home stretch of the New York

An Appeal for Cacchione And Baker in Brooklyn

Stakes in New York's Election

The Worker

CANDIDATES and commentators have tended to rule out the possibility of the election as mayor of Jonah Goldstein, Gov. Dewey's hand-picked candidate who is also supported by the disruptionist Liberal Party. As his connections with Dewey have become more widely known, his stock among the voters has fallen.

New York, N.Y.

We feel it is premature to rule him out. But whether it is or not, it is still necessary to see to it that the reactionary nature of his candidacy be driven home to the voters, particularly to keep the Liberal Party vote low. The capacity of the Social-Democrats who run that party to disrupt and divide the forces of progress and anti-fascism in New York must be destroyed this year.

10-21-45

It is not enough, however, that Goldstein be defeated and his major opponent, William O'Dwyer, elected. Should the ALP vote for O'Dwyer be low, labor's ability to unite the state's progressive, democratic forces for the crucial 1946 congressional and gubernatorial elections will suffer a serious blow. Labor's political influence and prestige nationally will be weakened, with serious consequences to its ability to influence Truman and Congress. And it will be in a poor position to influence the policies of O'Dwyer himself.

For these reasons the ALP vote must be high and a large number of ALP councilmen elected.

The red-baiting turn given the elections by Goldstein and his backers, plus the bitter red-baiting against striking workers throughout the country, make it especially necessary that Communist Councilmen Peter V. Cacchione and Benjamin Davis not only be returned to office, but that they receive record first choice votes. The nation needs this demonstration that anti-Communism is bankrupt among the people.

10-21-45

All experience shows that the votes for Cacchione and Davis are there. The people are ready to vote for them if only they are reached with the records of these two outstanding public officials. The political stakes for the nation as a whole are too important to neglect any opportunity or effort for the maximum vote for the Communist candidates.

Newspaperman and Nominee for Alderman Urge Negroes to Vote Democratic Ticket

Courier-Journal

Fletcher Martin, W. W. Beckett Speak On Radio

Louisville, Ky

A vote for the straight Democratic ticket "is a vote for recognition of the Negro citizens of Louisville and Jefferson County as American citizens, who seek no more than any other citizen," Fletcher Martin, newspaperman and chairman of the Negro division of the Democratic campaign committee, said last night.

Talking over WGRC on a program that included a talk by William W. Beckett, Negro Democratic nominee for alderman from the Eighth Ward, Martin declared the issue in the November 6 election "is one of good government—as it affects all citizens of Louisville and Jefferson County. It is putting those in City and County Government who can best serve the people."

Beckett Makes Pledge.

10-30-45

Beckett said that as a member of the Board of Aldermen "I shall do everything in my power to make our city, a safer, cleaner and better place to live in. People are realizing more and more that they must work together for the common good. . . . The war has demonstrated that suffering, misery, disease and death play havoc with all folks alike."

"The health and security of the underprivileged members of the community are equally important to other sections of the community," Beckett said, "and legislation which protects the rights and safety of the poor will bring returns to every segment of the population."

Playground Needs Cited.

For the last two years, according to Beckett, "the public interest has been sacrificed for narrow, partisan reasons. As a result the entire community has suffered. The Democratic candidates for the Board of Aldermen are determined to restore dignity to that legislative body and to make it, once again, the instrument of progress.

10-30-45

"If we as citizens of this great community desire to keep it in the vanguard of progress, we must unite in a program for the good of all, regardless of race, creed or color. We need more social settlements, better housing, improved hospitals, more playgrounds."

Beckett pladged his "earnest efforts to provide the citizens of Louisville with practical, economical government — to cast aside all individual differences and co-operate with my fellow aldermen in a united, enlightened program for all the people."

Martin Offers 2 Reasons.

Martin said he thinks members of his race should vote the Democratic ticket both because of gains made by Negroes during the last 12 years of Democratic administration and because of the statement by E. Leland Taylor, Democratic nominee for Mayor, that "I intend to treat the Negro both individually and as a group as citizens of Louisville and what recognition they receive shall not be as a member of a race but according to their qualifications and needs as taxpayers and citizens of our city."

"We want no special compensation," Martin said. "We don't want to be placed in a separate category. Our only thought, our only prayer is to be treated as American citizens. If we are not qualified we don't expect special recognition. We realize that incompetence in personnel breeds incompetence in government—regardless of the color of those incompetent."

In talking of the gains Negroes have made under the Democrats, Martin said "we have a commonwealth detective, deputy sheriff, a deputy recorder in the Second Magisterial District, deputy tax commissioner, five trained workers in the Juvenile Court."

And Negroes, he said, have beeen appointed to the following agencies: Louisville Housing Commission, Louisville Free Public Library Board, the Mayor's Legislative Committee, War Fund Board, Tin Salvage Committee, Louisville Area Defense Council, rationing boards and Louisville Interracial Committee.

"For the first time in the history of the city," he said, "Negroes have been appointed to responsible positions in public welfare agencies. These agencies include thee Municipal Bureau of Social Service, Home for the Aged and Infirm, Louisville and Jefferson County Children's Home, Aid to Dependent Families, State Welfare Department and Juvenile Court."

Democratic Party Social Will Break Color Line

The Courier Journal Louisville, Kentucky

10-28-45

White and Negro guests will be entertained together for the first time at a function of the Third District Democratic Women's club when that organization, headed by Mrs. Basye Howell, gives a reception at 8 p.m. Wednesday at the Labor Temple, 515 E. Broadway, in honor of the Democratic candidates who were victorious in the August primaries. This departure from custom is due to the candidacy of W. W. Beckert, Negro, who is running for alderman.

In addition to the musical program and refreshments, there will be political speeches, some of which will be broadcast. Speakers include E. Leland Taylor, candidate for Mayor; Edwin C. Willis, candidate for County judge; John M. Hennessy, campaign chairman; Mrs. Lucille Ogburn, candidate for alderman; Neville Miller, Washington, former Mayor; and Mrs. John Kesselring, chairman of women's activities in the campaign.

Though some social function is held annually, this is the first reception to be given.

C.-J. Photo.

Mrs. Basye Howell heads Democratic women who'll give reception at temple.

61a-1945

— Change the World —

Ben Davis Must Be Reelected

— by Mike Gold —

Daily Worker

SOMEBODY asked me to come to Harlem to make a few speeches for Ben Davis in the campaign to reelect him to the City Council. It will be a pleasure. Ben Davis has made a fine record in the City Council. His first term was notable for its record of democratic struggle. He has been outstanding in his attack on all the problems that keep poverty's nose to the grindstone. He has concerned himself with our daily bread, the black market and the crowded subways. It has given me special pleasure as a Jew to note Ben's unflagging devotion to the problem of anti-Semitism. 7-9-45

Ben knows that the foul Nazi thing is strong here and must be destroyed in New York. It is not anti-Semitism, but also anti-Negroism and anti-labor. Ben Davis and Pete Cacchione are Communists. It is fitting that they have made themselves known all over New York as the city's best fighters against every form of fascism in New York. Reelect them both.

I am trying to get some light on the confabulations and heartaches in American Labor Party circles around the question of endorsement of Ben Davis. Can there be doubts or finagling on this obvious necessity?

Ben Davis was elected as a Communist by the people of New York, black and white, Jew and Gentile. He has made good his promise to be their loyal advocate in the Council. A refusal to endorse him would operate to discredit the party or inside group that developed fine-spun reasons for deserting Ben Davis.

Include me out of such politics, for they lead to nowhere. Ben Davis belongs in the United Front. Any labor leaders who fail to endorse men like him are tampering with the principles on which alone a people's movement can be built. Reelect Ben Davis to the City Council and shut the big mouth of the fascist enemy! Endorse Davis, or you will disillusion thousands of good anti-fascist New Yorkers.

Councilman Davis and the ALP

Daily Worker

THERE is a growing demand on the part of trade unions associated with the American Labor Party that the New York County Committee of that party designate Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., as one of its candidates for city council this fall. Thus far, the county committee has named only a single candidate, Eugene P. Connolly, its executive secretary. 7-11-45

Davis, who has established an outstanding record in his first term and who is one of the most prominent Negro leaders in the nation, is also being urged as nominee of the Republican Party by many Harlem citizens and by the New York Age, a Negro weekly that generally backs the GOP.

Davis has been promised the designation of the Democratic Party because of his powerful influence among Democratic voters in Harlem, though the New York County Committee of the Democratic Party has thus far failed to take official action.

He is certain to be the candidate of the Communists who, with the aid of labor and the Negro people, brought about his election in 1943.

Davis, then, is the candidate of all the Negro people, irrespective of political affiliation, because they recognize in him an uncompromising and highly competent champion of their aspirations. He also has wide support from the labor movement, the Jewish people and progressives of all national groups as a result of his consistent and outstanding record.

Failure of the ALP particularly to designate Davis thus far has shocked and puzzled leaders and organizations of the Negro people, who have come to regard that party as a fighter for progress and unity. The reasons advanced for this failure appear utterly inadequate to them.

One reason given is that the ALP wants to limit its designation to official members of that party. But from its inception the ALP has taken a nonpartisan position, has nominated candidates of all parties for public office if their records deserved it. Any departure from that nonpartisan policy can only hurt that party seriously.

A second reason is that the designation of two ALP candidates will split the ALP vote and jeopardize Connolly's chances of election. There appears to be no basis for such speculation. As a matter of fact, failure of the ALP to nominate Davis will alienate not only the Negro people from the ALP but also many white trade union, Jewish and other progressive supporters who will not give Connolly the backing he might otherwise receive. Only a united, organized campaign of the supporters of both Davis and Connolly behind a single ticket can assure the election of both, particularly since there will be a larger City Council elected this year. If those within the labor movement who back Davis have to conduct a campaign for him entirely outside ALP channels, it will not only hurt Connolly but may weaken the campaign for the city ALP ticket.

The third reason given is that ALP designation of Davis will give the red-baiters ammunition, since Davis is a well-known Communist leader. This is the most dangerous of all arguments because it fails to take into account two facts. One is that Davis is the candidate of ALL Negro people and not merely of the Communists. And second, once the ALP begins to appease the red-baiters it will suffer the fate of all appeasers of reaction. It will make one concession after another and find it increasingly difficult to combat the reactionary GOP and the Dubinskyite "Liberal Party" who will make red-baiting a central campaign issue.

Above all other considerations, however, failure of the ALP to designate Davis would endanger the whole labor-progressive coalition in the city. The Negro people rallied overwhelmingly behind President Roosevelt last year. They did so even though they had many grievances against the administration and particularly against the regular Democratic organization, thereby showing their great political maturity. They will interpret the failure to name Davis as failure of the labor-progressive coalition to fight in their behalf, though they constitute one of its strongest contingents.

The progressive forces that form the backbone of the ALP have a twofold job before them. They have to preserve and strengthen the unity of the ALP and of labor generally. But they also have the job of preserving and strengthening the coalition of labor, the Negro people and all other progressive forces in the city, state and nation.

They can accomplish this twofold job only by convincing the leaders of the ALP to designate Councilman Davis as one of its official candidates and by conducting a joint campaign behind both Davis and Connolly.

Candidates

HARTFORD, CONN.
COURANT
Circ. D. 47,872 - S. 80,138
SEP 22 1945

NOMINATE TWO NEGROES

Procedure Would Ensure Representation in Public Office

To the Editor of The Courant:

Now, during the period when party candidates are being nominated for city office, the importance of Negro representation in our governing body should be called again to the attention of our party leaders. As has been pointed out by others, the best method of making certain that a Negro is elected to a high, responsible public office is to run two Negroes against each other.

The time seems not to have arrived when the white voters will vote for Negro candidates strictly on merit, but I am certain that, once a capable Negro is given a chance to demonstrate that he can administer an elective public office as well as or better than his white brother, a big step will have been taken forward in bringing the Negro to the equality of opportunity he deserves.

Some day, and I hope soon, a Negro will run against a white man and beat him for office because he is better qualified for the job. The first big step, that of nominating two Negroes to run against each other, is the responsibility of those higher-ups in our two major parties who control important nominations.

HOWARD O'CONNELL.

Manchester.

The ALP's Responsibility to Councilman Davis

The Worker

By GIL GREEN

The failure of the New York County, American Labor Party, to thus far designate Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., as a candidate for re-election to the City Council, has created widespread dismay in the ranks of the progressive labor movement and amongst the Negro people.

7-15-45

Certainly, no one, whether in the ALP or in the labor movement, can find the slightest reason for rejecting Ben Davis on the basis of his record in the Council. His record is superb. He has served his fellow citizens—Negro and white—faithfully and well. He has helped make the present City Council the most progressive in the city's history.

Of course, the record of Pete Cacchione is also of the same high quality and he too, deserves not only the endorsement of labor but the designation of the ALP as well, but the case of Ben Davis is a special one, precisely because he is the chosen representative of the Negro people and white progressives will demand to know the reason why. Certainly they expect the Labor Party to be in advance of either the Democratic or Republican parties in its defense of the rights of the Negro people. It is true that the outstanding leader of the New York County ALP, Vito Marcantonio, has many times proven to be a staunch friend and champion in behalf of Negro equality and rights, but the Negro people also want to know where the ALP stands on the matter of Negro representation in the City Council.

Nor can one successfully argue in favor of Negro representation on the Council and yet oppose giving the ALP designation to Ben Davis because he happens to be a Communist. This is so because there is but one Negro member of the present City Council and but one choice of the overwhelming majority of the Negro people of Manhattan, and that is Ben Davis. Thus to turn down Ben Davis is to reject the chosen candidate of the Negro people and thereby Negro representation in the coming City Council.

Nor is the fear of being red-baited a valid reason for refusing to designate Ben Davis. The ALP will be red-baited anyway, and for that matter, so will the Democratic and ALP mayoralty candidate. But can the ALP be red-baited any more than it has been? Have not the Deweys and Dubinsky's made this their stock in trade as shown in the last elections? What more could they say if Ben Davis were given the ALP designation? — that Ben Davis, the choice of the Negro people, is now also the candidate of the ALP? Could they attack Ben Davis, the Communist, without also attacking Ben Davis, the Negro? Would this whole thing not turn into a boomerang against the Republicans and Liberals, only cementing ever firmer the unity of labor and the Negro people? We believe it would.

There is also the argument put forth by certain ALP partisans, that by giving the ALP designation to Ben Davis, the election chances of Eugene Connolly would thereby be endangered. We consider this argument entirely false; the opposite being true, as we shall endeavor to show a bit further on. But to make our position perfectly clear, let us assert in advance, that were we to accept the premise of this argument—namely, that there are insufficient progressive votes in Manhattan to elect two ALP supported councilmen, we would even more strongly urge that under no circumstances can the ALP do anything that would jeopardize the chances of the only Negro candidate—for it is far more important that the Negro people have representation in the Council, than that one or another individual be elected.

However, we are not ready to accept this premise. There is the possibility this year of electing two labor endorsed councilmen from New York County. But if this opportunity is to be grasped there must be the closest harmony and unity between the organized labor movement and the Negro people. Any dissension, any suspicion that the ALP is disregarding the vital interests of the Negro people, will create such resentment amongst progressive trade unionists and the Negro people, as to bring about a maximum support for Ben Davis and only a lukewarm, unenthusiastic support for Connolly. Therefore the danger to Connolly's chances arises not from those who favor giving the designation to Ben Davis, but from those who oppose it.

There is no question in our mind but that Ben Davis will be returned to the City Council. We are certain of this because the Communists of Manhattan, allied with the united Negro people of Harlem and with progressive trade union organizations, will more than repeat the job done in 1943. But it would be better, far better, if through the election campaign this year there could be cemented on a more stable basis than heretofore the unity of the Negro people with the whole progressive labor movement as represented by the ALP. For this it is necessary that Ben Davis receive the endorsement and support of the labor movement and the ALP.

A New Type of People's Candidate

The Worker 7-15-45

Meet the Rev. Charles A. Hill, Detroit candidate for Common Council. He's keyed to the needs of all the people of his community.

New York

By HARRY RAINARD
DETROIT.

I INTERVIEWED one of the spearheads of the Detroit progressive movements, a person whose main objective is to aid the broad masses of the people, and to make our city a better place to live in. He is Rev. Charles A. Hill, candidate for Common Council, and a new type of people's candidate.

The most striking feature about this Negro leader is that the moment you get him to talk, he begins talking about the needs of the people—of all the people—Negro and white, native and foreign born, men and women. He is so unlike the usual politician.

No sooner had we sat down to discuss Charles A. Hill than he began telling me about how housing is a problem, and "an acute one at that" for all the people here. Detroit, said Rev. Hill, "is more backward than any other like-size city in the country." Due to the indifferent attitude of the present administration toward housing for all the people, and toward other related civic issues, activities on behalf not only of the Negro people but for all the people of our city, are too wide and too numerous to mention.

REV. CHARLES A. HILL

Children Play In Back Alleys

While in other communities of America children play in recreation and park centers provided by the City, here children are forced to play in alleys for lack of playgrounds and other suitable places. This situation is particularly vital because it affects principally the future generations, said Rev. Hill, because healthy bodies make healthy minds, which create high morale, and this comes only through "ample recreational facilities." The Negro leader contends that the greater the recreational facilities now for all the people the lesser need for penal institutions later, thus eliminating a part of the tax payers burdens and saving of many reputations and lives.

He pointed to the deplorable state of sanitation in the city, despite the fact that the people are paying higher taxes.

Rat infested alleys, dirty streets, said Rev. Hill, has created a condition that is a disgrace to a nation. As a result, he added, "disease is being spread and numerous fatalities have occurred from disease and rat bites, to both adults and infants." Despite enormous expenditures the cause of this evil still remains due to inadequate garbage and trash removal. He said that immediate action is needed to eliminate this state of affairs.

Discussing the problem of post-war employment, candidate Hill, believes that the opening of the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes to ocean going vessels in order that Detroit might become a world port, would create employment for thousands of people, and make possible a better living for more people in our community and in the nation. He suggested that the city should see that the Federal and State governments establish a joint commission for the immediate consideration of this proposal necessary funds allocated for it.

said candidate Hill, most of the tension and unrest which exists can be attributed to this indifference.

Rev. Hill, I learned from other sources, was born in Detroit, and is a product of its schools. He is married and the father of 8 children, two of whom are in the Armed Services of the nation. He has been Pastor of Hartford Baptist Church for 24 years, and his

Warns About Hate Campaign

Rev. Hill warned against a hate campaign being prepared in order to mislead the people. He said that we must not permit the people "to be misguided by the hate propaganda either because of race, color, or national origin."

"Failure to change the personnel of the present municipal administration," said Rev. Hill, would only doom Detroit from becoming the leader as she would otherwise be destined to become."

He pointed out that the common people have got to become interested in this present election "if the Four Freedoms for which

war, and now many hours of work are lost because of the poor transportation system of the city, said the Negro leader.

Rev. Hill cited many cases whereby fascist forces used the Common Council to spread hate, to divide the people for their own selfish interests.

"A new personnel in the Mayor's office and in the Common Council would make it possible for Detroit to remove the black spots

As a representative of a minority group, he feels that a true picture of the people who suffer most should be given by the city government and this government should function equally for all

people, regardless of race, color or national origin.

Referring to transportation he reminded me of an old campaign slogan, which promised "a seat for every passenger." Not only isn't there a seat for every passenger, in this largest builder of vehicles in the world, but transportation is so bad that workers have to wait

now prevailing, and take its rightful place in the arsenal of peace, prosperity and happiness."

61a-1945

Elections

Davis Won 75% of Harlem's Negro Vote for First Choice

Daily Worker N.Y., N.Y.

By MAX GORDON 11-20-45

Three-quarters of the voters in predominantly Negro precincts in Harlem cast their ballots first choice for Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., a preliminary survey of the councilmanic vote showed yesterday. 11-20-45

Davis got approximately 32,000 of an estimated 43,000 valid ballots cast by Harlem Negro voters, despite the most expensive and vicious "smear" campaign ever conducted against a candidate for City Council.

Outside of Harlem, the Communist councilman received approximately 24,000 votes or 60 percent greater than the 15,000 cast for him in those areas two years ago.

The figures also revealed that the American Labor Party emerged the second party in the mayoralty race in the four assembly districts comprising Harlem. These districts gave Mayor-elect O'Dwyer 14,037 on the ALP line, as compared with 13,361 votes cast for Goldstein on the Republican line and 3,188 on the Liberal Party line. The No Deal vote for Newbold Morris was 11,891. The Democrats polled 38,080 votes.

In at least one election district, the 43rd of the 12th A. D., the ALP scored the top vote.

Councilman Davis' vote in Harlem was a remarkable expression of the political unity of the people behind a candidate who symbolized the coalition of progressive labor and the Negro. Although the Democrats withdrew their designation of Davis, it is obvious that he received the bulk of the votes of Democrats, as well as of members of all other parties.

The Negro Democratic candidate named to replace him, Ruth W. Whaley, received an estimated 3,000 votes in Harlem and less than 8,000 outside Harlem.

The most bitter campaign carried on against Davis was that waged by the reactionary GOP-Liberal Party alliance, whose candidate was Benjamin F. McLaurin. McLaurin's Harlem vote was about 3,500, or little better than 10 percent of Davis' vote. All other candidates combined received the remaining 4,500 first choice votes. 11-20-45

Both in and out of Harlem, Davis campaign workers reported a great deal of interest in the Communist Party, as well as considerable ignorance regarding its present organizational status and activity. Many suggested that the Communists publish a handbook of their program and that local clubs conduct more public activity directly related to the organization.

The remarkable showing of the ALP, made without any organizational apparatus whatever, indicates the possibility of building the ALP in Harlem, local leaders say. They attribute the showing partly to the assistance given Davis by unions associated with the ALP.

61a-1945

Michigan

Jeffries Redbaiting

Litters City With Leaflets Attacking Communists, Negroes

By WILLIAM ALLAN Daily Worker

DETROIT, Nov. 5. — Running the gauntlet of fascist propaganda and distortion, Mayor Jeffries concluded his campaign for reelection to Mayor against Richard T. Frankensteen, UAW-CIO leader, by falsely terming the choice of the voters Tuesday to be, "Communism or Jeffries." N.Y. N.Y.

Progressives, meanwhile, are disturbed by Frankensteen's own fling at red-baiting, which, they say, plays into the hand of those who raise the false issue of "communism."

This campaign which saw a labor progressive coalition of Frankensteen for Mayor and Rev. Hill, Councilman Edwards and Tracy Doll, UAW leader, for city council, has evoked from Jeffries' headquarters every fascist technique to stir up racial and anti-labor division.

Jeffries sought over the weekend, by quoting Communist Party publications, to "prove" that Frankensteen and the PAC was merely a "front" for Communism in its attempt to "capture the City Hall."

In his final series of election speeches, Jeffries' red - baiting reached hysterical proportions. Scores of leaflets attacking Negroes, Jews and Communism have littered Detroit doorsteps. 11-6-45

MOUTHS FASCIST LINE

Jeffries never has publicly disowned this fascist barrage and now in the final days of the campaign has gotten around reciting fascist leaflets over the radio and at meetings.

Jeffries, son of one of Michigan's outstanding liberals, Judge Edward Jeffries, now deceased, rode into office previously on his father's reputation. But today he stands branded as a mouthpiece for the fascist dregs of this city and their employers, the auto monopolies.

The local press has endorsed Jeffries. They have, however, also come out in support of two members of the labor progressive slate, Councilman George Edwards and Rev. Hill, outstanding Negro leader. Both of these candidates are fairly certain of election because of labor's growing political maturity and Rev. Hill's great work on behalf of Negro-white unity.

Great public indignation too has been aroused by the Jeffries-G. L. K. Smith and KKK incitement against the Negro people.

Deploring the injection of racial and religious issues into the campaign, a group of clerical, labor and civic leaders yesterday expressed "regret" that Mayor Jeffries failed to respond to the request of the Detroit Council of Churches to avoid such issues.

61a-1945

Race Issue In Jersey Is Deplored

Jewish Voters Condemn Hague Letters

Injection of racial and religious issues in the Jersey City municipal election campaign is deplored by a group of Jewish voters in Jersey City in an advertisement to be published in the *Jewish Standard* of that city. The ad is their answer to letters addressed to Jersey City Jews, Negroes and Italian-Americans urging each group to vote, "as a unit" for Mayor Frank Hague in the election next Tuesday.

It will not be signed by the individuals paying for it, one member of the group explained, because they fear reprisals by Hague and Hague henchmen.

The letter addressed to Jews is circulated under the name of the Jersey City Jewish Civic League for Good Government and declares the election "is an extremely important one . . . to the Jewish people in particular." It lauds Hague as a friend of the Jews, and declares:

"In this respect he emulated our great departed President Roosevelt."

The letter going to Italian-American voters is circulated under the name of the Jersey City Italian-American League for Continued Good Government. The language, except for the substitution of *Italian* for *Jew* and the absence of any reference to Roosevelt, is virtually the same as that addressed to the Jews.

The appeal is circulated to Negroes under the name of the Citizens Committee for Re-election of Mayor Hague and Associates. In that letter state legislators from Jersey City are referred to as "his (Hague's) representatives in the Legislature at Trenton." Rep. Mary T. Norton, of the Hudson County district, is referred to as "his (Hague's) Representative in Congress." The letter lauds Hague and "his" Congresswoman and State legislators as friends of the Negro.

"We cannot condemn too severely anyone who would inject religion or race into a political campaign at any time and particularly today when we hope and labor to eradicate religious and racial issues."

61a-1945

New York

Cacchione Insists All Hate-Teachers Go

The Worker

The people of this city need Peter V. Cacchione back in the City Council to continue his excellent fight for a democratic program in the school system. N.Y.

The Brooklyn Communist can take some of the credit for suspension of May A. Quinn, preacher of fascist doctrines in the classroom. He met on numerous occasions with parents of P.S. 227, where Miss Quinn tried to poison the minds of her students, in order to map out a community-wide campaign for her dismissal. 11-4-45

Cacchione is currently demanding the suspension of Mrs. Gladys Laubenheimer, another Brooklyn teacher, who told her students that "foreigners" were the "scum of Europe." Mrs. Laubenheimer is now teaching in a Manhattan school after parents' protests removed her from Brooklyn.

"It's about time we cleanse our school system of the fascist-minded teachers," Cacchione said yesterday. "They would poison the minds of our youth and sow prejudice and intolerance among them."

Cacchione has long fought to remedy the shocking conditions in the predominantly Negro Bedford-Stuyvesant area, where overcrowding, uncovered classes, poor facilities and low academic standards are a menace to youth. He has appeared before numerous parent-teacher groups urging concerted action to end these conditions.

He has brought the fight against discrimination into the schools by urging that state and city funds be withheld from educational institutions which discriminate against students because of race, color or creed. He has requested the Board of Education to end the bias against Negro teachers on the staffs of city colleges and to make appointments to college staffs on the basis of merit alone. He has protested cuts in the Board of Education budget and urged increase in wages for teachers, clerks and other school personnel.

In words and deeds, the Communist candidate from Brooklyn works for the welfare of the city's youth from nursery through college.

61a-1945 N.Y.

Davis Vote Confounds Political Hacks

By HARRY RAYMOND Daily Worker

Old line politicians rubbed their eyes in the 69th Regiment Armory Wednesday night when the last Manhattan PR ballot in the City Council election was counted. Ira Ratner, director of the count, walked to the micropohone. And at exactly 10:50 p. m. his voice boomed over the loud speaker system the announcement that Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Communist, was reelected by a smashing total of 63,498 votes.

"How does he do it?" muttered an old Tammany man fumbling with sheets of paper on which were scrawled thousands of figures.

There was a pause. Then the director announced Councilman William Carroll, Democrat, was returned to the Council with a vote of 61,486.

Eugene P. Connolly, Laborite and Democratic nominee, was declared elected next with 54,208 votes. The last man on the list was Councilman Samuel DiFalco, Democrat, 46,892 votes, reelected to his old seat.

Earlier in the evening, at 9:10, Director Ratner declared Councilman Stanley M. Isaacs, Republican, the only Manhattan candidate to top the Davis vote, had reached a total of 75,000 votes in the 14th PR count and was therefore reelected.

There was much hand - shaking and congratulating between the five councilmen-elect and the crowd gathered in the Armory to hear the final returns, which came after seven long days of counting and recounting. But the conversation centered on Davis and the Communist vote. 11-16-45

Davis had increased his basic first choice vote some 22,000 or 65 percent over the number he polled two years ago. Adding to this Councilman Peter V. Cacchione's N o. 1 votes in Brooklyn, the Communist vote in Manhattan and Brooklyn and Manhattan, the only two boroughs where the party ran candidates, showed an approximate 40 percent increase.

Davis, I think, answered the question of how the vote was piled up when, thanking the people for his reelection, he declared:

"I shall continue my fight in the City Council the next four years for full employment and to end racial, religious and other forms of discrimination. I shall try to make New York City a better place to live in." new York

The people want him to continue that fight.

But there's more to it than that. It was the individual, self-sacrificing and collective work of the Communists in the CP clubs and persons in non-party organizations rallied around the Davis candidacy who did the work of pulling out the vote. 11-16-45

HACKS CAN'T UNDERSTAND

When a Communist leader told a Democratic official how at one time there were 750 CP workers canvassing an area for Davis, the official shot back: "That must have cost you a fortune."

The official shook his head in disbelief when told these canvassers were volunteers working without pay on their own time. The major parties traditionally hire workers at $10 a day to canvass. And then they are not sure the hired help will deliver. In many cases they don't. Communist workers do deliver.

It is also hard for old-line politicians to believe the Communists' self-critical estimation that the Party could have done better. Despite the Party's strenuous efforts, the back-breaking work of the most active members, the CP membership was not totally mobilized. It is estimated by leading Davis campaign workers that 100 percent mobilization would have brought Davis in with the top 75,000 votes.

Davis lost an approximate 10,000 votes, which were declared invalid because of improper marking.

Another surprise to old-liners in Manhattan was the election of Laborite Connolly. His election, too, was the result of hard work in the clubs down below.

The election of Davis and Connolly was a clear and overwhelming rebuke of the electorate to the red-baiters of the GOP-Liberal coalition.

Where did Davis get his vote? Here's the answer in cold figures:

He polled 56,129 No. 1 votes. He received 7,369 transfers from defeated candidates bringing the total up to 63,498.

Davis' 2nd. 3rd, 4th and 5th choice came from the following candidates: 334 from Amicus Most, Socialist, and Louise Simpson, Trotzkyist; 59 from Samuel Diamond, Independent; 239 from T. Del Valle, Independent; 58 from Roxy Gardner, Fusion; 35 from William King, Independent; 65 from M. Trulock, Republican; 63 from Alfred Licato, Republican; 49 from John Larney, Independent; 1,580 from Ruth Whaley, Democrat.

Also 1,073 from Benjamin McLaurin, Republican - Liberal; 169 from J. G. Donovan, Citizens-Nonpartisan; 902 from Morris Weinfeld, Democrat; 318 from Edward Rager, Republican; 2,415 from David Kaplan, Liberal.

As he drops out, this leaves the ballots wide open and his name which has appeared as a "first" on the several thousand ballots is eliminated and the other choices on the ballots move up a notch. This means the No. 2 choice on those ballots now becomes the No. 1 choice, and so on down the line.

So, a candidate doesn't actually have to get 75,000 "first" votes to be in. He can pick up votes later on as his rivals drop out of the race. For that matter, Davis can even get 40,000 or 50,000 votes in the first count, and pick up the rest of the votes in the later counts.

As now appears, he is as good as in.

Ben Davis Jr. Assured of Return to N. Y. Council

The afro American Baltimore md.

NEW YORK — With 80% of the first count completed Saturday in the Manhattan race for the City Council, Communist candidate Benjamin J. Davis Jr., emerged as one of the leaders, with his re-election virtually assured. Tabulations gave Davis 39,335 "first" votes. 11-17-45

Since this is the first count, Davis will undoubtedly pick up many more votes later on as a second or third choice candidate, as other candidates gradually drop out of the race.

Benjamin McLaurin, Republican candidate opposing Davis, has received 7,581 "first" votes so far, with little likelihood of his being elected.

Election Confusing

New York's councilmanic election is as confusing to New Yorkers as it is to out-of-towners. Actually, the procedure by which votes are tabulated is simple.

First of all, any candidate polling 75,000 votes is elected. New Yorkers going to the polls receive a long ballot containing the names of all candidates for the council. 11-17-45

They have to mark their choices by numbers, such as No. 1 for their first choice, No. 2 for their second choice, and so on down the line. 11-17-45

There are several counts made by people tabulating the vote. In the first count, those who get the most "first" votes emerge to the forefront, like Ben Davis. Now, if a candidate gets only four or five thousand "first" votes, he is as good as out of the running.

Others Fare Badly

While Davis emerged victorious in New York, other colored candidates throughout the nation fared badly with but few exceptions.

William O. Walker, editor of the Cleveland Call and Post, a Republican, was beaten by Democrat Charles V. Carr, in one of the greatest councilmanic upsets in years. Mr. Carr, formerly an assistant police prosecutor, won by 95 votes to become Cleveland's first colored Democratic councilman. 11-17-45

Harold T. Gassaway was returned to the Cleveland council, but the bid by Theodore M. Williams, an assistant police prosecutor, on the Democratic ticket was unsuccessful.

Williams, backed by the CIO, lost to Herman Finkle, white Republican floor leader in the city council, who won after the stiffest fight in 15 consecutive victories. He won by only 930 votes.

Parker Wins Again

Augustus G. Parker defeated Jean Capers in Cleveland's 11th Ward.

Perry B. Jackson, a Republican, became Ohio's first elected colored judge, defeating Joseph L. Sweeney, white, for the job as municipal jurist by almost 5,000 votes.

Mr. Jackson's total was 28,616 and Mr. Sweeney's 43,696 in a field of five candidates. Judge Jackson is 49 and served as municipal judge by appointment in 1942 and 1943. He was defeated for re-election two years ago.

A former member of the State Legislature, he began his law practice in Cleveland in 1922 and received his law degree from Western Reserve University where he was elected to Phi Beta Kappa.

Locker Defeated

Jesse Locker ran third in the election of a nine-man council in Cincinnati, while the Rev. J. L. Burrus, was defeated in his bid for a council seat in Alliance, Ohio. 11-17-45

In Columbus, Ohio, William Brooks was defeated for the city council; Granville W. Reid lost in Dayton, Ohio, in his race for the board of education.

Omar K. Ward, who was running for the school board, and William C. Dungy, candidate for the city commission, were defeated in Xenia, Ohio.

Thomas H. Reid, attorney, Virginia's first colored candidate for public office in 50 years, ran third in a field of five in his bid for a seat in Virginia's House of Delegates, polling 683 votes at Portsmouth.

Byrd Wins in Philly

Normally Republican Philadelphia elected on the Republican ticket William A. Byrd Sr., as magistrate. A deputy coroner since 1942, he also served in the district attorney's office in 1940.

Defeated was David H. Edwards, Democrat. A Howard law school graduate, he is employed in the City Controller's office. He polled 253,352 votes, while Byrd received 323,957.

Also on the losing slate was Earl F. Dales, American Labor part candidate, who failed in his attempt to gain a place on the magistrate's bench.

In Atlantic City, the Rev. John H. Hester, pastor of a Baptist church in Pleasantville, N.J., was elected a freeholder.

Dr. Hill Re-elected

Dr. J. Otto Hill was re-elected to the New Jersey Assembly from Essex County on the Republican ticket, while James Abram, Newark attorney, was defeated in his bid for the legislature.

Mrs. Cordelia Greene Johnson, national president of the National Beauty Culturist League, running on a Republican ticket was defeated for the legislature at Jersey City. 11-17-45

In Kentucky, Charles W. Anderson, unopposed, was re-elected to the Kentucky House of Representatives from Louisville for a sixth term.

In Detroit, the Rev. Charles A. Hill ran 14th in the election of a nine-man city council.

61a-1945

N.Y. Candidates

ALP Position On Council Race

Daily Worker

Excerpts of statement issued by the New York County Committee of the American Labor Party on the Councilmanic situation in Manhattan, July 14, 1945:

The New York County Executive Committee of the American Labor Party at a regular meeting on July 10, 1945 reaffirmed its nomination of Mr. Eugene P. Connolly as the only candidate of the American Labor Party in Manhattan.

By similar unanimous vote the American Labor Party also endorsed Mr. Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., this year for City Council.

The endorsement of Mr. Davis by the American Labor Party is exactly the same as that made in 1943 when Mr. Davis was elected to the Council.

The American Labor Party is confident that Mr. Connolly will be elected in the forthcoming elections, and that its endorsement of Mr. Davis will re-assure his return to the City Council. Thus the entire people of the community will have the benefit of two able and consistently progressive fighters in the City legislature.

The stature of the American Labor Party has grown enormously since the party's formation only nine years ago. Its gallant and unselfish devotion to the people's welfare in supporting all measures to successfully promote our war efforts, to destroy the forces of Fascism, to galvanize America's productive forces, in opposing reaction within our country, as well as to marshal the people of New York State in the 1944 elections for the re-election of President Roosevelt, have endeared the American Labor Party to the people and it has obtained great prestige among them.

Proud of its record, the American Labor Party is gratified that the present situation virtually assures the election of one of its representatives to the New York City Council. In this connection, the American Labor Party is particularly pleased that its candidate for Councilman, Eugene P. Connolly, possesses a long and honorable record of civic, labor and political activities.

The election of Mr. Connolly and Mr. Davis will be jeopardized only by incorrect political tactics. In considering this aspect, the New York County Executive Committee took cognizance of a criticism of its unwillingness to name more than one official candidate for Council in Manhattan, and the following is its reply:

First, the claim that the ALP wishes to limit its designation to members of its own party. Its current endorsement of Mr. Davis, as well as its endorsement of a number of candidates of other parties, is complete proof that this contention has no basis.

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Second, that the ALP aids red-baiters through its failure to nominate Davis. The ALP's endorsement of Davis this year as well as in 1943 renders this argument nil. The party's history is so replete with struggle against and final defeat of all red-baiters as to require no further reiteration.

It is essential that the voters and especially progressives understand that the American Labor Party has never been able to elect more than one Councilman from Manhattan. The American Labor Party failed to elect any Councilmanic candidates in 1939 and 1943 due to county-wide ALP splits. In 1941 when the ALP named two candidates, the ALP elected only one, the split vote again operating to prevent the election of the other. The facts show inescapably that the enrollment and past Councilmanic votes of the ALP do not justify the official nomination of more than one American Labor Party candidate for City Council.

The third reason advanced is that a refusal to name Mr. Davis would endanger the labor-progressive coalition in the city, and give the impression that the ALP is indifferent to or opposed to the needs of the Negro people. Of all the arguments advanced, this is the most unworthy and the most unwarranted. The record of the ALP on behalf of labor and the people's interests is so pronounced as to defy rebuttal. It would be absurd to defend it. The most convincing answer to those who see or would generate the notion of an ALP anti-Negro bias will be found not only in the whole record of the ALP, but in the outstanding championship of the Negro people and their rights by Congressman Vito Marcantonio who has just successfully led the fight to continue FEPC, and who was thrice the author of the anti-poll tax bill.

DAVIS FORCED OFF TAMMANY'S SLATE AT O'DWYER BEHEST

Loughlin Bows to Protests on Naming of Negro Communist for the City Council

7-25-45

CANDIDATE'S FOURTH COUP

N.Y. Times

He Is Reported Indifferent on Possible Vote Loss, Saying He Wants Real Democrat

N.Y.

Edward V. Loughlin, leader of Tammany Hall, bowed last night to heavy outside pressure and announced that the Democratic designation for re-election to the City Council previously given to Benjamin J. Davis Jr., Negro Communist, had been withdrawn.

As in the case of Tammany's reversal of its decision to drop District Attorney Frank S. Hogan as its candidate to succeed himself, the deciding factor in the Davis case was an ultimatum from District Attorney William O'Dwyer of Brooklyn, the Democratic and American Labor party candidate for Mayor.

Mr. O'Dwyer's demand that Councilman Davis be dropped from the Democratic ticket was made to Mr. Loughlin personally at a private conference that began about midnight Monday and lasted into yesterday morning. While the Tammany leader agreed to make the change at that time, his decision was not announced until his return last night from a visit to Washington.

O'Dwyer Talk Not Mentioned

In making the announcement, Mr. Loughlin did not mention the O'Dwyer conference or the fact that Mr. O'Dwyer had demanded the change.

The candidate for Mayor also remained silent throughout the day on the conference and his ultimatum to Mr. Loughlin despite a public challenge from Thomas F. Cohalan, temporary chairman of the Democrats for Goldstein Committee, who is backing Mr. O'Dwyer's adversary, Judge Jonah J. Goldstein.

Mr. Cohalan charged that the Brooklyn prosecutor's silence on the Davis question pointed to an "irrevocable alliance with the Communists and the Communist-controlled ALP."

"Your silence," Mr. Cohalan said, "poses these inescapable questions: Are you an unbossed candidate? Are you ready to defy Loughlin, [Clarence] Neal and [Bert] Stand, or do you accept their decisions as final? Are you weighing the risk of losing Communist votes and support?"

Mr. Loughlin's official announcement that Democratic support for Mr. Davis was being withdrawn said:

"In announcing support of Councilman Davis, Iacted not only upon the recommendations of the district party leaders but was also advised that a representative group of clergymen, professional and business men as well as labor unions were in favor of his candidacy. In addition thereto, Councilman Davis was an enrolled Democrat and a member of the Carver Democratic Club.

"After my declaration of our support, Councilman Davis issued a statement to the effect that his status as a member of the Communist Political Association, of which he is an officer, would remain unchanged. By reason of these circumstances I have reconsidered my decision and withdraw approval."

Flynn Notified of Change

Notice of Mr. Loughlin's agreement to withdraw Democratic support from Mr. Davis was communicated to Edward J. Flynn, Bronx leader and Democratic national committeeman, early yesterday morning and was responsible for canceling a statement Mr. Flynn was preparing to make denouncing the endorsement of the Negro Communist.

Word also was passed along during the day to a number of Tammany district leaders who theretofore took no public stand on the question, though they were known to be preparing strong public protests. Thus the shift averted a further public display of dissention within the Tammany organization.

At the midnight conference with Mr. Loughlin, District Attorney O'Dwyer is reported to have brought forcefully to the Tammany leader's attention the fact that Mr. Davis, after enrolling as a Democrat and accepting the Democratic nomination, had publicly reaffirmed his belief in the Communist party and its principles.

The candidate for Mayor is reported to have informed Mr. Loughlin that he would have to withdraw the Democratic endorsement of Mr. Davis and designate in his stead another Negro of indisputable faith in the Democratic party and its principles.

In the course of the discussion, the effect on Mr. O'Dwyer's potential vote in Harlem was brought up. The Brooklyn prosecutor is reported to have declared that he insisted on dropping Mr. Davis even if it cost him votes in Harlem and the Negro districts of Brooklyn.

Mr. O'Dwyer's stand caused his supporters some perturbation. One recalled that the Davis change was the fourth the Brooklyn prosecutor had forced on party leaders since he was selected as the candidate for Mayor. The first two involved Lawrence Gerosa, Bronx trucking contractor, and Assemblyman Irwin D. Davidson, who had been chosen as hihs running mates for Controller and President of the Council, respectively. They were replaced, at Mr. O'Dwyer's insistence, with State Senator Lazarus Joseph of the Bronx and Vincent R. Impellitteri of Manhattan, respectively. The third change involved dropping Edward J. Ennis as a candidate for District Attorney so that Mr. Hogan could be renominated.

Effect on Radical Vote

The possibility that the Davis reversal would cost the Democratic candidates the votes of some of their more radical backers was raised yesterday by an editorial in The Daily Worker, Communist newspaper. The editorial, headed "Ben Davis and the Democrats," warned that "any concessions to the red-baiters will only undermine teh solid front for O'Dwyer and the candidates running with him."

Frank A. Bellucci, Queens lawyer and former president of the Queens County Bar Association, recalling Mr. O'Dwyer's success in making other changes, made public an appeal to him last night to use his influence to bring about the replacement of County Judge Thomas Downs, who is a candidate for renomination in the Democratic primary in Queens. Citing judicial opinions, Mr. Bellucci said Judge Downs had been reversed by appellate courts more often than

any other county judge.

Mr. Loughlin's surrender on the Davis nomination appeared unlikely to have any effect in halting a threatened contest between the Tammany and Bronx Democratic organizations for control of the judicial convention that will nominate candidates for two impending vacancies on the Supreme Court bench in the First Judicial District. The convention will be held after next Tuesday's primary elections.

The Flynn organization, with some support from Tammany delegates displeased with the party leadership in Manhattan, is reported backing District Attorney Samuel J. Foley of the Bronx for one place and either Henry Epstein, former Solicitor General and reputedly the executive director of Mr. O'Dwyer's campaign committee, or George Frankenthaler, former Republican Justice, of Manhattan, for the other.

Mr. Loughlin's organization is understood to be backing Justice Louis Kah nof the City Court for one place and Representative Samuel Dickstein for the other. Both are residents of Manhattan.

An indirect rebuke to the Tammany selected of Mr. Davis and Eugene P. Connoly, New York County secretary of the American Labor Party, as Council candidates, was administered yesterday by the Affiliated Young Democrats, Inc.

Harold R. Moskovit, State president of the organization, announced that it had endorsed Councilman William A. Carroll and former Councilman S. Samuel DiFalco, who also appear on Tammany's list of Council candidates, but was refusing to back either Mr. Davis or Mr. Connolly.

Dickens, of the 11th A.D., and Herbert L. Bruce, of the 12th A.D. The fifth leader to see Flynn was Michael J. Kennedy, former leader of Tammany and erstwhile bitter foe of George W. Thompson. Evidently, after being unseated as Tammany leader, Kennedy joined the opposition. 7-25-45

Flynn's purpose in trying to take over control of the Manhattan organization is twofold. First, he is fighting for control of the State Democratic organization in order to destroy the progressive coalition of Democrats and labor, which alone can defeat Deweyism in the State; second, he wants to control the judicial district, which comprises Manhattan and the Bronx, in order to get his men named as candidates for the Supreme Court. A judicial convention is scheduled to be held between Aug. 7 and 10, at which nominations to fill two expected vacancies will be made. Flynn wants them both for the Bronx. N. Y.

The Davis nomination is represented by Flynn as a threat to the Democratic city ticket, headed by William F. O'Dwyer. Flynn, however, bitterly fought O'Dwyer's nomination, tried to saddle him with weak candidates when he was nominated, tried to weaken his campaign in the Bronx by refusing to permit a local coalition with the ALP, and is now sabotaging the city ticket.

It is believed Flynn's efforts to force Tammany to recant on the Davis designation, are also influenced by the fact that, if successful, they may cost O'Dwyer a great many votes among the Negro people and some votes among progressive trade unionists. Davis has the virtually solid backing of the Negro people and a strong following among many trade unionists.

Flynn Fights Loughlin Over Davis

Daily Worker

Bronx Democratic boss Edward J. Flynn has moved into Manhattan in an effort to try to take over control of the Democratic organization in that county.

On Monday, Flynn met with five Tammany district leaders to plan a fight to remove the current Democratic leadership in the county and to substitute a group that will be sympathetic with Flynn's aims.

The specific issue on which they met to develop a campaign to unseat Edward V. Loughlin, Manhattan Democratic leader, was the designation for re-election by the Democrats of Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Communist leader. But four of the five leaders involved have been fighting Loughlin for some time and were involved in the effort of anti-Roosevelt elements to take over Tammany Hall before the elections last year.

These four are George W. Thompson, of the 6th A.D.; Joseph H. Broderick, of the 7th A.D.; Fred D.

61a-1945 N.Y. Elections

Some Lessons of the N. Y. Elections

Daily Worker

By ISRAEL AMTER new york

THE recent election results correspond to what the Communist Party had predicted. new York

In my opinion there are six outstanding aspects of the election campaign. 11-12-45

1—The fine showing of the American Labor Party.

2 — The remarkable campaign results achieved by Newbold Morris, who piled up 399,437 votes. This vote was cast not only by liberal Republican voters, but also by Democratic and ALP voters who refused to vote for O'Dwyer. It is notable that in Manhattan Newbold Morris ran ahead of Goldstein, although both are inhabitants of Manhattan. Morris stands forth as the leader of the liberal Willkie-Republicans of the state. And it must be said to his credit that he did **no** redbaiting whatever.

3—The "resounding defeat" of the Liberal Party, is the way the election was characterized by Mr. Woltman of the **World Telegram,** the official organ of the Liberal Party in the last phases of the election campaign. The Liberal Party suffered a real **fiasco.** This was the answer of the electorate to the **vicious red-baiting of Dubinsky, Rose, Alfange, Counts and Company.**

4—The debacle of the Republican Party, which polled only 302,917 votes, that is, less even than the vote for Morris. This is the **lowest** vote the Republicans have received in a municipal election since 1929. In 1933 the Republicans received 446,999 votes, in 1937—674,000 votes, in 1941—668,000 votes. What a terrible decline in the Republican vote! This is the answer to **Dewey,** who thought he could nominate a Tammany hack and split the so-called Jewish vote. But the Jewish voters did not fall for Dewey's smartness, and gave him the proper answer. This is not only a rebuke to Dewey, but unquestionably dims his prospects both for and for 1948.

5—O'Dwyer, the victor, received 859,957, votes on the Democratic line, which represents only **44 percent** of the total vote. This is a good showing, but clearly not what Jim Farley expected. **The Democratic Party is not a majority party in New York City.** It might be able successfully to run its candidates alone in a three-cornered fight, but would be defeated in a two-cornered fight if all other forces were united in coalition. O'Dwyer indulged in some redbaiting and thought that he could get away with it; but it lost him votes on the ALP line. On the ALP line he received 259,000 votes in the city, while Impelletieri received 280,000, and Joseph 287,000 votes. Three counties furnished the increased votes for Impelliteri and Joseph, namely Manhattan, the Bronx, and Brooklyn. Some of the ALP votes for mayor unquestionably were thrown to Morris. 11-12-45

MAY EXCEED '43 FIGURES

Similarly, the vote for Goldstein on the Liberal Party line was surpassed by the vote cast by that party for Pette and McGoldrick. The Liberal Party gave 123,000 votes to Goldstein, 142,000 votes to Pette, and 160,000 to McGoldrick. Where did the votes for Goldstein go? They probably were divided between O'Owyer and Morris. For although O'Dwyer, because of his redbaiting lost many ALP votes, still on a city wide scale he ran higher than either Impelliteri or Joseph. O'Dwyer received a total of 1,119,000 votes, Impelliteri 1,115,000 votes, Joseph—1,075,000 votes.

6—The Communist Party vote. At the time of writing, the final count has not been registered for candidates to the City Council. However, it is already clear that the Communist candidates, Davis and Cacchione, will occupy top positions on first choice votes. It is very likely that they will even exceed the 1943 figure, as Davis is already doing. This proves conclusively that the people will support Communist candidates because of their correct policies and proposals; and that the **Communists who were sharply critical of O'Dwyer and of the Liberal Party, did not suffer because of this sharpness, but on the contrary, were welcomed by the electorate.** (This applies not only to New York, but to Cleveland, Boston and elsewhere.) This should be a lesson to all redbaiters.

Now, let us deal a little more fully with the ALP vote. With a vote of 259,000, the ALP held up quite well, considering the lower registration as compared with last year. But the size of the ALP vote must be judged not only by that which was given to O'Dwyer. A better measure of ALP strength is given by the vote for **Borough Presidents,** which totaled **330,000.** Thus, on the ALP line, the candidate for Borough President in Manhattan received **64,728** votes, in Brooklyn 124,775 votes, in Queens 38,845, in Bronx 96,538, and in Richmond 5,674. In Richmond, the vote of the ALP was **decisive.** Leo Isacson, **ALP** candidate for Borough President in the Bronx, made a remarkable showing. The vote for him makes the American Labor Party the **second party** in the Bronx. Isacson ran second in every AD except the 9th and the 11th.

The ALP showed serious weaknesses in two respects. One, it **did not meet red-baiting head on** and answer it for what it is—an **instrument of fascism to defeat the aims of the people;** and, second, it did **not make sufficient efforts to penetrate new territory and reach new sections of the independent voters,** both among the workers and the middle class. This is particularly notable in **Brooklyn,** where the two ALP candidates (at this writing) probably will be counted out.

In summary, one can therefore say: 1. The election shows that the ALP represents a **stable, independent vote** and can become a power in the city and the state. Not all the independent voters are embraced by the ALP. Certainly a large section of the Morris vote and undoubtedly many voters mistakenly still following the policy of the Liberal Party, can also be counted among the independents.

2. The ALP must learn the lesson of red-baiting. The fascist Gerald L. K. Smith boasts that he brought about the election of Jeffries in Detroit. There is only one way to defeat red-baiting, and that is through a **head-on fight with no compromise.**

3. The ALP must strengthen its ranks, build up its organization to meet the coming battles and the gubernatorial and Congressional elections of next year.

4. The Communist vote is most significant—as is also the vote for the militant Laborite, Michael J. Quill, in the Bronx. It is proof that the people are not afraid of the Communists and of militants like Quill. The vote for the Communists proves beyond any doubt that the Party was right in ridding itself of revisionism and Browderism. Now the process must be completed. The Party must be built and quickly reorganized on a stronger political basis to meet the coming struggles.

These few tasks are immediate. The 1946 elections will soon be upon us. There must be no delay in preparing the ranks of labor and the progressives for the coming battle.

They know, also, they are now the chief force for building and firmly establishing democracy in Europe and in Japan. That is why Europe's and China's Communist movements have emerged so powerful. And in America, too, they know the Communists can be depended upon to fight for a democratic foreign policy, for domestic progress and for the unity of all progressive forces to achieve this.

Disturbed and uneasy by the "big stick" diplomacy of the Truman administration and by its appeasement of reaction at home, thousands of Americans voted Communist as an expression of their uneasiness.

The large Communist vote will have national political effects. It is already being interpreted, and properly so, as a reflection of greater political independence on the part of progressive labor, as well as of disapproval of the recent moves of the administration.

It also reflects the increased unity of progressive labor and the Negro people, for which the Communists have been the foremost fighters. The large vote given to Councilman Davis, one of the nation's foremost Negro leaders, best symbolizes that unity, but it was also a feature of all the Communist campaigns in the three cities.

The showing made by the Communist candidates indicates the possibilities for the rapid growth of the Communist movement, including both its party and its press.

The Communist Vote

The Worker

LIKE the Communist candidates in the Cleveland and Boston elections, New York's Communist nominees for the City Council, Councilmen Benjamin J. Davis, Jr. and Peter V. Cacchione, piled up a record vote. They were easily reelected. New York, N.Y.

Their combined vote in their two respective counties was 122,625, a 40 percent increase over the vote of two years ago, and far and away the highest ever recorded by Communist candidates in New York.

These results, and those in Cleveland and Boston, are a sharp rebuke to red-baiting and an indication that the voters, at least in working class centers, will not be deterred by the red-baiters from voting for candidates because they are Communists or are called Communists.

In New York, over 200,000 voters gave their first choice votes to the American Labor Party nominees for City Council despite a vicious red-baiting campaign by the reactionary Deweyites and Social Democrats against the ALP. The red-baiters singled out especially Councilmen Michael Quill and Eugene P. Connolly, who were elected to the Council. 11-18-45

Many of those who voted Communist undoubtedly did so because of the individual records of the candidates, their proved devotion to the welfare of the people and their programs. But there is more to it than that.

We are not insulated from Europe or Asia. Confused and distorted as the reports in our newspapers are, large numbers of Americans can sense what is happening there. They know the Communists were the backbone of the resistance movements in Nazi-occupied Europe and of the anti-Japanese struggle in China and other parts of the Far East

Cacchione Election Assured; Council To Have 2 Communists, 2 Laborites

With only the Brooklyn count to be completed, it was certain last night that the new City Council of 23 will have on it two Communists and two American Laborites.

The two Communists are Councilmen Benjamin J. Davis, Jr. and Peter V. Cacchione. Councilman Davis has already been declared elected while Councilman Cacchione, with 68,095 votes at the end of the 14th count, was certain to win, probably with the 75,000 top vote allowed.

The two Laborites are Councilman Michael Quill of the Bronx and Eugene P. Connolly of Manhattan. Both have been declared elected.

Daily Worker

QUEENS COMPLETED

Yesterday, Queens completed its count, electing three Democrats and one Republican. Thus, of the 15 councilmen declared elected in four boroughs, there are, besides Davis, Quill and Connolly, two Republicans, one Liberal and nine Democrats.

11-16-45

In Brooklyn, Councilman Peter V. Cacchione, Communist, continued to hold a 10,000 vote lead over his closest runner-up Joseph Sharkey, Democrat, after the 14th official count.

Cacchione had 68,095 to Sharkey's 58,416. The Brooklyn Communist, who had 66,496 first choice votes picked up 1,599 votes. The 14 candidates eliminated during the day included 13 independents and one Socialist.

New York

Cacchione received 17[illegible] votes, or about one-third of the 500 soldier ballots cast for Council.

TRANSFERS TO CACCHIONE

Transfer of votes to Cacchione were: 26 from Carl Rodin and Lillian Grushkin; 146 from Alex Bereslavsky; 86 from Jacob Tucker; 46 from Vincent Risafi; 31 from Arthur Guarino; 11 from James Deegan; 44 from Nettie Rose; 111 from Max Schneir; 66 from Albert Goodman; 531 from Sam Marino; 68 from Anthony Di Vito; 57 from George Cox, and 205 from Alfred Paladino. The highest transfer of 531 was given Cacchione by Marino, Socialist. Fourteen candidates remain to be eliminated.

In Manhattan, the count was completed at 10:50 p.m. Wednesday and five Councilmen were declared elected. They are Stanley M. Isaacs, Rep., 75,000 votes; Benjamin J. Davis, Com., 63,498; William A. Carroll, Dem., 61,486; Eugene P. Connolly, ALP-Dem., 54,208, and Samuel DiFalco, Dem., 46,892.

The Bronx FR count also ended Wednesday, with the following five elected: Michael J. Quill, ALP, 75,000; Charles E. Keegan, Dem., 67,673; Edward Cunningham, Dem., 56,538; Bertha Schwartz, Dem., 43,977, and Ira J. Palestin, Lib., 39,052.

Frederick Schick, Dem., was re-elected as the lone Councilman from the Borough of Richmond.

The count ended in Queens at 6:10 p.m. yesterday, with four candidates, three of whom are incumbents, being elected. They are J. A. Phillips, incumbent Democrat, elected on the 13th count with 75,000 votes; Hugh Quinn, incumbent Democrat, 75,000 on the 14th count; A. J. Phillips, incumbent Republican, 51,969 on the 15th and final count, and L. G. Clemente, Democrat, 50,364 on the final count.

Charles Belous, Queens Labor Democratic-ALP choices Bertram Baker and Milton Goell received 19,932 and 18,274, respectively, after the 14th count.

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS

EUGENE P. CONNOLLY
Party candidate, polled 35,258 votes. He was declared defeated at conclusion of the 14th count, next to the last man eliminated.

MICHAEL J. QUILL

BROOKLYN SCORE

The score after the official 14th count in Brooklyn was:

Peter V. Cacchione, Com.	68,095
Joseph Sharkey, Dem.	58,416
A. DiGiovanna, Dem.	45,494
Walter Hart, Dem.	43,960
Edward Vogel, Dem.	41,821
G. Earle, Rep-Cit-Nonpar	40,825
William McCarthy, Dem.	35,159
Louis Goldberg, Lib.	34,211
(official 13th count)	
Maurice Bernhardt, Lib.	32,143
Rita Casey, Dem.	31,926

6[illegible]-1945

North Carolina -- ~~Voting and~~ Elections

Tarheel Week

By C. D. HALLIBURTON

Johnson & Guide 4-14-45

Reports "Run Around" Given Smithfield Negroes Registering For Local Elections

4-14-45

RALEIGH, N. C.—A signed feature story in the March 31 issue of the Raleigh **Carolinian** asserts that a registrar in Smithfield has given several Negro would-be registrants the "run-around." Registration in preparation for a municipal election is going on in the Johnston county city.

According to the story as reported by Carl Easterling, several applicants were required to "recite the Bill of Rights and write the Constitution" to the satisfaction of the registrar. Others were advised that since the mayoralty race involved three white men, nothing would be gained by Negroes by voting for any one of them.

HALLIBURTON

Johnson county has a large Negro population.

61a-1945 Ohio

PAC Candidate Elected To Cincinnati Council

The Worker New York, N.Y.

CINCINNATI, Ohio. — With the final count completed in Cincinnati's PR councilmanic elections, Rollin Everett, CIO-PAC (Political Action Committee) candidate, won seventh place in the list of nine elected, and so became first Councilman in recent local history to win a seat on the basis of independently-organized labor support.

Everett astonished observers by rolling up 9,382 first choice votes, only 2,500 short of the number needed for election, and standing fifth among 21 candidates.

Preliminary analysis shows these first choice votes, derived from distribution of the vote of low-ranking candidates, indicate wide response to Everett's progressive labor campaign from other sections of the community. 11-18-45

Veteran leader of the Newspaper Guild and long-time City Hall reporter for the **Cincinnati Post**, local Scripps-Howard paper, Everett has been editor for nearly two years of the **Sun**, local weekly organ of the CIO Council.

Originally advanced by the CIO and PAC, Everett's candidacy was endorsed by the local AFL council and by the Charter Party, a fusion of independent Republicans and Democrats. Everett was also actively supported by liberal elements typified by Herbert Bigelow, former Congressman and former member of City Council. 11-18-45

Trade-unionists hold the Everett vote in the four Negro wards as indicative of a growing core of labor consciousness within the Negro community. They are already planning to eliminate from future campaigns the weakness of this one —the absence of a progressive Negro candidate as an alternative to candidates of Republican reaction.

61b-1945 G.I. Assault Bill, H.R. 1528: Interstate Commerce Act

Two Bills against Discrimination

New Republic 3-12-45

SIR: I want to thank you for the splendid editorial paragraph in your February 5 issue urging the reintroduction and passage of the GI assault bill, which would make civilian violence against members of the armed forces a federal offense. One of the great ironies of World War II, the object of which is to defeat the foremost racists of all times, is that the wearing of a uniform of the United States by a Negro, in itself, provokes violence against him in certain sections of this country.

Happily, the GI assault bill, H.R. 1528, was reintroduced on January 16. Although several members of the House Judiciary Committee, to which it was referred, have expressed to us their wholehearted support of the measure, favorable action on it by the Committee and the House will require every ounce of pressure that fair-minded people can bring to bear. 3-12-45

In connection with this same general problem, you will also be interested in a bill introduced by Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr., of New York, H.R. 1925, to amend the Interstate Commerce Act so as to prohibit the segregation of persons in interstate travel because of their race or color. H.R. 1925, which is now in the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, likewise merits the support of every decent American. While this bill applies to civilians as well as members of the armed forces, its passage would come as a relief to thousands of Negro servicemen and women who are inconvenienced, humiliated, assaulted, and in some instances killed, because of the enforcement of Jim Crow travel laws.

LESLIE S. PERRY, Administrative Assistant,
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
Washington, D. C.

61b-1945

House Bill No. 139 Illinois

Pittsburgh Co.

11-11-43

NO MORE SEGREGATION IN ILLINOIS SCHOOLS—State Representative Charles M. Skyles looks on as Gov. Dwight H. Green signs House Bill No. 139, which bars segregation in schools throughout Illinois. Originally applying only to cities with a population of 500,000 or more, the revised bill now makes a clean sweep of all towns and villages in the State, regardless of size.—ANP Photo.

61b-1945

Legislation Suggested

Kansas Legislature Kills The Civil Rights and FEPC Bills

Kansas City Call 3-23-45

Both Sponsored By Rep. Towers

3-23-45

TOPEKA.—Representative William H. Towers called the Call Thursday morning and said that the House judiciary committee "killed" both his measures, the amended Civil Rights bill and Kansas FEPC bill by a vote of 11 against and six favoring the legislation.

Towers in a last-minute stand to bring the matter to a head made a motion that the bills be reported out of the committee with recommendation to the House that the bills be passed. The motion was lost by the 11 to 6 vote.

Then the Wyandotte County legislator made another motion that the bills be reported out of the committee with the recommendation that they not be passed. This motion lost by the same ratio of voting.

The House judiciary committee is made up of Republican lawyers.

Pass Housing Bill

3-23-45

TOPEKA.—Senate bill 151 introduced by Senator Barton Griffith of Topeka, which if passed and becomes law will hold all restrictions against occupancy of property against Negroes in Kansas, succeeded of passage in the senate Tuesday night.

The measure is now under consideration by the House judiciary committee and will be fought consistently by Representative W. H. Towers who has warned Kansas Negroes of the danger of this bill becoming law.

Herrod Opposed

3-23-45

The lone Democrat in the body, L. Potucek, did not vote. Twenty-three Republican members voted in favor of House bill 151. Among the seven who voted against the bill was Senator Al Herrod of Wyandotte County. Others who voted "No" were Senators Barron, Tripe, Swoyer, Templar, Woodman and Wunsch.

This bill was lobbied against consistently by the lobby committee of the Kansas Conference of NAACP branches. It is hoped that enough pressure can be exerted against the bill that it will fail of passage in the House.

On Tuesday night Representative William H. Towers of the eighth district presided over a session of the House of Representatives. This is an honor accorded few members and is due to the esteem in which the Kansas City, Kas., lawyer is held in the body and his seniority of having served four previous terms.

Members of the House were congratulating Edward A. Hamilton, secretary to Legislator Towers, on his marriage Monday to Mrs. Francelia Cooper of Lansing, Mich., who is the secretary of Elisha Scott of Topeka. When the legislature ends Mr. and Mrs. Hamilton will make their home in Kansas City, Kas.

3-23-45

Last Thursday the House Judiciary committee heard a delegation of NAACP representatives from over Kansas tell why the Kansas FEPC and amended civil rights bills introduced by Representative Towers, should be passed.

Fifty Present

Testifying were: James A. Hamlett of the Plaindealer, Attorney L. Whetmore, white, G. Johnson, white, Wichita; Attorney William Bradshaw of Topeka. More than 50 NAACP members from over the state were present. Governor Andrew Schoeppel also received the delegation.

South Carolina Kills New School Law

Journal & Guide 2-24-45 Va.

COLUMBIA, S. C.—(ANP)—The South Carolina State Legislature Wednesday quickly killed by repeal its year old law designed to make teacher court cases along the equalization line "painful and extened" two days after an NAACP complaint in behalf of Albert N. Thompson and Columbia's Negro teachers was filed in U. S. District Court here.

2-24-45

The law was hurriedly passed last year by the legislature after the NAACP won the Charleston case. It ordered suing teachers to begin with local school boards, move to the state board of education, the court of common pleas and on up through state courts before taking the case into federal court, the court of first instance for teachers' cases brought on a federal constitutional issue.

Testimony Of Miss. Negro Woman For Fed. Aid To Education Before U. S. Senate Comm. Draws Nat'l Praise

Atlanta World 3-22-45 62

JACKSON, Miss.—The testimony of Miss Florence Christmas, of Hazelhurst, Copiah County, Miss., for 15 years a teacher in the public schools of the state, before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor in Washington, D. C. which conducted hearings from Monday, January 29 through Friday, Feb. 2, drew national comment and praise it was revealed here at Vesper Service at Jackson College last Sunday where Miss Christmas made the first public report on her part in the hearing since returning to the state.

In commenting on the hearing, The Journal of the National Education Association in its Mar. issue said of the testimony of Miss Christmas." The hearing had several moments of great dramatic power but there were none that exceeded in tenseness and appeall the reply given by Florence Christmas, a well prepared and highly professional Negro Teacher from Mississippi who, after 15 years of devoted service to public education, is now being paid $60 per month for six months of the year.

When asked why she did not accept a much better paying opportunity for employment in a war factory near her home she replied: "Teaching is my profession. I want to work with my people."

3-23-45

Mr. Willard E. Givens, Executive Secretary of the National Education Association, with office in Washington, in a letter to Miss F. O. Alexander of the State Department of Education, who accompanied Miss Christmas to Washington in commenting, on the testimony said in part, "I am writing to tell you how much we appreciated your coming to Washington with Miss Christmas for the Senate Hearing on Federal Aid The Testimony given by Miss Christmas was splendid and helped our cause tremendously, I am sure." According to our thinking here in N. E. A. headquarters, it was the best report that went before the senate committee. They said it was the most effective that has been given before a Senate hearing in the past twenty-five years.

Prof. Allen E. Woodall, Professor of English and Journalism, Moorhead State Teachers College, Moorhead, Minnesota, in dedicating a poem to Miss Christmas, the first original copy of which was sent her, said in his letter in part. You have done honor to your profession. We have your name from Mr. Baukage and I should like to know about the occasion on which you proclaimed that you would not give up teaching because it is my profession" We would do with a little more of that spirit around here. I want to thank you in the names of all teachers who are truly proud of the profession of our mission.

3-23-45

Mr. Allen W. Beach, General Supervisor, Tulare County Schools, Visalia, California, in another letter to Miss Christmas in part, "I recently heard Mr. Arthur Corey of the California Teachers' Association tell of your testimony before Congress regarding the need for passing the Federal Aid to Education Bill. Mr.. Corey that your statements before congress carried more effect than any one else had. May I add my word of appreciation to the service which we feel you have rendered education in this country."

3-23-45

Neither of the Miss., Senators are members of the Committee before which the Hearing was conducted, and Miss Christmas said that they did not see Senator Bilbo doing their entire stay but they were very cordially recognized on one occasion by Senator James O. Eastland. Members of the Committee were Senators Jas. E. Murry, (Mont.) Chairman, David I. Walsh, (Mass.) Elbert D. Thomas, Utah) Claude Pepper, (Fla.) Allen J. Ellender (La.) Lister Hill (Ala.) D. Chavez (N. M.) James M. Tunnell Del. Joseph F. Guffey (Pa) Olin D. Johnson (S. C.) William J. Fullbright (Ark.) Robert M. Lafollettee (Wis.) Robt. A. Taft Ohio), George D. Aiken (Vt.) Joseph H. Ball, Minn.) Wayne L. Morse (Ore.) Forrest Donnell (Mo.)

Gov. O'Conor Seeks Repeal Of Maryland 'Jim Crow' Law

Washington Post D.C.

Annapolis, Md., Feb. 4 (AP).—Repeal of the 40-year-old partially observed "Jim Crow" transportation law of Maryland was urged by Governor O'Conor today.

In a letter addressed to Chairman Joseph P. Healy of the commission for study of problems affecting the colored population, the Governor asked that the commission give a formal expression on the pending bill to repeal the law restricting travelers on State transportation routes.

See 40

O'Conor said he trusted the law would be repealed, citing these as his reasons.

2-5-45

1. The old law is inconsistent with interstate travel regulations and is not adhered to in the Baltimore City streetcar systems.

2. The "consideration of simple justice and humanity applied to all groups of citizenry . . . to impose full responsibility upon any group of our population without at the same time granting a full measure of citizenship rights, definitely falls short of justice to the restricted group."

3. The inconsistency of denying "basic rights and equalities at home while "many thousands of our colored citizens are engaged patriotically in this world-wide battle."

2-6-45

4. The State government's efforts "to improve conditions affecting our colored citizens."

"While we are engaged in this over-all effort to benefit the colored race, it is inconsistent to keep on the statute books an antiquated law which is offensive to and unnecessarily restrictive upon the very group we are trying to help. For the above reasons, I trust that this law will be repealed," he concluded.

2-5-45

Senate action this week on the law was predicated Friday by Senator Joseph R. Byrnes (D., Fifth, Baltimore), chairman of the judicial proceedings committee.

Although Byrnes himself is in favor o abolishing the old law, he said he was not prepared to say whether his committee would give a favorable report to the repeal bill, which is sponsored by Senator E. Milton Altfeld (D., Fourth, Baltimore).

Powell's Bill To Abolish Jimcrow In Armed Forces Hit Segregation

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — An anti-jimcrow service bill has been introduced in congress by Rep. Adam Clayton Powell.

According to Powell's speech last Sunday at Columbia university's International house, the bill will abolish jimcrow in the armed forces six months after V day and is designed to block peacetime racial

Most of the opposition to the repealer was expected from Senate Eastern Shore members.

segregation and discrimination in the nation's compulsory universal training program. 3-23-45

Rep. Powell's bill is said to be in line with an exchange of protest correspondence from the NAACP and the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association to the President against the adoption of current jim crow patterns for the proposed post-war defense program.

His bill reads: 3-23-45

"Be it enacted by the senate and house of representatives of the United States of America in congress assembled, that, effective six months after the date proclaimed by the President as the date of the termination of hostilities in the present war, the spearation of races in the armed forces of the United States whether by means of separate quarters, separate mess halls, or otherwise, is hereby prohibited. ~~or otherwise, is hereby prohibited.~~"

Southerners Foresee Defeat Of Powell Bill

Richmond Times Dispatch

Segregation Ban Introduced in House

2-2-45

WASHINGTON, Feb. 1—(AP)—Southern Representatives don't believe a bill to abolish race segregation trains and buses in their States will become law.

Introduced today by Democratic Representative Powell, new Negro member from New York City, the bill would prohibit race segregation on any railroad, bus, boat or airplane crossing State lines.

Southerners predict the bill will be stalled at one of these three steps toward passage:

In the House Interstate Commerce Committee, where it may be pigeonholed or fail to receive hearings, or, if voted out there:

In the Rules Committee, which decides whether legislation shall be brought before the full House, or, if voted out and passed by the House:

In the Senate, where Southern members could use the filibuster weapon against it.

15 States' Laws Involved

Some members predict the bill will get no further than anti-lynching and anti-poll tax legislation, which has won House approval but met defeat by filibuster in the Senate.

Powell told a press conference his measure would override laws of 15 Southern States which require segregation, not only on trains and buses but in railroad stations and other facilities used by travelers from one State to another.

Penalties up to a $5,000 fine are provided in the bill for each segregation offense.

Powell said the bill could not outlaw Jim Crow practices, however, on streetcars, buses or other transit systems which did not cross State lines.

Powell names these States as having segregation laws: Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Kentucky, Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Marvland and Missouri.

Anti-Jim Crow Law Urged By Negro Congressman

Courier-Journal

Louisville, Ky.

Washington, Feb. 1 (AP)—Representative Powell, Negro Democratic Congressman from New York, proposed an anti-Jim Crow law today to outlaw segregation practices in 15 Southern states. 2-2-45

It provides penalties up to a $5,000 fine for each offense.

Powell said the law would forbid separating Negro and white persons in railroad trains and stations or other facilities used by travelers going from one state to another. It would outlaw segregation in railroad stations even though separate waiting rooms, restaurants and the like are required by state law.

Called "Especially Timely."

The bill could not affect passengers traveling only within the boundaries of one of the so-called Jim Crow states but it would make segregation illegal by any railroad engaged in interstate traffic. 2-2-45

"This law is especially timely now," Powell told reporters, "because of the numbers of Negro servicemen traveling in the country."

Leslie Perry, administrative assistant of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Washington, told newsmen in Powell's office that South Carolina authorities have taken Negro servicemen from busses and trains, accused them of violating the state's segregation law and sentenced them to serve on chain gangs.

A House labor subcommittee tentatively approved legislation making permanent the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee. 2-2-45

The group, headed by Representative Randolph (D., W. Va.), will meet again February 12 to complete the writing of a bill for submission to the full committee on February 13.

Arkansas House Beats Segregation Measure

Courier-Journal

Louisville, Ky.

Little Rock, Ark., Feb. 8 (AP)—A bill to require separate compartments for white and Negro passengers on streetcars and buses was defeated by the Arkansas House of Representatives today 19 to 53. The author said the measure was designed to keep down racial friction, especially in some eastern counties where Negroes outnumber the whites. 2-8-45

Opponents of the proposal declared it should not be considered during wartime and Representative W. J. Wunderlich of Mississippi, a bus-line operator, said passage of the bill would intensify racial troubles.

A Negro Lawmaker's Statesmanship

Courier-Journal

Louisville, Ky.

Debate on the limited labor draft bill which passed the House last night without major amendment, was raised to a statesmanlike plane by the speech of Negro Representative ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, discrediting the motives behind the amendment against racial discrimination. 2-2-45

Representative POWELL, who was supported by another Negro freshman, Representative DAWSON of Illinois, stripped the trickery from this dishonest amendment which was aimed, as he correctly said, at defeating the MAY bill and not at any genuine effort to outlaw racial discrimination in employment. It took courage and enlightenment for any Negro legislator to oppose a suggestion which, superficially, seemed to promise advancement for his race. But, as Mr. POWELL pointed out, the amendment would actually accomplish nothing. The President's executive order against racial discrimination in war plants takes care of the problem more adequately than a hasty amendment tacked on to a non-related bill could do. Besides, the amendment was not even offered in good faith. It was the proposal of an enemy of the MAY bill, who hoped that a combination of votes, from Southern Democrats against the anti-discrimination amendment and from labor-conscious Representatives against the anti-closed shop amendment, would effectively kill the bill. 2-2-45

Representative POWELL stripped the hypocrisy from this cynical appeal to sectional prejudice and in doing so showed himself a factor to reckon with in any future attempt to use white prejudice and Negro aspiration as tools for unworthy ends.

61b-1945

Legislation Suggested

Curfew The South and Lynching

N.Y. Amsterdam News

War Mobilization Director James F. Byrnes took the limelight when he stopped horse racing, "browned out" the nation, and more recently, when he ordered a nationwide 12 midnight curfew on night clubs, theatres, sports and all other forms of amusement. James F. Byries is a former Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court to which office he was appointed by President Roosevelt, and James F. Byrnes is a native of South Carolina and as Southern as they come.

We have repeatedly pointed out that the South has for years held the whiphand in our national government. In peacetime southerners have ruled the roost in Washington by dominating the chairmanships and memberships of various congressional and senatorial committees. Now, through President Roosevelt, a southerner, James F. Byrnes, has been given unprecedented powers over the lives and habits of us all, powers that are as absolute in a manner of speaking, as those of a dictator. Byrnes, as a southerner is most likely to be motivated by the southern point of view, doubtlessly, that is, based on what he has done so far in relations to the rest of the country.

3-19-45 N.Y. N.Y.

Our point is to show the inconsistency of it all insofar as Negroes are concerned. Jimmy Byrnes issues a governmental order, the neons are dimmed and horse racing is halted in everyone of the 48 states. He issues another and night clubs, bars, restaurants, pool rooms, bowling alleys, etc., are closed tightly at 12 midnight in the same 48 states. 3-17-45

Negro organizations which have petitioned President Roosevelt over the 12 years he has been in office for a federal anti-lynching law, have been told that the matter is one which would have to be taken up by the states. In other words, the government has taken the position that it could not interfere with state rights to save the life of a victim of white terrorism.

The federal government also implies that it cannot overstep state rights and institute a nationwide enforcement of fair employment practices without such a measure going through regular congresisonal legislative procedure.

Yet, the government can, through Byrnes or anyone it designates, issue mandatory orders regulating the lives of every one of the 120,000,000 civilian Americans not in the armed forces.

The answer to the riddle, why doesn't the government play fair on all issues? can be found in the fact that old-line diehard southerners block every attempt to provide protection and the ordinary rights of citizenship to Negroes that all Americans are entitled to. 3-17-45

James F. Byrnes conceivably, could, under the garbled interpretations of our manpower problems, issue orders tantamount to making lynching a wartime federal offense against the government. But Byrnes is a southerner and definitely unlikely to do such a thing.

Anti-Lynch Bill Proposed In Ala.

Philadelphia Tribune 3-10-45 P2

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—(ANP)—Enactment by Alabama of an anti-lynching law was proposed Thursday by Carey E. Haigler, president of the Alabama State Industrial Council, CIO, before the interim committee on constitution and legislative procedure. 3-10-45

The CIO leader said that a stiff provision should be placed in such a law so that any and all persons participating in a lynching would be punished.

Haigler also advocated abolition of the death penalty.

Tell your Representative to vote against a meaningless bill such as the House Committee report contemplates; work for HR 2202 as originally written.

The C.I.O. News

Along with jobs for all goes **emergency jobless pay** (HR 3891), still laid away in embalming fluid in the House Ways and Means Committee.

3. **Anti-union:** there's a string of anti-union bills waiting the go sign—which can come after the labor-management conference ends. Chief of these are **Ball-Hatch (S 1171),** which ends collective bargaining; **HR 3937,** which prohibits political action as well as fining, jailing unions and leaders; **HR 32 (Hobbs),** which prohibits normal union activity such as picketing. 11-26-45

4. **Civil rights: Polltax repeal (HR 7)** and **FEPC (HR 2232)** are both on deck in Congress, with HR 7 only waiting Senate action for final passage. **Discharge Petition 4** is circulating to bring FEPC to the floor.

Tell your Senators and Representative to support **HR 7,** sign **DP 4**—and also sign **DP 12, which calls for an end to the Dies-Rankin un-American Committee.** 11-26-45

5. **Housing, health:** CIO is supporting the new housing bill **(S 1592)** and the new health bill **(S 1606)** just offered in the Senate. Urge your Senators (and Representative too) to work and vote for both bills.

And remember this—one registered voter counts more than 100 who haven't bothered.

2 Anti-Bias Bills Proposed in Mass.

AFRO-AMERICAN Baltimore Md. 1-6-45

BOSTON—Two bills aimed at ending racial and religous discrimination in employment were proposed this week by the Massachusetts Recess Commission to study discrimination in employment.

The first bill proposed an amendment to the Civil Service Law making it necessary for an appointing officer to make an explanation for failure to select the top-ranking applicant for a civil service position.

The second bill would make racial or religious discrimination in employment both a criminal and civil offense. 1-6-45

Penalties

Violators of the proposed measure would be subject to a fine of not more than $1,000 or imprisonment of one year of both and the aggrieved person could collect $100 plus damages or loss suffered and such lawyers' fees as would be awarded by the court.

At the same time the American Jewish Congress is preparing to file a bill for the creation of the State Fair Employment Practice Committee.

The commission proposing the anti-bias bills consists of four State Legislators and three laymen, Seaton Manning, exectutive secretary of the local Urban League; Professor Morris B. Lambie of Harvard University, and Lee Friedman, a local attorney.

Keep Your Eye On Congress

BILL	WHAT IT DOES	WHERE IT IS	ACTION
Jobs (S 380, HR 2202)	As originally written, sets government policy to aid in creating full employment.	Watered-down version passed in Senate; House Expenditures subcommittee set to report utterly meaningless bill this week.	Tell Senators and Representative to demand bill as originally written; oppose House committee report. 11-26-45
(S 1592) Housing	Provides funds for study and building of low and middle cost housing, will provide many jobs.	Senate Banking and Currency Committee; hearings set for Nov. 27; CIO to testify Dec. 11.	Tell Senators to support without weakening amendments.
Wage floor (S 1349, HR 3914)	Raises present floor from 40c to 65, then 75c. Extends coverage.	May reach Senate floor by mid-December. House prospects not se good.	Congress not getting nearly enough CIO mail. Write now. Oppose "compromise."
Polltax Repeal (HR 7)	Gives vote to 10 million white and Negro citizens.	Senate action hanging on technicalities.	Urge quick vote, no substitutes, filibusters.
Un-American Committee (DP 12)	Discharge Petition out to end infamous Dies-Rankin witchhunts.	DP 12, started by Rep. Patterson (D. Cal.), has about 40 signers.	Urge your Representative to sign DP 12.
Health (S 1606)	Aids states set up health facilities; helps maternity, child welfare; provides funds for medical care of needy.	To Senate Labor Committee, with support of CIO and President Truman.	Urge Senators to support in full.

(Address all Senators, Senate Office Bldg., all Representatives, House Office Bldg., Washington 25, D. C.

SEE YOUR CONGRESSMAN DURING THE RECESS

May-Arends Bill

N.Y. N.Y. 12-5-45 Daily Worker

This bill, blocked in the House by a 200 to 192 vote, would totally eliminate all political activity by trade unions. It is aimed specifically at outlawing the CIO Political Action Committee. In addition, the bill strips unions which go on strike in violation of a no-strike clause in a contract of collective bargaining rights. This would be a powerful incentive to employers to provoke strikes.

115 of 9,888 House Units For Negroes

Washington, D. C., (NNPA)—Of the 9,888 temporary housing units made available to educational institutions in the United States for housing veterans and their families, as of November 30, only 115 had been marked for occupancy by colored people, and 25 of these were trailers.

The entire 115 units were released to colored people in Texas, with Prairie View University at Prairie View, getting the 25 trailer units and the University of Houston being given 90 dormitory units for occupation by single persons.

Although colored educational institutions were given advance notice that they could apply for surplus war housing units their response has been so negative as to cause colored housing officials here deep concern.

Many feel that colored colleges have not asked for surplus housing units because they did not have funds available to pay the cost of moving such units, but with this expense now being borne by the federal government they are expected to make many such requests.

Council Gets Three Anti Discriminiation Provisions In Hospital Bill

History was made in Congress last week when three anti-discrimination provisions were added to the National Hospital Construction Act which had been urged and advocated by the National Non-Partisan Council on Public Affairs of Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority.

Dr. Dorothy Boulding Ferebee appeared before the Senate Education and Labor Committee to report that the bill then pending, which had no safeguards, be amended. She offered 8 anti-discrimination amendments, the substance of which were generally encounched in the three that were finally added to the bill. In intense educational campaign with the members of the committee by Mrs. Thompson W. Johnson, Legislative Representative of the Council on the need for these amendments resulted in their inclusion.

Intense efforts to keep the provisions from being taken out on the floor were so effective that the provisions were retained despite the fact that Senator Olin D. Johnson of South Carolina was presiding and Senator Lister Hill of Alabama had to defend the bill inasmuch as he was the author of the original bill and chairman of the Sub-Committee of the Senate.

The anti-discrimination provisions state that in the constitution of hospitals and hospital facilities in the authorization of funds, they are to be allocated according to certain fundamental requirements which prescribe "That the state plan shall provide for adequate hospital facilities for the people residing in a state, without discrimination on account of race, creed or color."

61b-1945

Legislation Suggested

Religious And Racial Issue Hearing Ticketed For Airing In Public

Birmingham News 3-11-45 AP

BY HOWARD FLIEGER

WASHINGTON —(AP)— An issue laden with political dynamite—whether Congress should outlaw racial and religious discrimination by employers—Saturday was ticketed for a public airing by the influential House rules committee.

The bill, to establish a permanent fair employment practices committee, is in for a stormy session, even though its principles have the endorsement of both major parties.

Racial and religious organizations rallied a host of witnesses to appear before the rules committee when it opens hearings on the administration-backed measure Wednesday.

Some indication of the trouble that stretches ahead for the measure came from Southerners on the rules committee this week when the bill got a brief preliminary hearing. 3-11-45

"I wonder," said Rep. Cox (D., Ga.), "if this bill isn't an attempt to break down all social distinction and make a melting pot out of the country. It's a thing that has to be gone into thoroughly."

Even Republicans shied away from definite commitments on the pending bill which emerged from the labor committee several weeks ago.

Republican Leader Martin, of Massachusetts, told a reporter he is in favor of the principles of a fair employment practices law but he wouldn't say he will back the present bill.

House Passes Nurse Draft Bill 347 To 42

Journal & Guide Norfolk, Va. 3-17-45

WASHINGTON, D. C. — The House on Wednesday of last week passed the nurses draft bill after the measure as amended in the committee of the whole, was adopted as a substitute, making the legislation a part of the Selective Service law.

As sent to the Senate, the bill contains the provisions forbidding race or religious discrimination in the drafting of voluntary recruitment of nurses by the Army or Navy.

Rep. Adam C. Powell Jr., made his most effective speech in the House last week in support of the anti-discrimination clause amending the Nurse Draft Bill. The amendment was passed by a voice vote. 3-17-45

Rep. Powell opposed a similar anti-discrimination clause to the "work or fight" bill in a speech which pointed out the fact that President Roosevelt had already covered that in executive order 8802. "As regards the nursing picture in this crisis," Powell said, "it is deplorable."

Mr. Powell pointed out that it is unbelievable that in times like these when the world is going forward "there are leaders in our American life who are going backward . . ." 3-17-45

He deplored the conditions our fighting men are facing because of the shortage of nurses while Negro nurses were denied an opportunity to enlist for service in the Navy Nurse Corps. At the same time he praised the record of Negro nurses in World War I and called attention to their use in the Army Nurse Corps and what the American Red Cross said about their work.

After referring to replies from Secretary Forrestal of the Navy and Secretary of War Stimson in which both said applications from Negro nurses were given consideration, Mr. Powell asserted that "this is not true. There is not one Negro nurse today in the United States Navy Nursing Corps."

The persistent fight of leaders like Powell and the National Association of Graduate Nurses, NAACP and other organizations made it possible for the passage of the nurse draft law with the non-discrimination clause. The House finally passed the nurse draft bill by a vote of 347 to 42.

ALABAMA STUDIES ANTI-LYNCH BILL

See 47-2. Black Dispatch, Okla. 3-10-45

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—(ANP)—Enactment by Alabama of an anti-lynching law was proposed Thursday by Carey E. Haigler, president of the Alabama State Industrial Council, CIO, before the interim committee on constitution and legislative procedure. OKla.

LEGISLATORS REFUSE SELVES 50% PAY RAISE

Chicago Tribune Chicago, Ill. See 45

Salary Bill Is Still Alive; May Try Again

5-10-45

BY GEORGE TAGGE

[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

Springfield, Ill., May 9—The most heavily sponsored bill of the session—to increase legislators' pay 50 per cent—fell five votes short of passage in the house today but a new attempt to put it over will be made next week.

When the measure was introduced it was signed by 77 house members, one of them, Rep. Quinn [D., Chicago] was killed in an automobile accident last week, bringing the number down to 76 — just one less than enough to pass it. But one sponsor, Rep. Shaw [R., Dixon] voted "No" today and several others were absent or silent on roll call. There were 60 votes against it.

Plain and fancy debate embellished the proposal to boost legislators' salaries from $5,000 to $7,500 a biennium. The general assembly has a regular session once each two years but sometimes meets in special sessions.

Democrats Support

Chief support for the bill came from the Democrats, including most of those from downstate and nearly all of those from Cook county.

"This bill is in direct opposition to the national policy of fighting inflation," said Rep. Houcek [R., Cicero].

Rep. Lee [R., Chicago] said he couldn't see his way clear to vote for the bill inasmuch as about 100,000 voters in his district evidently thought he was not worth his present salary, having voted for his opponents. 5-10-45

"We ask for old age pensions to live on $40 a month or less and our fighting men are drafted at $30 a month," said Rep. Uuchurch [D., Benton]. "How then can we vote for a 50 per cent raise for ourselves? If we keep on this spending spree we are guilty of oppressing the poor."

Entitled to "Juicy Steaks"

Rep. Davis [R., Chicago], a Negro, said he thought he is entitled to "live like a representative of the people, and eat juicy steaks instead of hamburgers."

Rep. Euzzino [D., Chicago], who headed the higher pay battalion, said there are two schools of thought in the matter—one holding that public servants should have little concern for material reward, the other maintaining that public servants should be well paid to attract greater ability. 5-10-45

"In comparison with private enterprise, the ability of members of the legislature is poorly rewarded," Euzzino said. "Allowing for income tax, campaign expenses, and the loss on our travel allowance, we get less than $1,500 a year."

Terms It "Excessive"

Rep. William G. Thon [R., Chicago] said a 50 per cent increase was "excessive and unwarranted" and that a 25 per cent boost was enough. New York and Illinois now pay the highest legislative salaries in the nation, he added.

A bill is pending to increase the travel allowance from 5 to 8 cents a mile. As originally introduced it provided for doubling of the allowance. If another roll call fails to produce enough votes for the higher pay bill, sponsors are certain that they can get it thru by reducing the salary sought to $6,500 or $6,250.

Rep. John J. Ryan [D., Chicago] immediately began reprisals against members who voted against the bill. He objected to giving unanimous consent in two instances, and later broke up the meeting of the appropriations committee by raising the question of a quorum.

Revocation Of DAR Charter Asked by Celler

Richmond Times Dispatch Va.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 18—(AP)—Legislation calling for revocation of the charter of the Daughters of the American Revolution was introduced today by Representative Celler (D-N. Y.).

He said in a statement that the DAR, "by its flagrant disregard of the terms of its charter . . . has forfeited its right to continue as a group sanctioned by congressional incorporation." The DAR was established in 1896 under a congressional act.

In refusing to permit two Negro musicians, Marion Anderson and Hazel Scott, to present concerts at the organization's Constitution Hall here, Celler asserted, the DAR has followed "the Nazi ideology of Herrenvolk and Sklavenfolk." 10-19-45

Miss Scott is the wife of Representative Powell, New York Negro Democrat, who protested to President and Mrs. Truman against the DAR ban on Negro artists.

"Unless Congress acts," Celler declared, "Congress would be approving the outrageous practices of the DAR."

Earlier legislation to amend the tax exemption status of Constitution Hall here was introduced today by Representative Douglas (D-Calif.).

It would condition the exemption accorded to the Daughters of the American Revolution, operators at the hall, "on their not denying the commercial use or rental of Constitution Hall by reason of race, creed, color or national origin."

Mrs. Douglas' bill was an outgrowth of last week's controversy over refusal of the DAR to permit Hazel Scott, Negro musician and wife of Representative Adam Powell (D-N. Y.), to appear professionally at the hall.

22 Bills Now Ready For Legislative Action

Birmingham News Birmingham, Ala.

BY HUGH W. SPARROW
News Staff Writer

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—With a backlog of 279 bills—about one fourth of all that will be introduced during the entire session—already on hand and 22 ready for passage, Alabama's 1945 legislative session Friday appeared to be well off on a flying start.

Virtually all important administration proposals have been presented, along with a number of other non-administration but equally important bills, and from now until June 30 the long grind of passing the good measures and winnowing out the bad will be in full swing. 5-4-45

ABOUT HALF THE BILLS ON Friday's House and Senate calendars were of general importance. Most of them, particularly the important ones, were destined to be carried over until next week because the Legislature traditionally avoids acting on controversial or even faintly controversial proposals on Friday.

Heading the list of bills ready for initial passage was one of Gov. Sparks' key proposals, the foremost of two bills designed to set up a system of regional education in Alabama which will permit the state to offer better and more complete higher education facilities for Negroes.

* * *

THE BILL IS BY SEN. V. L. ST. JOHN, of Lawrence, and is pending on the Senate's calendar. It proposes to authorize institutions of higher learning, particularly Tuskegee Institute and about two other Negro teachers' colleges, to enter reciprocal agreements with Negro colleges in other states for the pooling of facilities. 5-4-45

If a Negro desired higher education which was not available to him in Alabama Negro colleges, under this bill, he could enter some other institution in the region on the same basis as a state resident. And Negroes of other states in their region desiring to avail themselves of Alabama's educational opportunities could enter Tuskegee or other Negro colleges without payment of non-resident fees.

Randolph Advises Opposition To Ball-Burton-Hatch Labor Bill

Says Provision Plays Into Hands Of Fascist Forces

NEW YORK—(S N S)—Commenting on the Ball-Burton-Hatch Bill which was recently introduced into Congress, A. Philip Randolph, International President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters at the headquarters in New York City, states that this Bill which was drafted by Donald R. Richberg, former labor attorney and now legal sharpshooter for big business, is a menace to the workers of America and trade union movement. He continued that since Negro workers are lowest in the industrial scale any legislation that beats down trade union standards of American workers will make the problems more difficult for Negro workers to improve their lot.

The fact that this laws provides that agreements must be ratified by 60 per cent of the union membership is proof that employer's lawyer who drew up the measure has planned a way for big business to crack down on labor unions." Randolph said. "Note too, that the designation of the union as the bargaining agent is dependent upon said union receiving the votes of 75 per cent of the employes of a given class, craft or industry. This is basically in violation of the principle of the majority rule in American democracy. 75 per cent of the voters of any City, State or the Nation is not required to elect the executive heads. This provision plays directly into the hands of the anti-labor and fascist forces in America and will wreck organized labor in general which is the bulwark of the standard of living of all workers of which the Negro is an important part."

What's Wrong With Congress

— by Adam Lapin —

WHAT is the trouble with the 79th Congress? Why is Congress taking a long summer recess without doing a thing about the pressing reconversion problems of the American people?

One thing is sure. The difficulty is not the absence of a progressive legislative program. I do not remember a session, with the exception of the early New Deal years, when there has been a better or a more constructive program.

The list of bills now pending is familiar enough. There is the Kilgore bill to increase unemployment compensation payments sponsored by six Senators, the Murray-Wagner bill to extend the social security system and include health insurance and the Murray-Dingell full employment bill which is supported in the House by a bloc of 100 Congressmen.

There are two important wage bills: one introduced by Senator Pepper stating the sense of Congress that the War Labor Board ought to consider wages below 65 cents an hour as substandard and the other introduced in the House by Rep. Dingell and in the Senate by Senator Mead and sponsored by ten Senators to amend the Wage and Hour Act to place a new 65 cent floor under wages.

Then there are the permanent FEPC and anti-poll tax bills which go to the very heart of making democracy work for millions of Americans, Negro and, white.

The passage of these bills would not enact utopia. And there are perhaps some omissions in the progressive legislative program which should be filled. For example, there should certainly be some bona fide legislation to help veterans sponsored by organized labor and introduced by liberal Congressmen and Senators.

But by and large there is now pending a series of bills which would go a long way toward extending the frontiers of American democracy, toward raising the standard of living of low-paid workers and toward easing the transition to peace-time production.

The real problem is that nothing has been done on most of these bills, and that the prospects for their passage do not look too bright even when Congress returns in the Fall.

Now it might be said that the liberals in the House and the Senate ought to put on a more vigorous fight for this legislation, I have done plenty of griping in the past on the failure of liberals in Congress to fight, and a recent case in point was the lack of immediate reaction to the speeches by senators Bilbo and Eastland on the Negro people during the poll tax filibuster.

But I can't see this as the central point at the moment. The fact is that the progressives in Congress have introduced good legislation. They have done their best to get the backing of their colleagues. Liberal Senators have shown real teamwork in getting several co-sponsors for some of their bills. In the House about 100 Congressmen have lined up to support the full employment bill and about 75 Congressmen are supporting a petition to the President to revise the Little Steel formula. On the whole, the more forward-looking Senators and Congressmen are fulfilling their obligations as serious legislators.

It seems to me that the two major problems are these: first, the absence of any concerted drive by President Truman and the administration to pass this legislation which is certainly along the lines of stated administration objectives; and second, the absence of an effective and united coalition of progressives and labor to force action from Congress.

I have discussed in previous columns the failure of the administration to press for passage of the FEPC and unemployment compensation bills.

Scripps-Howard columnist Tom Stokes makes the same point in contrasting Roosevelt and Truman in their relations to Congress.

"There was also in the previous administration, at the top a man who followed up his recommendations with pressure upon his leaders at the Capitol, and thus far President Truman has exhibited little of that as far as the domestic program is concerned," Stokes commented.

It is the very lack of legislative leadership from Truman that has made it necessary for liberal Senators and Congressmen to act on their own, as they have been doing. But I do not think we can expect the liberals in Congress to do the job on their own without very intensive support from the people.

And the simple fact of the matter is there is not only lacking a working coalition of the forces which supported Roosevelt in the last election but even the most elementary kind of teamwork between the CIO and AFL.

Bill Green doesn't seem to mind signing anti-Soviet statements along with Herbert Hoover, but he apparently objects to working out with Phil Murray a joint campaign to get an unemployment compensation bill passed.

President Truman will begin putting heat on Congress, and Congress itself will react, if the support which now exists for progressive reconversion legislation is organized and united and made articulate. This is not an easy problem to solve. But a solution can at least be approached on a community level this summer in organizing the people to demand action from their vacationing legislators.

House Passes Bill To Make January 5 'Carver Day'

(Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON—A bill to set aside January 5, 1946 to honor the late George Washington Carver, famed Negro scientist, was passed unanimously by the House this week.

The bill, which was introduced by Representative Robert J. Corbett (R., Pa.), now goes to the Senate.

Out in Pittsburgh, Pa., for the past three years, under the sponsorship of the Achievement clubs, a day has been designated by the mayor in commemmoration of the man whose by-products of peanuts, clay and other simple elements of nature made his name a by-word in every American household.

Dr. Carver, born a slave, rose to the heights in the scientific world. At his death he was conducting his experiments from his laboratory at Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

Minimum Wage Bill Gets NAACP Support

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Leslie Perry of the NAACP Washington project testified Nov. 1 before the House Labor Committee in support of the Pepper-Hook 65 cents minimum wage bill. This legislation would raise the wage of all those covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 from 40 cent an hour to 65 cent. After two years the minimum would automatically be raised to 75 cents, automatically be raised to 75 cents hourly. Moreover a minimum wage would be extended to groups now denied wage protection, namely, persons employed in canning, packing, and processing agricultural and fish products for shipment in interstate commerce.

Although indorsing the principal of the legislation the NAACP said that an amendment was needed to protect Negro workers from wage differentials based soley on race. Under the bill industry committees, made up of representatives of management, labor and the public are empowered to raise the minimum wage to 75 cents even before two years have elapsed, if it finds that the industry in question can afford to do so. It is also authorized to classify all employees in the industry [illegible]

After submitting to the House Labor Committee various data showing the extent to which Negro and Mexican workers frequently receive less pay for performing the same work, Perry asked that the bill be amended so as to preclude

California Bill Aims At Politico-Economic Equity

Pittsburgh Courier Pa.
3-10-45

OAKLAND—Political and economic equality for all racial and minority groups is the chief objective of Assembly Bill 1399 now before the California State Legislature for consideration with the approval of Governor Earl Warren and included in his program recommended for passage, The Courier learned last week.

The bill creates a State Commission on Political and Economic Equality, composed of nine members to be appointed by the Governor to four-year terms, establishes the position of executive secretary at a salary up to $10,000 a year, provides for other positions under State Civil Service, and carries an appropriation of $75,000 for admnlistrative costs of the commission.

Authors of the measure are Assemblyman Sam Collins of Fullerton, Republican floor leader; Thomas Maloney of San Francisco, Walter Fourt of Ventura, and Frank Waters of Los Angeles, all Republican members of the Assembly. 3-10-45

The bill was sponsored by the Women's Political Study Club of Los Angeles, of which Mrs. Betty Hill is executive secretary.

Purpose of the commission, as stated in the bill, is to prevent racial prejudice or discrimination against groups in either political or economic fields, to eliminate social disorders resulting from such prejudice or discrimination, and improve the welfare of the people by fostering improved relationships and by eliminating intolerance and fear resulting from lack of understanding or observance of rights of all under the constitution and laws of the State and the United States. 3-10-45

The commission would be given authority to investigate conditions involving discrimination against racial and minority groups, hold hearings, investigate law enforcement, study the necessity of corrective legislation, call conferences of interested groups, conduct a program of education, report annually to the Governor, and recommend legislation.

The bill has been referred to the Assembly Committee on Government Efficiency and Economy of which Assemblyman C. Don Field, of Glendale, is chairman. Hearings on the bill will be held by the committee in Sacramento to after the Legislature reconvenes in March.

JERSEY HOUSE PASSES ANTI-BIAS JOB LAW

N.Y. Times 4-7-45

TRENTON, N. J., April 6—Discarding all amendments proposed by anti-bias advocates, the New Jersey House of Assembly tonight adopted a Fair Employment Practices Bill, declaring the opportunity to obtain employment without discrimination because of race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry to be a civil right.

The proposed law, which was sponsored by Republican Assemblyman James O. Hill, Negro physician of Newark, provides that violations would constitute a misdemeanor and be punishable by imprisonment for a year or a fine of $500 or both. The measure was passed by a vote of 51 to 2, with Assemblywoman Mildred V. Harдester, East Orange, and Assemblyman Emmert R. Wilson, Stockton, both Republicans, voting in the negative. 4-7-45

Minority Democrats character- the proposed statute as "a plaster of paris" law, which would prove to be unenforcible and criticized the failure of the Republicans to insert needed amendments recommended by various Negro leaders and citizen groups, but voted solidly in favor of the measure.

Under the provision of the measure as passed, a division against discrimination would be created in the State Department of Education to receive complaints from citizens who claim their rights have been invaded because of discrimination.

Expansion Is Recommended To Legislature

Informer Houston Texas
1-13-45

By E. W. STEWART

One of the recommendations that the State Board of Education made Tuesday in its biennial report to the Legislature, was that Prairie View college should be expanded into a first-class university for Negroes. If the Legislature acts upon this highly significant and long-awaited resolution (and we hope that it will) Prairie View will finally attain her logical status as a state university with facilities equal to those of the University of Texas. As it is, Prairie View is constitutionally a branch of the University of Texas, but is, by a statutory provision, under the control of the same board that controls A. and M. College. 1-13-45

It is very fitting that the proper state officials are making, without duress, a move to get an adjustment of the differences that exist between state provisions for the higher education of Negroes and whites. It was proper for them to make the move and Negroes would much prefer that the rightful equalization of their educational opportunities would come as a result of intelligent study and cooperation instead of as a result of a series of court suits. There have been those, who, in their anxiety about the unequal provisions for education in Texas, have thought that Negroes should seek an application of the Supreme Court's decision in the Gaines case. It will be to Texas' credit if the Legislature will take the proper steps to implement the board's resolution, and thereby obviate the necessity for expensive and time-consuming suits. The execution of this resolution would be to Texas' credit in the same sense that it was to the credit of the school boards of Houston Galveston, and Beaumont to vote for the equalization of salaries of Negro and white teachers. Because Negroes are entitled to equal educational opportunities, it is only fair, to say the least, for the duly appointed educational officials to face up to the fact and take whatever steps that may be necessary to work the problem out on a just basis. 1-13-45

Citizens of a state like to feel that their children can secure, in their own state, training that will fit them for occupations, aside from teaching, that are open to them. If Prairie View is expanded into a first-class university, one can rightfully begin to look to that institution as a source from which to secure men and women who are trained to engage in a variety of occupations.

Senate Bill No. 1 Civil and Equal Rights By Senator Henhehan

Northwest Enterprise Seattle, Wash.
1-31-45

"For the protection of equal civil rights, defining such rights, describing violations thereof, and prescribing civil and criminal penalties for their violations, and repealing section 434, Chapter 249, Laws of 1909.

Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Washington:

Section 1. All persons within the jurisdiction of this state shall be entitled to the full and equal accommodations, advantages, facilities and privileges of any places of public accommodations, resort or amusement, subject only to the conditions and limitations established by law and applicable alike to all persons.

No person, being the owner, lessee, proprietor, manager, superintendent, agent or employee of any such place shall directly or indirectly refuse, withhold from or deny to any person any of the accommodations, advantages, facilities or privileges thereof, or directly or indirectly publish, circulate, issue, display, post or mail any written or printed communication, notice or advertisement, to the effect that any of the accommodations, advantages, facilities and privileges of any such place shall be refused, withheld from or denied to any person on account of race, creed or color, or that the patronage or custom thereat, of any person belonging to or purporting to be of any particular race, creed or color is unwelcome, objectionable or not acceptable, desired or solicited. 1-31-45

The production of any such written or printed communication, notice or advertisement, purporting to relate to any such place and to be made by any person being the owner, lessee, proprietor, sceperintndnt or manager thereof, shall be presumptive evidence in any civil or criminal action that the same was authorized by such person.

A place of public accomodation, resort or amusement within the meaning of this article, shall be deemed to include inns, taverns, road houses, hotels, whether conducted for the entertainment of transient guests or for the accommodation of those seeking health, recreation or rest, or restaurants, or eating houses, or any place where food is sold for consumption on th premises; buffets, saloons, barrooms, or any store, park or enclosure where spirituous or malt liquors are sold; ice ceram parlors, confectioneries, soda fountains, and all stores where ice cream and fruit preparations or their derivatives, or where beverage of any kind are retailed for consumption on the premises; retail stores and establishments, dispensaries, clinics, hospitals, bathhouses, barbershops, beauty parlors, theatres, motion picture houses, airdromes, roof gardens, music halls, race courses, skating rinks, amusement and recreation parks, bowling alleys, golf courses, gymnasiums, shooting galleries, billiard and pool parlors, public libraries, kindergartens, primary and secondary schools, high schools, academies, colleges and universities, extension courses, and all educational institutions under the supervision of the regents of the state of Washington; and any public library, kindergarten, primary and secondary school, academy, college, university, professional school, extension course, or other educational facility, supported in whole or in part by public funds or by contributions solicited from the general public; garages, all public conveyances operated on land or water, as well as the stations and terminals thereof; public halls and public elevators of buildings and structures occupied by two or more tenants. Nothing herein contained shall be construed to include any institution, club, or place of accommodation which is in its nature distinctly private, or to prohibit the mailing of a private communication in writing sent in response to a specific written inquiry. 1-31-45

No institution, club or organization or place of accommodation which sponsors or conducts any amateur athletic contest or sparring exhibition and advertises or bills such contest or exhibition as a Washington state championship contest or uses the words, "Washington State," in its announcements shall be deemed a private exhibition within the meaning of this section.

Sec. 2. Any person who or agency, bureau, corporation or association which shall violate any of the provisions of Section 1, or who or which shall aid or incite the violation of any of said provisions of such section, shall for each and every violation thereof, be liable to a penalty of not less than one hundred ($100.00) dollars or more than five hundred ($500.00) dollars, to be recovered by the person aggrieved thereby, or by any resident of this state, to whom such person shall assign his cause of action, in any court of competent jurisdiction in the county in which the plaintiff or the defendant shall reside; and such person and the manager or owner of or each officer of such aegncy, bureau, corporation, or association, shall also for every such offense be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor. 1-31-45

Sec. 3. Section 434, Chapter 249, Laws of 1909, is hereby repealed.

Southern Opposition Alters Fair Employment Proposal

Richmond Times
4-27-45

WASHINGTON, April 26—(AP)—Southern Democrats won Republican support in the House Rules Committee today in their fight to modify a bill to establish a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC).

Representatives Halleck (R-Ind.) and Michener (R-Mich.) urged amendments to insure full judicial review of the agency's rulings and to eliminate a provision requiring rehiring of present FEPC employees.

Chairman Norton (D-N.J.), of the House Labor Committee, has declared any such revision would "cripple the agency so it could not function properly."

Smith Expects Passage

Halleck said, however, that "in the name of fairness to both employer and employees we must see that the agency is not prosecutor, jury and judge, all in one."

The bill would create a permanent FEPC with power to prevent

discrimination against employees because of race, color or creed. The persent agency functions on a temporary basis with presidential funds.

Representative Smith (D-Va.) conceded last week the measure would pass "in some form," but leagues would continue to oppose to oppose it and would recommend many changes.

"Quota System" Foreseen

Representative Fisher (D-Texas) contended at today's hearing that the legislation "is unconstitutional."

"It would give the FEPC agents power to enter a private home or business without a warrant, search the premises and take down any evidence," he declared.

"It would surely provoke conflict between the State and Federal governments.

"It would set up a virtual quota system requiring each employer to hire so many persons of assorted creeds and colors."

Representative Cox (D-Ga.) commented that the legislation "appears to be part of a plan to remake America and build totalitarianism."

Congress Hears Plea Against Discrimination

The Informer
Houston, Texas
10-27-45

WASHINGTON — (ANP) —Congress argued a question of racial discrimination last Wednesday during deliberation upon the Indian immigration bill, and heard Rep. Clare Booth Luce (R) of Connecticut declare firmly that "there should be no legislation discriminating on color lines on the statute books of a country which claims to believe in no discrimination against people because of the shape of their noses or the slant of their eyes or the color of their skin."

"Such legislation," she added, "must be taken off our books, because the greatest American principle, the very greatest principle of all or so I believe, is that every man stands equal in the eyes of God and of Uncle Sam."

The bill which would permit approximately 100 East Indians to enter the United States annually under the immigration quota law, was passed.

Southern States Industrial Council Spends Money to Influence Congress

P.M
4-27-45

By Milton Murray
PM's Bureau

PM Exclusive

WASHINGTON, Apr. 27 —A subsidized propaganda campaign to whip up a full-fledged Congressional filibuster against the Fair Employment Practices Bill was revealed today.

The campaign is backed by the Southern States Industrial Council of Nashville, Tenn. It is utilizing the efforts of expert publicists and a mass of direct mail.

Objective is to nullify the Democratic procedure of American government, to block at all costs the constitutional covenant of majority rule.

4-27-45

C. C. Gilbert, Council secretary, in an inflammatory letter broadsided to a large mailing list, frankly admits:

"It is generally conceded that perhaps the only chance to defeat this bill is through a filibuster by Southern Senators when it reaches that body."

Hate Over All

To Gilbert and the Southern States Industrial Union Council, no other pending matter of legislation—Bretton Woods, tariff agreements, even possibly ratification of a United Nations world security pact—is as important as blocking a law that would give a Negro, a Jew, or a Catholic a chance to get a job.

On the filibuster, Gilbert wrote: "We can keep our heads in the sand no longer. If you want this legislation stopped, write your Senators and Congressmen to this effect at once."

Gilbert writes in tones reminiscent of the days before the Civil War—the War between the States—as he warns that the proposal to ban discrimination in employment "would actually provoke riots and upheavals in the South."

Who's Who

"One of the most vicious pieces of legislation ever introduced in Congress," he says of the bill to give all men and women an equal right to earn a living. "It is entirely un-American in concept and it would certainly be 'anti-Southern' in practice."

4-27-45

Gilbert warns of the fine and imprisonment penalties included for those who are convicted of discriminating "because of race, creed, color, national origin, or ancestry."

"It thus would deny the employer his traditional American right of using his own sound judgment in selecting loyal and capable employes," he says. "Trial could be brought against an employer simply by impugning his motives! Initiative and energy and thrift would rank no higher than incompetence and laziness and wastefulness."

The letterhead of the Southern States Industrial Council includes an illustrious list of Southern bankers and employers. They are: President, Rush Cole, vice president, Monsanto Chemical Co., St. Louis; vice president for Louisiana, Mississippi and Texas, John U. Barr, general manager, Federal Fibre Mills, New Orleans; vice president for Tennessee, Kentucky and West Virginia, James D. Francis, president, Island Creek Coal Co., Huntington, W. Va.; vice president for Alabama, Georgia and Floria, L. L. Gellerstedt, executive vice president of the Citizens and Southern National Bank, Atlanta; vice president for Missouri, Arkansas and Oklahoma, Howard L. Young, president of the American Zinc, Lead and Smelting Co., St. Louis; vice president for Virginia, North and South Carolina, J. E. Baker, president, Baker-Cammack Hosiery Mills, Burlington, N. C.

Tyre Taylor of Washington is general counsel and S. L. Durham, Nashville, treasurer. The officers serve on an executive committee which also includes Lipscomb Davis, Nashville; E. J. McMillan, Knoxville, Tenn.; C. C. Shephard, Clarks, La., and Grant Stauffer, Kansas City, Mo.

4-27-45

Obsolete Cause?

Part of the propaganda broadcast to newspapers by the Council is a column captioned *Down South* by Thurman Sensing, the Council's research director, and headlined: *The South Is Threatened.*

Sensing picks up much of the language used by Gilbert and complains that "this is a fight the South will have to wage largely alone, that very little help can be expected from outside the Southern region."

4-27-45

This isolation, he feels, should only make us more determined to throw off our passivity, reassert our rights and fight all the harder for our principles."

The fight against FEPC, Sensing hopes, will awaken the South "to the necessity of utilizing its voting strength hereafter to protecting the interests of the South and not in blind adherence to an obsolete cause that no longer needs defending."

He does not explain what that cause is

LONG NEEDED BILL SIGNED AT LAST

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Ill.
10-20-45

10-20-45

Gov. Dwight H. Green and State Rep. Charles M. Skyles signing House Bill No. 139 which bars segregation in schools throughout the state of Illinois. Originally applying only to cities with a population of 500,000 or more, the revised bill now makes a clean sweep of all towns and villages in the state, regardless of size.

New Kansas Civil Right Bill

Kansas City Call Mo.

Bill No. 167 Introduced By Towers

2-2-45

Representative William H. Towers will present to the legislative body now in session in Topeka, Friday, today, Jan. 26, House Bill No. 167. This bill covers civil rights in Kansas. If it is passed it will make Kansas one of the most progressive of the 48 states. The bill compares with civil rights bills already in force in Iowa, Nebraska, Illinois and California.

Two years ago, Towers introduced House Bill 133, which after being "joggled" up and down on the House calendar for several weeks was killed by a voice vote from the floor. This was also a bill on civil rights. 2-2-45

After a hard fight the bill had been taken before and out of the judiciary committee without recommendation which is tantamount to a bill being killed.

This year, Towers says that it will be no easy matter to pass this measure, but he is hopeful that more pressure from white supporters throughout the state and the overwhelming majority of Republicans in the house will result in victory for the new bill.

Previous to the civil rights bill, Towers has been successful in introducing and getting bills passed for non-discriminatory practices in labor unions. Labor unions in Kansas can not discriminate against members because of race or color; contractors on public buildings cannot discriminate in the hiring of Negroes as laborers.

Bills in eastern states covering civil rights are stronger in some respects than the one to be introduced, but this can be expected in that Kansas borders many southern states. 2-2-45

The bill if passed will make history because Kansas adjoins Missouri which is known as a typical "jim-crow" state.

The text of the bill is as follows:

House Bill No. 167

AN ACT to provide for the protection of citizens in their civil and Public rights, providing penalties for the violation thereof, amending Section 21-2424 of the General Statutes of 1935 and repealing said original section.

Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Kansas:

Section 1. Section 21-2424 of the General Statutes of 1935 is hereby amended to read as follows: Sec. 21-2424 That if any of the regents or trustees of any state university, college, or other school of public instruction, or the state superintendent, or the owner or owners, agents, trustees or managers in charge of any inn, hotel or boarding house, or any place of entertainment or amusement, public accommodation or recreation for which a license is required by any of the municipal authorities of this state, or the owner or owners or persons in charge of any steamboat, railroad, stage coach, omnibus, street car, or any other means of public carriage for persons or freight within the state, shall make any distinction on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, the person so offending shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof in any court of competent jurisdiction shall be fined in any sum not less than ten nor more than one thousand dollars, and shall aslo be liable to damages in any court of competent jurisdiction to the person or persons injured thereby. 2-2-45

Section 2. Section 21-2424 of the General Statutes of 1935 is hereby repealed.

Section 3. This act shall take effect and be in force from and after its publication in the statute book.

Anti-Poll Tax Bill Is on Its Way to Senate

P.M.

House Approval, For the Third Time, Is Conceded

5-31-45 PM Bureau

WASHINGTON, May 31.—The bill to abolish the poll tax is on its way toward the Senate again, and Southern Congressmen are watching to see what effect it has on agitation for State action.

House approval of the bill was assured Tuesday when the petition to force its discharge was completed by the signature of 218 members. This brings the measure before the House June 11. Its approval is conceded. 5-31-45

This is the third time the House has pried the bill loose from the Southern dominated Judiciary Committee and sent it to the Senate, where both times in the past it has died at the hands of a filibuster.

But each time the agitation has brought results. The first result was in Tennessee where the poll tax was abolished, then reinstated by the State Supreme Court. Since the Senate last acted, last year, Georgia has repealed her poll tax and there has been a movement to do the same in Alabama.

There is no way for the Southern minority in the House to block the anti-poll tax bill because House rules do not permit filibustering. But Senate rules are wide open and the Southerners there are expected again to make full use of it.

The bill could be passed in the Senate, too, if Senators who claim to favor it would support adoption of a Senate rule—known as cloture—which stops filibustering.

GI Assault Bill Passage Pressed

People's Voice N.Y.

2-24-45

WASHINGTON — The NAACP this week brought into the open its fight to have enacted a bill to protect servicemen and women from assault and other forms of violence on the part of civilians in southern communities.

In urging members of the House Judiciary Committee to take speedy and favorable action on H.R. 1528, a bill introduced January 16, to make it a federal crime to assault or kill a soldier or sailor, Leslie Perry of the Washington Bureau wrote:

2-24-45

"Hundreds of servicemen and women have been victims of wanton and unprovoked assault by civilians in certain sections of country simply because they were Negroes. Several known to have met death by violence. Department Justice repeatedly stated it is without jurisdiction to prosecute these unlawful acts. Attack on person wearing uniforms in effect an attack on United States itself. Unthinkable that Congress will continue to permit outrages go unpunished by failure to enact pending legislation."

Powell Introduces 6 Bills in 1 Day

APRO-AMERICAN Balt. Md.

WASHINGTON

Six pieces of legislation, including an anti-lynch bill and bill for permanent FEPC, were introduced in the House Wednesday by Rep. Adam C. Powell, Jr. (D., N.Y.). 2-3-45

The legislation was the first introduced by the new Congressman from New York's Twenty-second District. His other bills call for:

Citizenship Bills

Granting of suffrage and Congressional representation to residents of the District of Columbia, permitting the naturalization of natives of India living in this country, permitting the naturalization of Filipinos who are permanent residents of this country and served in the military or naval forces of the U.S. during World War I, and clarifying the citizenship status of certain natives of the Virgin Islands. 2-3-45

Powell Submits Seven Measures In Congress

Atlanta World - Ga.

2-3-45

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) — Seven bills were dropped in the Congressional Hopper by Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., (Democrat of New York) Wednesday. It marked Powell's first submission of legislative proposals, and came exactly three weeks after he was sworn in as the first Negro member of Congress from the State of New York.

Among the bills he introduced was one for a permanent FEPC (making the eighth introduced into the House of Representatives). It is the same bill submitted by six other congressmen. Like Representative Frank Hook (Democrat of Michigan) who have also submitted FEPC bills, is a member of the House Labor Committee which will consider the FEPC proposals.

Other bills introduced by Powell include an anti-lynching measure, a bill for extending suffrage to the citizens of the District of Columbia, one permitting persons from India to be naturalized, another permitting native-born Filipinos and those serving in the Armed Forces of the United States to be naturalized, and one giving the vote to natives of the Virgin Islands.

Powell has about ten thousand Virgin Islanders in his district in New York, about fifteen thousand Filipinos and two or three thousand Indians. 2-3-45

The new congressman is working on two other bills for submission to the congress. One of these will seek amendment to the Hatch Act. exempting Federal Civil Service Employees from its provisions. The other will strike at segregation and jimcrow on common carriers and interstate commerce.

Md. Senate Passes Altfeld Jim Crow Travelers' Bill

ANNAPOLIS, Md.—(ANP)—The Altfeld jimcrow transportation bill passed the Maryland senate by a vote of 20 to 9 last week.

A few weeks ago, Governor O'Conor asked the commission for the study of problems affecting the colored population of this state to give a formal expresion on a legislative bill to repeal the law restricting travelers on state transportation routes in Maryland in a letter to Joseph F. Healy, chairman of that body.

No report was given as to the nature of the Altfeld bill.

WASHINGTON, May 29.—The last five of the necessary 218 members of Congress today signed the petition to bring to a vote the anti-polltax bill sponsored by Rep. Vito Marcantonio, New York ALP leader.

The bill will be read to the House on Monday, June 11, and will be voted on Tuesday, June 12.

And if the folks back home insist on their Congressmen being present on June 12 the anti-polltax measure will go through by a tremendous majority, said Katherine Shryver, executive secretary of the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, last night.

The record vote of 1943 when House approved the Marcantonio measure by 265 ayes to 110 nayes can be beaten June 12 if enough members are present, said the anti-poll tax leader.

Credit for the victory goes to men like Rep. George Bender (R-O), head of the bipartisan House group behind the petition drive, who joined with Marcantonio and committee leaders in rolling up the signature roster.

Toughest fight for the enfranchising bill comes to the Senate, where filibusterers like Theodore Bilbo (D-Miss), will try to prevent the bill from coming to a vote.

The filibusterers, however, would appear to be somewhat weaker this year in their base in the South. Georgia ditched the polltax last winter and several Tennessee congressmen signed the petition.

Legislature Showered With Sundry Proposals

BY HUGH W. SPARROW
News Staff Writer

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—Besides the better known or more publicized proposals such as the dozen or more administration bills and the so-called controversial measures, the shower of 309 bills which descended on the House and Senate last week included a variety of interesting measures.

One was a bill to save human lives and another would give police closer tab on the public through extensive fingerprinting. Two others would improve the lot of Alabama's underdog farmers.

Also there was the so-called "Jiggs bill," giving henpecked husbands the right to divorce shrewish mates on grounds of violence. Another bill seeks to bring together for the first time in 38 years the football teams of the University of Alabama and Auburn. And, among other interesting proposals, there's a bill to shear the coroners of their powers.

What's in and behind some of these measures is outlined herewith:

* * *

STATE BLOOD BANK—There's an interesting background to a bill introduced in the House by Rep. George E. Stone, Jr., Mobile (H. 148) "appropriating $150,000 to acquire and distribute whole blood and plasma to Alabamians in need thereof."

It's the story of how Michigan about two years ago launched a new and highly successful experiment in the field of lifesaving.

The death of a workman from shock resulting from automobile accident injury while hospital attendants sought to check his credit standing before risking blood plasma which cost $30 a pint—was the tragic incident which touched off the successful venture.

Dr. C. C. Young, director of the Michigan State Health Department laboratories, according to an article by Paul De Kruif in a recent issue of Survey Graphic, was deeply stirred because of the tragedy. How many lives, he wondered, would be saved if plasma could be assured before an accident victim went into fatal shock.

The Red Cross blood donor campaign for wounded service men occurred to him and he decided to apply the same principle to saving lives of civilians. Appeals for blood met widespread response. Rich and poor alike responded democratically to the opportunity to cooperate in a worthy fight for life. Michigan's Gov. Harry F. Kelly likewise responded vigorously when state financial aid became necessary to provide and equip new laboratories.

The plan to provide free plasma, not merely to indigents but to any human being whose life depended on it, soon became a reality. Michigan makes an adequate appropriation—$214,000 a year—to maintain the system and Dr. Young estimates it has resulted in the saving of at least 1,000 lives annually. That means a life is saved at a cost of $258.

Vermont, Iowa and Texas have begun similar experiments and now Rep. Stone is ardently backing legislation which he hopes will start Alabama off on the same happy adventure in rescue of the perishing.

* * *

FARM TENANCY — An innovation in the field of agricultural economics in Alabama is proposed in companion bills by Rep. Moody Redd, Lauderdale, seeking to clarify and improve landlord and tenant farmer relations.

The main bill (H. 43) authorized landlord and tenantse to enter signed agreements to the end that if the tenant "has made farm improvements upon the leased premises the full returns of which have not been realized at the termination of the lease he shall be entitled to payment from the landlord for such unexhausted portion of the improvements made."

Improvements covered by the bill include "any improvements that yield a return over a period of years such as farm buildings, fences, wells, building of drains and ditches, construction of dams, planting of fruit trees or other perennial crops or any other improvements of like nature mutually agreed upon between the landlord and tenant as evidenced by contract signed by both parties."

What, you may wonder, is going to happen in case the landlord and tenant fail to agree on the value of such unexhausted farm improvements?

Simply this, that the question or questions on which they fail to agree may be submitted to a board of arbitration consisting of three persons, one to be named by the landlord, one by the tenant, and the third to be selected by the two already chosen.

The bill has teeth in it as to recommendations of arbitration boards. It provides that awards "shall be binding and have the full force and effect of a judgment."

In event you're thinking about what the landlord could expect of such an agreement, the answer is to be found in Sec. 2 of the Redd bill.

It provides that when a tenant, through ordinary negligence or wilful action, damages or allows damage to result to the landlord's real property the tenant shall compensate the landlord for such damage.

Abuse or misuse of farm land improvements are defined as "such acts as destruction of buildings, failure to use good husbandry in caring for and maintaining stands of grass, legumes or farm shelter belts, failure to prune, spray or otherwise properly care for fruit trees in accordance with agreement, failure to use accepted preventive measures to control erosion, and any other similar acts or measures that shall cause damage and change to the property or the use thereof."

The landlord has the same right as the tenant to submit disputed claims to arbitration.

The bill provides also that "nothing herein shall be construed to cancel the landlord's lien on the crop grown by the tenant, for advances in money, or other thing of value." The tenant, however, also has a lien on the landlord's properties on which unexhausted improvements have been made.

The other bill by Rep. Redd (H. 42) provides for termination of farm leases and for notices of termination.

It specifies that farm leases or rental agreements, whether written or oral, shall continue from year to year upon the same terms and conditions as the original lease or agreement, unless a new lease or agreement is substituted, or unless written notice of termination is given by either party to the other at least 90 days prior to termination date of the lease or agreement.

* * *

FOOTBALL BY LAW—The bill sponsored by Rep. Tram Sessions and three other House members requiring the Crimson Tide and Auburn's Tigers to meet annually on the gridiron beginning in 1946 is designed to break a 38-year feud.

When Alabama and Auburn teams last met in a baseball park, situated near a slag dump in Elyton, fists flew in wild confusion and police riot squads had to break up a free-for-all between rival student bodies. What caused the riot has long been forgotten but the feud has lingered on and on.

Previous Legislatures have tried to do something about bringing the teams together but in each instance the only action was a resolution. This time, however, there is much more authority behind the effort.

The Sessions measure orders the two teams to meet annually, beginning in 1946. If either team fails to appear the college it represents will have to pay a $23,000 fine to the educational trust fund. If both teams do not appear, then each college has to pay $23,000.

The Sessions bill is expected to receive action this week by the House education committee and Rep. Sessions expects to show the committee that similar feuds existed between rival state institutions in Georgia, South Carolina and Mississippi. In each case, he also expects to show, football relations were renewed after the Legislature passed an act commanding the rival teams to play.

* * *

FINGERPRINTING—Every person in Alabama other than transients between the ages of 6 and 61 would be fingerprinted under a bill (S. 25) by Sen. Bruce Henderson, Wilcox.

Section 38, Title 54, of the code, would be amended by the bill to require that every person "taken into custody and placed in jail by law enforcement officers for any offense shall immediately be fingerprinted."

Copies of these fingerprints, together with a "record card" listing the person's name, age, description, and an account of the arrest, would be filed with the FBI in Washington and with the State Department of Public Safety in Montgomery.

All persons between 6 and 61 residing in Alabama within six months after the passage of the bill would be required to present themselves to the sheriff for fingerprinting. Thereafter the sheriff would be required to fingerprint every child after he becomes 6 years of age. Records of the fingerprints would be made available to all local and federal law enforcement agencies. The bill provides also that the fingerprints shall be admissible as evidence.

Persons having had fingerprints made under this act could obtain identification cards from the sheriff for a nominal fee, a part of which would be retained by the sheriff.

Persons fingerprinted while in jail would be taxed a fee of 50 cents to pay the cost of fingerprinting.

Sheriffs would be authorized to collect a fingerprinting fee of 10 cents for each person fingerprinted during the first six months after passage of the law. Thereafter his fee would be 25 cents.

Any person over 16 or any parent or guardian of a child under that age who refuses to submit to fingerprinting would be guilty of a misdemeanor and subject to fine and sentence.

* * *

CORONER'S VERDICTS—Long before the Mayflower sailed the office of coroner was an old and well established one in England.

The office was written into the state laws of America and the coroner in some states continues to be a functionary. When tragedy strikes or when a foul deed has been committed, the coroner has a routine job to do.

It's his duty to issue findings specifying the cause of death.

High speed transportation, modern machinery, scientific devices and other complications of modern living likewise have complicated the job of returning verdicts.

Nowadays a great deal may hang in the balance when the coroner rules. For instance, when he declares a person committed suicide when the evidence was more or less in conflict, or when his ruling directly or indirectly implies that an accident victim died as a result of his own negligence it may save insurance companies from having to pay claims on a policy which had a suicide clause or it could be very effective evidence in accident suits.

Believing that the coroner should not have so much authority, Sen. James A. Simpson, Jefferson, has introduced a bill (S. 18) which amends an existing law by providing that coroner's verdicts shall not be admissible as evidence.

Solicitors and Grand Juries, Sen. Simpson believes, are capable of determining responsibility in cases of suspected foul play, and petty juries can decide better than one man the responsibility in a fatal accident.

"JIGGS BILL"—Like a cat with many lives, the so-called "Jiggs bill" has been struck down repeatedly by Alabama Legislatures during the last 20 or more years. Yet it always bounces back and is introduced again.

The 1945 Jiggs bill (H. 121), sponsored by Rep. Willis L. McIlwain, Bullock, like its predecessors, makes violence on the part of a wife grounds for divorce.

Many years ago the bill gained the nickname it has retained through the years because it would protect real life Jiggs from choleric Maggies. Why the Legislature invariably kills the bill has never been answered fully but the best guess all along has been that the votes in the House and Senate simply dislike to admit that men have to have a law for protection.

Since the McIlwain bill was introduced with the recommendation of the interim committee on constitution and legislative procedure it may have a little better chance of passage than former Jiggs bills.

615-1945

Legislation Suggested

POWELL INTRODUCES BILL BANNING JIM CROW TRAVEL

Washington, D. C.—At the request of the NAACP, Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., of New York, introduced a bill, drafted by the NAACP Legal Committee and the Washington Bureau, to prohibit segregation in interstate travel.

The bill provides "It shall be unlawful to segregate passengers traveling on any instrumentality or facility of carriage, or using any terminal facility, subject to this Act or account of such passengers' race or color. Any such segregation or attempt to segregate by any person or persons subject to this Act shall subject such person or persons to the penalties hereinafter provided for violation of this Act."

In introducing the bill, Representative Powell declared "The passage of an Anti-Jim Crow Transportation Act will be a blow against Hitler just as will the fall of Berlin. It will let the Negro GI's know that they are fighting a people's war. It will reassure the white GI's that their fellow Negro fighters, good enough to die in Europe and the Pacific, are good enough to ride anywhere in the United States of America."

Commenting upon the introduction of the bill, Leslie S. Perry of the Washington Bureau, NAACP, stated that it covered segregation sing state lines. It also prohib- in railroads, busses and boats cros- its segregation in bus and railroad stations, their restaurants and toilet facilities where such terminals are used by people traveling from one state to another.

Representative Powell and the NAACP declared their intention to press for immediate and speedy hearings in the House Interstate Commerce Committee to which the bill has been referred. The introduction of this legislation has been hailed by white and Negro organi- tions throughout the country, 10 have uniformly indicated to ongressman Powell and the NA CP their wholehearted support of e fight to outlaw Jim Crow in terstate travel.

Time for Study Suggested

No Need Is Seen for Hasty Action on Anti-Discrimination Bill

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The recent editorial in THE NEW YORK TIMES indicating the advisability of amending the Anti-Discrimination Bill is both a direction as well as a timely warning to all concerned.

THE TIMES points out that the enforcement provisions require further discussion, analysis and study; its pertinent comment implies dangers and pitfalls to which further thought and consideration are required.

For the Legislature to pass this bill in the heat and controversy now engendered will bring no political or moral credit to anyone nor harmony to the controversy.

The fact is that the great mass of the people are unaware of the details of the bill notwithstanding the public hearings that have been held. This is due to the fact that day and night our men and women have been busily engaged in war work, even their spare time being taken up in overtime work, to help win the war. Then, again, the soldiers now fighting and dying abroad should be given the opportunity for an expression of opinion.

Every American abhors discrimination and intolerance. America favors and advocates the moral principle involved. But to put people in jail and impose fines in an attempt to secure tolerance and to end discrimination—that is quite a different and dangerous experiment.

The advice of THE TIMES may well be taken by the Legislature without harm to anyone and with profit to all. The postponement of the measure for further discussion until the next session of the Legislature will greatly aid in a harmonious adjustment.

The bill was introduced for the first time on Jan. 30. A referendum of the question would not only ascertain the sentiment of the people but would also afford an excellent opportunity for a program of education.

HERBERT A. O'BRIEN,
Justice, Domestic Relations Court.
Jamaica, L. I., Feb. 26, 1945.

NEW YORK 'An Historic Step"

The State of New York, long used to pacing the Union in matters of social legislation. this week struck out on what may prove its most ambitious stride. The legislature passed and Governor Dewey signed a bill to outlaw employment discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin.

The new law, providing for a permanent five-man commission to decide cases of individuals who claim to have been unjustly discharged or denied jobs, was enthusiastically backed by the state's churchmen, the C.I.O., A.F. of L. and a host of other organizations. Said Governor Dewey: "Passage of the bill . . . is an historic step. I am happy indeed that our state has led the nation. . . ."

But the bill did not go unopposed. The powerful Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, which has an anti-Negro clause in its constitution, fought hard from an extremely awkward position. So did the State Chamber of Commerce and the State Bar Association. They and other opponents wondered how it was possible to legislate against the human feelings that bring discrimination about. Some employers went so far as to prophesy that New York's industries would move out and leave it a ghost state.

If industries did go so far as to move out of New York, they were likely to find fewer & fewer frankly discriminatory states to move into. Anti-discrimination measures like the New York law are under consideration in Massachusetts, New Jersey, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan and California.

Alabama Governor Seeks Change In State Primary Law

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — (SNS)— Governor Chauncey Sparks asked the legislature Tuesday to give thought to possible revision of the state's election laws in view of the recent Supreme Court decision permitting Negroes to vote in Texas Democratic primaries.

The governor also asked the legislature to submit to the people a constitutional amendment to abolish the cumulative feature of Alabama's $1.50 a year poll tax, saying "in my judgment it (the cumulative feature) is a deterrent to the exercise of the franchise by many of our best people."

'Many of our citizens neglect or forget to pay their poll tax," the governor said. "Several successive years of neglect or forgetfulness pile up a very real barrier."

Governor Sparks also recommended a regional education program for Negroes be set up with other states "which, as does Alabama, have a two-race school system, generally limited education facilities and moderate money resources."

He advocated a regional interchange of facilities 'until such time as Alabama will be securely equipped financially to make its system complete.

Weak Anti-Bias Bill Passed By New Jersey Assembly: Passage By State Senate Assured

TRENTON, N. J.—The New Jersey Assembly on Friday night passed a roundly-criticized fair employment practices act sponored by Assemblyman James O. Hill, of Newark, only Negro member Passage by the State Senate is assured.

The measure was severely criticized by Democratic members—although they voted for it as a "step in the right direction"—on the ground that the bill was not strong enough and that it lacked full enforcement power. Moves by Democrats to strengthen the bill by amending it were unsuccessful on stricty party voting.

The bill creates a "division against discrimination" in the State Department of Educaton and provides that the act be enforced by the State Commissioner of Education through a $7,000 a year assistant and a seven-member non-salaried advisory council.

The placing of the enforcement of the bill in the hands of the State Education Department was criticized not only by the Democrats but also by some Republicans. Assemblyman Mildred V. Hardester, Essex County Republican, called it a "grave injustice." She said that while she was in accord with the bill, the State Department of Education was ill-equipped to handle such an unrelated subject. This more or less summarized the opposition to the bill.

The bill provides that any person who believes himself or herself subject to discrimination or segregation may file a complaint with the division against discrimination, after which the Commissioner of Education, through his assistant, must attempt to eliminate the condition through conference, conciliation or persuasion." Failing in that course, he then must hold a hearing and, if the aggrived person is upheld, the offender must comply under threat of being charged with a misdemeanor. Conviction carries $500 fine under the bill.

The bill prohibits discrimination in employment, union membership and public assemblies because o race, color or creed.

Mrs. Roosevelt Given Life Franking Rights

Washington, May 3 (U.P.)—Congress today approved lifetime free use of the mails for Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. The Senate passed and sent to the White House a bill giving Mrs. Roosevelt the franking privileges, after adopting a House amendment which would permit her to use a facsimile signature.

Signs, Anti-Jim Crow Bill

Philadelphia Tribune

A section of the large group of citizens of both races who met on April 16 in the Executive Chamber at Trenton, N. J., to witness the signing by Gov. Walter E. Edge of seven anti-discrimination bills introduced by Assemblyman J. Otto Hill, of Essex County. Sitting (left to right) are: Anthony Myer Pesin of Jersey City; Gov. Edge and Assembly M. Hill. Back of the Governor is Mrs Sara Washington of Atlantic City.

Powell Vote

AFRO-American

Draws Censure

Balto, Md.

Blamed for Aid to 'Work or Jail' Bill

DANGERS CITED

2-10-45

Took Floor Against Anti-J.C. Amendment

(See Editorial and Cartoon Inside)

By JOE SHEPHARD

WASHINGTON

A large measure of responsibility for House passage of the May "Work or Jail Bill," described by leading colored organizations as a bid for the re-enslavement of colored workers, was laid at the door of Congressman Adam Clayton Powell this week by Washington observers. 2-10-45

Despite strong Administration pressure for its passage, opponents of the May Bill as late as Wednesday felt confident of their ability to bring about its defeat through the addition of anti-closed shop and anti-discrimination amendments which would alienate the support of labor and Southern members of the House.

Passed 246-165

The bill passed the House on Thursday by a vote of 246 to 165, but only after the stage had been set late Wednesday by the defeat of the anti-closed shop and anti-discrimination amendments which had been so heavily counted upon by labor and liberal House members.

Playing a major role in the defeat of the anti-discrimination amendment was New York's freshman Representative, who sparked the Administration steam roller with the declaration that the amendment represented a "cheap partisan trick to play upon racial prejudice."

Text of Amendment

The amendment, introduced by Rep. Charles Clason (R., Mass.), provided that:

"The director of War Mobilization and Reconversion may not certify to the director of Selective Service for the purpose of this section any plant. facility, or farm which discriminates in employment because of race, creed or color or which fails to file with the director of War Mobilization and Reconversion a declaration that it will accept for employment any individual without regard to race, creed or color."

Party Pledges Cited

In introducing the amendment, Representative Clason cited preelection commitments of both parties in favor of establishing of a permanent FEPC and urged utilization of the reservoir of manpower represented by colored workers now discriminated against by war industry.

Representative Clason, who is one of the sponsors of Permanent FEPC legislation slated to be reported by the House Labor Committee early this week, also cited testimony favoring the amendment which had been offered during House hearings by Philip Murray CIO president.

Other Arguments

The introduction of the amendment had been strongly urged also by Mrs. Thomasina Walker Johnson, AKA legislative representative and Massachusetts State Democratic Committeewoman.

Mrs. Johnson told Representative Clason that enactment of the bill without an anti-discrimination amendment would place Southern colored workers at the tender mercies of hostile draft boards and would make certain their regimentation into arduous and low-paying farm jobs and would freeze them in the status of unskilled laborers and janitors in other fields of war industry.

Voted Down 148-113

Congressman Powell's speech followed closely behind an attack by Majority Leader John McCormack (D., Mass.), who said that its adoption would be hostile to the enactment of the May bill and might interfere "with the work of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices.

The speech, which took liberal and labor members of the House by complete surprise, was immediately followed by a vote on the amendment which resulted in its defeat by a count of 148-113.

Upon leaving the floor, Congressman reiterated his doubts of the sincerity of the supporters of the Clason Amendment and voiced his belief that the May bill should be passed or defeated upon its own merits, unimpeded by the issue of race.

Cites Opposition to Bill

Asked by an AFRO reporter whether he favored the passage of the May bill, Congressman Powell said that he was opposed to the bill and gave the reporter a purported copy of his speech.

This copy of the speech and the "revised and extended" version which appeared in the Congressional Record two days later contained an attack upon the amendment and a strong attack upon the May bill itself.

It was learned later, however, that members of the House had been denied the benefit of the New Yorker's attack upon the bill proper, since Mr. Powell delivered on the floor only that part of his speech dealing with the amendment.

count of such passengers' race or color. 2-13-45

"Any such segregation or attempt to segregate by any person or persons subject to this act shall subject such person or persons to the penalities hereinafter provided for violation of this act."

Called "Blow at Hitler"

In introducing the bill, Representative Powell declared:

"The passage of an anti-jim-crow transportation act will be a blow against Hitler just as will the fall of Berlin. It will let the colored GI's know that they are fighting a people's war.

"It will reassure the white GI's that their fellow colored fighters, good enough to die in Europe and the Pacific, are good enough to ride anywhere in the United States of America." 2-13-45

Commenting upon the bill, Leslie S. Perry of the Washington Bureau, NAACP, said it covered segregation in railroads, planes, busses and boats crossing State lines, bus and railroad stations, restaurants and toilet facilities.

Would Supersede State Law

The Congressman added that the bill is so drawn as to outlaw segregation in railroad and bus stations and airports even though separate waiting rooms, restaurants and the like are required by State law. The bill provides penalties up to $5,000.

Representative Powell and the NAACP declared their intention to press for immediate and speedy hearings in the House Interstate Commerce Committee to which the bill has been referred.

The introduction of this legislation has been hailed by white and colored organizations throughout the country, who have uniformly indicated to Congressman Powell and the NAACP their wholehearted support of the fight to outlaw jim crow in interstate travel.

Bans J. C. Travel

Balt., Md.

2-10-45

WASHINGTON

Congressman A. Clayton Powell, Jr. (D., N.Y.), has introduced a bill, drafted by the NAACP legal committee and the Washington Bureau, to prohibit segregation in interstate travel.

The bill provides:

"It shall be unlawful to segregate passengers traveling on any instrumentality or facility of carriage or using any terminal facility, subject to this act on ac-

New Powell Bill

AFRO-American

NAACP Cites Record to Show Soldiers' Lives Are Endangered

P.M. N.Y. 2-13-45

By JOHN T. MOUTOUX
PM's Bureau

sec 40

WASHINGTON, Feb. 13.—Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson has been urged by the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) to back legislation abolishing Jim Crow laws and practices in interstate travel. The bill has been introduced by Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, of New York.

Enforcement of Jim Crow laws in the South has resulted in "inconvenience, delay, humiliation, assault and in many instances death" to Negro soldiers. Leslie S. Perry, of the Washington office of the NAACP, wrote Stimson.

The Record

Perry cited these cases that have occurred during the past months:

¶ Eleven Negro soldiers attached to Camp Gordon, Ga., were arrested while on furlough en route to Aiken, S. C. Because of a misunderstanding over Jim Crow seating arrangements, they were arrested, taken before a magistrate in Aiken, found guilty and sentenced to 30 days on the chain gang. Efforts of military authorities to obtain their release were unavailing, Perry said, and as a result they remained on the chain gang until their fines were paid by other soldiers from their savings.

¶ Privates Gladys Blackman and Roberta McKenzie, WACs stationed at Camp Sibert, Ala., were "brutally beaten and dragged from a Crescent Motor Lines bus by police at Gadsden, Ala., on Dec. 23, 1944, and detained until released into the custody of military authorities because they refused to surrender to a white person their seat in the section of the bus set apart for colored persons." 2-13-45

Stimson

¶ The fatal shooting of Pvt. Booker T. Specely, attached to Camp Butner, N. C., several months ago by a bus driver at Durham, N. C., because of a misunderstanding about seating arrangements.

Robinson's Story

Perry furnished PM a detailed account of the incident involving the 31 Negro soldiers who were sentenced to the South Carolina chain gang. It was a report by Sgt. Aubrey E. Robinson, Jr., one of the victims.

His report follows, in part:

"I left Camp Gordon, Ga., on a pass to visit some friends at Aiken, S. C. I boarded a Valley Coach Line bus in Augusta, Ga., to make the 18-mile trip. Complying with the Jim Crow laws of the State, I moved to the rear of the bus. . . .

"About eight miles from Augusta one of the seats near the middle of the bus was emptied when one of the passengers got off. . . .

Standing in the aisle was a colored soldier who continued to stand by the empty seat until a white soldier touched his arm and told him to sit down, he didn't mind. 2-13-45

"This the colored soldier did and they engaged in conversation until the bus reached Warrenville, S. C. There the bus driver saw the two soldiers sitting together and ordered the colored soldier to move. This he did without hesitation or protest. The white soldier was indignant and protested against the driver's action but was told that the laws of the State did not permit such seating. . . .

"At this same stop several colored passengers got on the bus. There was standing room only except for one seat about three-quarters of the way to the rear. This was occupied by an elderly white civilian who was asleep.

"A middle-aged colored woman got on the bus, noticed the empty seat, and asked the driver if he would ask the man to move to a seat in the front which had just been emptied. The bus driver very gruffly told her no, and if she didn't like it she could get her money back and get off the bus.

Strikes Woman

2-13-45

"She went to the front to get her refund and as she started down the steps of the bus, the bus driver took his fist and struck her across the back of the head.

"Several white soldiers grabbed the driver and prevented him from inflicting further blows. From our seats in the rear we demanded that he cease before we ourselves used force. Not one of us did more than raise a verbal protest.

"The bus driver grabbed up his money box and left the bus. In about 15 minutes another bus pulled up. . 2-13-45

"We asked to have the military police notified, and sat in the empty bus. Instead of military police, two carloads of county police and armed civilians pulled up and ordered us to the rear of the bus. We were driven directly to the county jail and locked up.

Incommunicado

"We asked to be allowed to notify our units and were told it would be done. Later we learned it had not been done, and we remained locked up from 9 p.m. Saturday until 6 p.m. Monday.

"Monday evening we were taken before a court. The bus driver was the only witness. He perjured himself in every sentence of his testimony. We pleaded not guilty, and I told the court everything that had happened. 2-13-45

"The judge gave us a tongue-lashing and fined us for disorderly conduct. I was fined $25 or 30 days on the chain gang, as were two others. The others were fined $15 or 30 days on the chain gang.

"No one of us had enough money to pay his fine, so we pooled our money and paid the fine of one of our buddies."

At the county farm, the soldiers were ordered to wear striped convict clothes.

The soldier whose fine had been paid returned to camp, and told what had happened. The soldiers there pooled their savings to pay the fines of the remaining 30, who were found at work on chain gangs under armed guard.

NEW YORKER OPPOSED ANTI-BIAS PROVISION

Pittsburgh Courier 2-10-45 Penn.

WASHINGTON, D. C. — After Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Democrat, of New York, had spoken in opposition to adoption of an anti-race discrimination amendment to the limited National Service Bill, the House went on to pass the measure last Thursday by a vote of 246 to 165.

The anti-race discrimination amendment was rejected after the House had beaten down an attempt to write into the bill an anti-closed shop agreement.

Defeat of both amendments followed a plea by Speaker Sam Rayburn of Texas who took the floor and told the House to vote down all controversial amendments and pass the bill. 2-10-45

Rankin-Powell: Walked Together, Not Alone

During the recent House vote on the anti-discrimination amendment to the "Work or Jail" Bill, according to the newspaper PM, race-baiter Representative John E. Rankin (Dem., Miss.) and Harlem's Representative Adam Clayton Powell filed up the aisle together. Powell once said Rankin " . . . is distasteful to me." Rankin had formerly declared he wouldn't sit with Powell, because he was a Negro.

GOP FOR AMENDMENT

The anti-race discrimination amendment offered by Representative Charles R. Clason, Republican, of Massachusetts, lost out by a rising vote of 148 to 113, with Republicans voting solidly for the amendment and Democrats against it. The amendment would have provided as follows:

"That the Director of War Mobilization and Reconversion may not certify to the Director of Selective Service for the purposes of this section any plant, facility, or farm which discriminates in employment because of race, creed or color or which fails to file with the Director of War Mobilization and Reconversion a declaration that it will accept for employment any individual without regard to race, creed or color."

Both Mr. Powell and Representative William L. Dawson of Chicago voted against the Clason Amendment. Mr. Powell left his own seat to stand beside Mr. Dawson while the vote was being taken.

Earlier Mr. Clason had offered to withdraw the amendment if Representative John W. McCormack of Massachusetts, House majority leader, would assure him that the Rules Commtitee would report a rule bringing to the House for consideration a bill to create a permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee.

Mr. McCormack would make no commitment. In the absence of a rule, a discharge petition will have to be filed and signed by a majority of the members.

In his maiden speech Mr. Powell proved naive. He denounced the amendment as "a cheap partisan trick to play upon racial prejudice in order to defeat a bill which should stand or fall on its own merit." 2-10-45

BLASTS POWELL

He said adoption of the amendment would not help the colored worker in the slightest and that what is wanted is a permanent FEPC.

Mr. Powell on the next day voted to recommit the bill and against its passage. Mr. Dawson did not vote on either the motion to recommit or on final passage of the bill.

The argument of Mr. Powell that the Clason Amendment would not help the colored worker any more than he is now being helped by the Executive Order barring discrimination in employment in war industries was blasted by Representative Frank E. Hook, Democrat, of Michigan, a former regional director of FEPC.

Mr. Hook told the House that race and religious discrimination is practiced throughout the Nation. He cited Capital Transit Company which refuses to hire qualified colored persons as operators of its buses and street cars while "people stand upon the streets shivering and the people who want to get to work in the war agencies here in Washington lose time every day." 2-10-45

SHIPYARDS REFUSE TO USE NEGROES

In Houston, Tex., he pointed out, there is one school for training white welders only and another that trains both white and colored welders, but the Todd-Houston and the Brown Shipbuildng Companies would not hire the colored welders trained at the Government School.

While the ship-repair industry needs 99,000 additional workers, Mr. Hook said, many shipyards refuse to employ colored workers except as unskilled laborers.

Companies he named as discriminating against colored workers included the following:

"Missouri Valley Bridge & Iron Co., Evansville, Ind.—This company, making vital LST landing craft, employs more than 17,000 white, but only 700 Negroes. The company refuses to promote or hire Negroes as welders despite critical need for welders.

"St. Johns River Shipbuilding Co., Jacksonville, Fla. — This company employs 12,000 whites and 1,500 non-whites, yet refuses to employ Negroes as learners or apprentice welders because of the opposition of the local Metal Trades Council which has a closed-shop contract.

PASS OVER WOMEN

"Bethlehem Fairfield Shipyards, Baltimore, Md.—This plant, employing about 35,000 persons, has refused to hire Negro women in any capacity other than as janitresses. When pressed to hire Negro women as well as white women, it stopped the hiring of women altogether. WMC estimates that there are 3,000 to 5,000 Negro women available for shipyard work in Baltimore, some of whom have been trained in Government schools at Government expense for semi-skilled work in shipyards. 2-10-45

"Richmond Shipyard, Richmond, Calif.—The Kaiser Company operating this shipyard is unable to employ Negroes in skilled jobs under the jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists because Local 824 of that union refuses to admit them. The International Association of Machinists has a clause in its ritual which bars the admission of Negroes.

"Todd-Johnson Shipyards, New Orleans—This company has 4,000 employees, of whom only 460 are Negroes employed only as laborers.

"Todd-Pacific Shipyards, State of Washington—Less than one per cent of its staff are Negroes, although Negroes constitute as much as ten per cent of the staff of other West-coast shipyards.

BILL COVERS 18-45 GROUP

"Lake Washington Shipyards, State of Washington, employs 5,000 employees, but only 33 Negroes.

"Todd Galveston Dry Docks—Total employees 3,400; non-white, 1,000. Negroes never used above helper classification in last 25 years, despite intense effort to recruit new workers. Experience Negro 'helpers' used to break in white inexperienced 'mechanics'."

As passed by the House, the Fight-Work-Jail/or Fine Bill covers nearly 19,000,000 men in the 18 to 45 age group. It freezes these men in their war or war-supporting jobs and provides for reclassification to 1-A of any of them who leave the jobs without draft board consent.

The Director of War Mobilization and Reconversion is empowered to certify from time to time to the Director of Selective Service, after consultation with management, labor and agriculture, the plants, facilities or farms which cannot meet manpower needs through application of the "freeze," or through voluntary recruiting. 2-11-45

The Selective Service Director then would designate various categoreis of deferred registrants, 18 to 45, to fill these manpower needs. Certain advantages would be given discharged veterans in this selection of manpower.

LOCAL DRAFT BOARDS WOULD DIRECT WORKERS

Local draft boards would direct deferred registrants—4-F's or others—within their jurisdiction to war jobs, first in the immediate locality, and secondly, some distance away. The men so directed to war work would receive travel pay, subsistence payments, the benefits of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Civil Relief Act, and the re-employment benefits of the Selective Training and Service Act. 2-10-45

Conscientious objectors would be exempted from war work, but would have to take jobs "in the national interest."

The registrants thus ordered into war work would have a "reasonable choice" of employers, which selective service has described as three or four.

For registrants who refuse to take the war jobs selected for them by their draft boards there could be three types of punishment—induction into the armed services, a fine of $10,000, five years' imprisonment, or both fine and imprisonment. The draft board would select the penalty.

Adam Powell Criticized

Helped Southerners Kill Racial Clause

Pittsburgh Courier Penn.

2-10-45

By AUSTIN NORRIS, Philadelphia Bureau

WASHINGTON—Congressman Adam Clayton Powell Jr. delivered his maiden speech in Congress, Jan. 31. It was a dud. It disappointed his friends and admirers and evoked a storm of acrimonious attacks from leaders. He spoke against an anti-discrimination amendment being attached to the work-or-jail bill.

Leading Negro civic organizations, including the NAACP, have opposed the work-or-jail bill on the ground that Negroes, particularly 8,000,000 Negroes in the South, would most likely be confined to the most undesirable jobs and would have no recourse or appeal from such assignments. They would be forced to take the job assigned by the draft board or go to jail. The only way prejudice and discrimination based on color could be avoided in assigning these jobs was to have an anti-discrimination provision as a part of this act.

2-10-45

VIOLENT ATTACK

It was this provision to prevent discrimination based on race or color which Congressman Powell violently attacked. The amendment introduced by Congressman Charles R. Clason of Massachusetts stated that "no man drafted to work under the work-or-jail bill should be barred from employment by reason of race, color or creed."

Powell attacked this amendment as a "cheap, partisan trick" to defeat the work-or-jail bill and said "this amendment would only complicate the present racial situation." He observed that the question of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee would come before Congress in separate legislation. He also was quoted as saying that "since President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802 there is no racial dis-crimination in war industries in the United States."

ATTACKED BY RANKIN

This amendment was under severe attack by Representative Rankin and other Negro-hating Southerners and it was shocking to see Powell aiding these Southern Crackers. The newspaper PM said Powell walked down the aisle with Rankin to cast his vote against this race amendment. It is believed that Powell's speech defeated the amendment, for it is possible many Congressmen felt that if Negro representatives were not interested in protecting their own people, there was no need of their fighting for it. The amendment was defeated by a vote of 148 to 113. It is also charged that Powell, after delivering his speech, had much of what he said deleted from the Congressional Record, evidently fearing the just indignation of Negroes.

POWELL CALLED TRAITOR

Negro leaders point out that had Powell fought for the amendment and kept it in the bill, the entire work-or-jail bill would likely have been defeated, as Southerners would not have supported work-or-jail legislation if Negroes were to be given a fair deal.

The Congressman's position was made even more inconsistent when on Thursday he voted against the bill, which on Wednesday he had fought to save by lining up against the anti-discrimination amendment.

2-10-45

Although nearly every Negro leader denounced Congressman Powell's speech, the bittertst public criticism came from Edgar Brown, who termed Powell "a jellyfish and a traitor to his race, who had sabotaged the opportunity for equal employment rights of thirteen million Negroes.

LOSING POPULARITY

Powell, who came to Washington with more fanfare and promise than almost any other Congressman, is said to be losing popularity swiftly among Negro newsmen and officials. His domineering manner toward high Negro Government officials has already estranged a number of them and the Negro newspapermen are concerned, among other things, over a recent incident. Powell sought to be the speaker at a dinner of Negro newsmen. After objections by some of the newsmen had been overcome Powell was invited to speak. After the dinner had been going on for some time and Powell had not appeared, the newsmen contacted his office and were told by Powell's secretary that the Congressmen had matters of too great importance to attend the dinner. These are but several occurrences which are deflating Congressmen Powell.

Powell Tells Why He Voted Against Curb

New York Amsterdam News

2-10-45

Solon Brands Amendment To Work or Fight Bill 'Cheap Partisan Trick'

WASHINGTON (Special) —Defending his vote against an amendment to the "work or fight" bill, which was designed to prevent discrimination against persons on account of race, creed or color, Representative Adam C. Powell branded the amendment as a cheap partisan trick to play upon racial prejudice in order to defeat a bill which should stand or fall on its own merits.

In his maiden speech in Congress on Wednesday, the New York Congressman said, in discussing the amendment offered by Rep. Clason (R. Mass.) to the bill, that he was opposed to the bill itself for the reason he would explain later.

Doubted Sincerity

"I do not believe there is any sincere concern on the part of the proponents of this amendment for its passage," Powell said. "This amendment has erroneously been called an FEPC amendment. This is most emphatically what it is not. The FEPC is a committee set up by Executive Order No. 8802 of the President of the United States. The passage of this amendment," he added "will not in the slightest help the Negro worker or the worker of any other minority any more than he is being helped now. Under Executive Order No. 8802 administered by the Fair Employment Practices Committee, there can be no discrimination in industry during war time.

"What we are interested in is a permanent FEPC—a permanent Act of this Congress which will forever,. in wartime and peacetime, rule out discrimination in public and private employment," he said.

Hit "Cheap Politics"

"It is the cheapest and lowest form of politics to play upon any subject as delicate as is the subject of race in connection with legislation which is distinctly of a non-racial character," the Congressman continued. "This bill should stand upon its own merits. It is a disservice to this country at any time to insincerely bring in the idea of race. If the members on the other side of the aisle are so interested in the FEPC let them come forward, stand up and be counted when the bill is reported out of the Committee on Labor.

His Reasons

Explaining his reasons for being against the May-Dailey bill, Mr Powell said:

(1) The local Selective Service Boards are not equipped to deal with the recruitment of manpower for war producduction.

(2) No provision is made for appeal from decision by the Selective Service Board.

(3) The War Manpower Commission with its local labor management committees and farm committees now has the power to prevent workers from leaving essential war jobs.

(4) There is no provision whatsoever for appeal from arbitrary determination by local Selective Service Board that a worker should not leave his present war job, in spite of adverse working conditions.

(5) Although labor is to be drafted there is no provision whatsoever for the drafting of industrial facilities and capital. Through the proper coordination of the procurement agencies, the War Production Board and the War Manpower Commission with their already existing labor - management-farm committees we can "get the right man in the right place at the right time."

(6) Admiral King and General Marshall did not ask for this specific legislation. Mr. Batcheller, Chief of Operations of the War Production Board, said that current shortages were only 25% due to labor shortages.

(7) And finally, I am opposed to this Bill," he said, "because it fundamentally negates the entire American tradition of the freedom of contract. I will never subscribe to the philosophy that the end justifies the means. We are out to win this war but not just another victory. We want to win a permanent people's democratic victory. We cannot gain a moral victory with immoral means. This bill is immoral. It is totalitarian. Its passage would mean that in the "land of the free and the home of the brave" we have reverted to slavery — not just of the blacks but of the entire American working class."

Those Who Opposed

Local groups including the Negro Labor Victory Committee, in a telegram by its executive secretary, Charles Collins, had urged Congressman Powell to support the amendment. Among the others who opposed the amendment were Congressman William L. Dawson, (D. Ill.), Vito Marcantonio (A. L. P., N. Y.). John Rankin, (D., Miss.)

CIVIL RIGHTS BILL KILLED IN SENATE

The Northwest Enterprise - Seattle, Wash.

The Civi Rights Bill-S. D. 34 introduced in this session of the legislature, and which warranted a public hearing before the judiciary committee Tuesday night January 30, did after a third reading become the special order of business before the senate Wednesday, 10:30 a. m., February 7.

2-14-45

Another record crowd in the senate hall balcony heard Thomas Mahoney, sponsor of the bill, make his final plea for the bill. Some spectators who had heard his previous talks, thought this final one void of much of his former seeming sincerity. Coe McKenna, co sponsor, based his last few comments on the fact that "why shouldn't I favor and vote for this measure which would give Negroes of Oregon citizen rights—why a very honest colored woman reared our children—she was just another ne of the family." Lew Wallace, the other co-sponsor, was mum. President of the senate ask the clerk to call the roll. It was with some degree of confidence or rather optimism, having heard so many talks by representatives of organizations religious and civic supporting the bill and the letters, telegrams and resolutions that flooded senators and legislators, the writer of this article (a spectator) just leaned back in her seat to check all the YES.' But to her grave disappointment there were 6 yes' and 24 nos. There are only 5 Democrats in the senate; they and one Republican voted or the measure. They were Mahoney, Wallace, Strayer, Ellis, Moser and McKenna, Republican.

TWO NEGRO CONGRESSMEN TURNED THUMBS DOWN ON FEPC RIDER INTRODUCED BY A REPUBLICAN

Plaindealer Kansas City, Kansas

2-9-45

Washington. (ANP) — Both Congressman Adam Clayton Powell and William L. Dawson, America's two Negro congressmen, turned thumbs down last week on an FEPC rider to labor draft legislation introduced by Republican Representative Charles R. Clasen of Massachusetts.

The amendment forced Powell, New York's first Negro congressman, to make his maiden speech in which he said Negroes do not want a "trick clause" in the bill which would be a temporary political expedient. He charged GOP sponsors of the rider with committing a "cheap partisan trick" designed to defeat the bill.

Powell's speech, which virtually assured defeat for the rider, revealed that the objectionable amendment was intended to antagonize southern congressman so as to assure their votes against the labor draft measure. By a vote of 148 to 113, the clause, which would have forbidden discrimination because of race, creed or color by employers of workers assigned to war plants, was killed.

Negroes would not be satisfied with a temporary measure inserted in a war bill but wanted a permanent FEPC set up under a separate congressional statute, Powell said. Rep. Clasen, who introduced the FEPC rider, charged that pending legislation for a permanent FEPC would be pigeonholed by the house rules committee.

Final passage of the labor draft bill seemed assured by defeat of the FEPC rider and an anti-closed shop amendment and many of the congressmen who voted against Rep. Clasen's rider have already pledged support to a permanent FEPC bill.

Rep. William L. Dawson, representing Chicago's first congressional district, backed Congressman Powell in his stand against Clasen's rider.

?

Lest We Forget

2-23-45

By FRANK L. WILLIAMS

St. Louis Argus Mo

OPPOSITION to the approval of the New Constitution is a serious and grave responsibility of any citizen. Its rejection calls for frank, candid, and thoughtful reasons.

'Tis true that this formulation of the fundamental and basic laws of the state makes vital and far reaching improvement on the old constitution. The administration of the state government has long needed reform. A more effective cooperation of the several departments of the state have called earnestly for a better adjustment. Some of the outworn practices needed to be replaced with more modern conceptions of state governments. 2-23-45

Citizens of all groups had a right to expect that the delegates to the Constitutional Convention would consider and regard each inhabitant of the state as sharing with all other inhabitants alike in the dispensations of the state. It was not the prerogative of these delegates to formulate a law affecting harmfully with humiliation one group to evoke the favor of another group.

The essential and definite reason for opposition to the approval of the New Constitution by Negro voters is the fact that it sets up a pattern of segregation for the education of Negro children.

Negro people opposing the approval of the New Constitntion have not asked that Negro and white children be educated together, as a constitutional provision. They did wish that the New Constitution would limit its action to providing for the education of the children of the state, and leave to the several sections of the state all local plans which might be desired by any particular section. 2-23-45

The formulizers of the New Constitution decided what they and others like-minded wished to arrange for the Negro people; and they proceeded to effect their plans without the consent of Negroes. They have not so offended any other group within the state. So, for today, for tomorrow and forever they hope to fix the Negro people in the place where they wish them to be. They take no account of justice, equality of opportunity, or the broad principle of democracy.

If one inquires into the practical working of the pattern of segregation in concrete situations, he discovers that segregated people are an unhappy group. The fires of discontent burn within them; they yearn for deliverance from their bondage; they crave the fulfillment of their existence. 2-23-45

According to the public press, Negro soldiers and sailors have been forced to experience the humiliation of looking on while Nazis prisoners shared with white American soldiers and sailors the privileges of the restaurants and other facilities for travel and recreation. The Negro members of our fighting forces are made to understand that they belong to a country where the pattern of segregation prevails.

So the tragic situation finds an abiding place in the "land of the free and the home of the brave." An alien, who wishes to overthrow our government, seeks destruction of nation, and the enslavement of all the people, may come into our state and will readily be offered all the rights and privileges of the majority group. At the same time these are denied to loyal citizens, men, who in times of peace contributed to the building of the city, and in times of war imperiled all for the security of the nation.

Thus segregation circumscribes, prescribes and sets the bounds of the Negro people, beyond which they cannot pass, in their social, political and economic life. These Negroes are eager for an education, but the doors of institutions of learning are closed; they may present themselves with the highest efficiency for jobs advertising for workers, but the jobs are not for Negro people; they may wish a house where a family may live with self-respect and dignity, but Negroes are not wanted on a street where there is a vacant house.

Segregation interferes with contacts and associations which some white people may desire with Negro people. Clearly such interference is against the democratic way of living. 2-23-45

Segregation has reacted unfavorably upon both the Negroes and the white people. It has encouraged the growth of narrowness, prejudice and intolerance on the part of white people toward Negroes. It has developed suspicion, loss of confidence, unfriendliness, deception and an implicitly hostile attitude toward white people. Even the ordinary kindnesses and courtesies of human relationships are abolished under the despicable influence of the practice of segregation.

Even the quality of mercy is strained. Dr. Will W. Alexander tells in an article in Harper's January number that a Negro woman was injured at a railroad station by an automobile. A white woman, seeing the prostrate form lying on the ground called for an ambulance. When the ambulance appeared the driver discovered the injured person was a Negro woman. He asserted "I cannot haul niggers... A young woman in the service of the YWCA was injured in a railroad wreck. For first aid treatment she was taken to a nearby hospital. When it was discovered she was a Negro woman first aid was denied, and the young lady died before she could be brought to a hospital. 2-23-45

The dynamics of segregation are destructive to human personality. On the 27th of February, let your vote give affirmation to this declaration.

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN NEW CONSTITUTION

Message from Association

St. Louis Argus Mo.

(X) Against Proposed Constitution

2-23-45

While there are many provisions in the proposed new Constitution to be voted on by the people February 27, 1945, which will adversely affect the citizens generally, attention is directed to one matter therein of special interest to our citizens of the colored race.

All are familiar with Section 3 of Article XI of the present Constitution of Missouri requiring the establishment and maintenance of separate public schools for colored children. In contrast with this, the proposed Constitution contains a provision sanctioning and authorizing the closing of every one of such separate schools, and it is our understanding that there are 381 such institutions in the State.

Our approach to this question is not founded upon racial prejudice; we are interested in the welfare of all our citizens. However, it would seem to us to be more conducive to the best interest of colored children to have them educated in an environment consisting of pupils and teachers which are wholly sympathetic with them. 2-23-45

We have an acquaintance who, as a boy, attended grade school in a small town located in the State of Kansas, and he says that he has no recollection of any of the colored children of his classes participating in the various holiday programs had from time to time in that school.

Furthermore, we are wondering what will happen to the approximately 1,656 colored persons in Missouri who have dedicated their lives to the lofty profession of teaching, when and as these separate schools are closed. 2-23-45

Numerous white and colored persons with whom we have discussed this matter are of the opinion that it is neither likely nor desirable that colored teachers will be employed to teach in schools where the great majority of the pupils or students are of the white race. This matter also deserves serious consideration with reference to those of the present and future generations of colored persons who aspire to the profession of school teaching.

We have before us an article published in the St. Louis Star-Times of January 17, 1945, on page seven, under a headline reading: "Lashley Urges Negroes to Back New Constitution," and in which article it is stated that the section of the new Constitution equalizing the pay of white and colored teachers would be advantageous to Negroes. As to this section, how will it benefit the teachers whose schools are to be eventually closed pursuant to Section 1 of Article IX of the proposed new Constitution? 2-3-45

Moreover, reference is made in that same newspaper article to a provision of the new Constitution which may possibly result in the colored people gaining four or five seats in the General Assembly. Frankly, we are unable to see much wisdom or profit to be realized by supporting a document which will, at once, jeopardize and eventually destroy the employment of 1,656 professional persons of the Negro race in order to get jobs in the legislature for four or five other colored persons.

As we view the situation, this is one of the seriously objectionable features of the proposed new Constitution.

Therefore, you are urged to go to the polls on February 27, 1945, and vote this way:

X AGAINST the proposed Constitution."

Sincerely,

LEO J. CLAVIN. Director

61-1945 Maryland

MARYLAND HOUSE REJECTS ANTI-JIM CROW MEASURE

Atlanta World G2.

See 40

ANNAPOLIS, MD. — (S N S) — The Senate-approved "Jim Crow" bill, which would repeal a 41-year old law requiring separate accommodations on trains and steamboats for Negro and white passengers, was dealt a death blow Tuesday when the House voted to adopt an unfavorable report of its judiciary committee. 3-23-45

Backed by Governor O'Conor and the subject of several public hearings at which supporters and opponents voiced their views on racial segregation, the measure went down to defeat quickly and without much of a struggle on the part of the administration forces.

The bill passed the Senate February 15, 20 to 9, with no debate and was reported to the House floor Tuesday with a 16 to 9 unfavorable report of the judiciary committee. It was sponsored in the Senate by Senator Altfeld (D.Balto. 4th.) The bill has been introduced in the Maryland Legislature each session since 1922.

Chairman Tolle (D-Balto. County) of the committee, in a futile attempt to save the repealer moved that the bill be substituted for the unfavorable report, and was seconded by Delegate Sklar (D-Balto. 4th.) 3-23-45

Delegate Kolb (D-Wicomico) pointing out the committee vote was better than half its membership of 27, said it, "has always been the practice of the House, generally speaking, to uphold its committees," and asked that Tolle's motion be defeated.

When Speaker White (D-Prince George's) called for a voice vote, the roar of "no's" from the county delegations—especially the Eastern Shoremen—resounded through the State House. Kolb then moved that the unfavorable report be adopted and another roar of "ayes" swept through the halls, sending several Senators over to inquire what was taking place. 3-23-45

Several delegates, who asked that they not be quoted by name, said that if the Administration forces had demanded a roll call, the bill would have picked up additional support, but far from enough for passage.

"Most of the members," said one delegate, "seemed satisfied that the controversial subject was gotten out of the way with no debate, and without a roll call placing them on record.

61b-1945
CINCINNATI, O.
ENQUIRER
Cir. D. 125,806—S. 217,398
JUL 8 - 1945

Ohio

POLITICS IN OHIO

By Herbert R. Mengert

Columbus Bureau, 207 Spahr Building.
SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE TO THE ENQUIRER.

COLUMBUS, Ohio—It was plenty of fun for the hostile critics of the current General Assembly to refer to it as "do nothing" and to berate the long sittings. In truth they were about as tedious as could be imagined. But the other side of the "do nothing" charge found those who set out to be judges slightly embarrassed by the inevitable demand to know what should have been done that was not done. In this appraisal this old watchman on the tower is not attempting to balance the scales between assailants and defenders of the legislative arm but merely trying to set forth the controversy.

Perhaps, the critics are right in contending it was a lot of time and expense for very small and very trifling production. But what of the other side? Those who assume the cry of nothing done have need to tell what might or should have been done. Well, there have been named two things with somewhat of clarity and after that the record is blank. And these two things have failed to impress many people. The General Assembly has been berated for not enacting a so-called Fair Employment Practices Act and for not doing a few flipflaps with Ohio's taxation system to please the persons holding jobs under the Federal Housing regime.

And the things not done seemingly have pleased many people, far more than the number who are dissatisfied. The Fair Employment Practices Act has been a ticklish subject. It invades a field that is private and generally not public and it is a subject with roots reaching back to barbarism and even the savage state. Employees have wished always to have some sort of say in the type of persons for whom they work and employers have desired at all times to have a word about the kind of people to whom they pay money for services. The fact that the issue is one in which partisanship can weigh in elections and that many legislative representatives are whipsawed by the peculiar circumstances in their own districts does not make the problems less acute.

If this writer dared to express his own opinion it would be to a far different effect than criticism of passing or not passing the act that was proposed. If there was a fault it was in not providing the machinery for getting the people's judgment on the act before it is attempted to be placed in effect.

The writer has not heard a single person venture the suggestion that any so-called fair employment practices act would be approved by the people in a popular referendum. In fact, the general judgment is that such a measure as the type of bill that has been before the General Assembly would be lucky, indeed, if it received as many as 20 per cent of the vote cast on a popular test of public opinion. It is quite certain that a trifling percentage of the Negro people are concerned with a measure of this sort while there is little, if any, interest among the Caucasian part of the population while the general feeling is that the races have to learn to live amicably together and that attempts to club them into attitudes can have nothing but trouble as a result.

* * *

NOW ON THE SECOND measure mentioned, the housing proposition, it seems that there is a minimum of demand that the state refrain from taxation of properties that house persons who enjoy good incomes. It is evident to many people on the contrary that no state could do better than to hold a real honest, deep and thorough investigation of the whole business, beginning with the pay rolls of the housing administrations and going through all the practices.

Some mighty ugly stories have been peddled around concerning the truth of which the writer does not venture any opinion. But when a legislator like Aaron T. Grad, Hamilton County, who tried honestly to bring about a compromise and who seeks to hold a so-called progressive position says that the record is bad it is time to take notice.

Referring to the ugly tales, it is gossip that there is a wheel inside a wheel somewhere and when projects that were begun ostensibly on the idea of furnishing cheap housing for people who were indigent are later found to be nice places for those well able to pay, then what else can happen but that suspicion arise?

A complete inquiry might clear the air. Who does not recall that life insurance went on a different basis after Charles Evans Hughes poked the lantern into many dark places. It is not to be forgotten that public money, paid into the treasury by taxpayers who have to grunt and sweat to get it there, has been employed in many projects, that huge chargeoffs have been made, which is another way of saying that the projects were losers and that if they are to be extended and continued there should be a guarantee of cleanliness and healthfulness in a moral sense and that is not any by-product of the gossip about the entire situation. Also, if the tales have been related around legislative halls as a mere trick to serve selfish interests, the state should know about that, too.

* * *

THUS IT SEEMS if there has been a failure in legislative performance it is not in specific things done or not done but rather in the failure to see the shortcomings of a system and failure to take any remedial steps. Today under the system of representation a startlingly large majority of the people elect a puny minority in the House of Representatives and the situation is such that with a little change in the legislative temperature coercive measures (such as the Cory bill to proceed directly against cities because they have own ideas about such things as setting the hands of the clock) could be enacted and that in any division of funds the issue is never decided on the basis of arguments but on the basis of what the over-represented counties can demand from the under-represented.

Another point of constructive criticisms could be in the spirit with which issues are approached. Thus, the conservation measure became a tussle between faddists and clique groups like the hunters and fishermen and substantial interests. It was true also in the strip mining issue. Then the petty politics involved in issues like the public salaries tend to disgust those who would like to find more satisfaction in observing state government.

Legislators might have gotten around to expressions on whether Ohio has a schedule of compensation in keeping with the importance of the state. Either Ohio is right in a policy of very low payments to its public servants or its important neighbors like New York, Pennsylvania and Illinois are misguided. But the branches of the assembly never got around to saying what they believe although the assembly had before it the studies of a commission which spent a lot of time and a sizable bale of state funds in seeking to learn the proper course.

* * *

THROUGH A BULLETIN recently issued by the National Association of Real Estate Boards new light has been brought to bear on an old issue, the restrictions on ownership of property by racial groups. It is contended by the realtors that a recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States leaves in effect an Appellate Court ruling which upheld a lower court in setting aside a deed acquired in violation of a racial covenant." The bulletin continues: "The case grew out of a Negro woman's purchase of property (in the District of Columbia) in a block in which property owners had signed a 21-year convenant in 1925.

"After her occupation of the premises early in 1944 neighboring property owners, most of them successars in title to the original signers, sued to have the deed set aside and force eviction. They were upheld. By its action, the court, in effect confirms the binding authority of such independent racial contracts to restrain successors in the chain of title from making sale or other disposition to Negroes. Appeal had been taken in part on grounds that the courts impose racial restrictions which cannot constitutionally be imposed by any legislature."

The argument is now made that in communities in which there may be racial irritation the metes and bounds can be settled by owners agreeing on the type of occupancy there can be and setting forth the restrictions in deeds. Point is made, too, that the restrictions need not be one-sided, but can be employed by either group. Thus if there is a desire to secure a community against infiltration of Negroes the identical means could be employed by Negroes against the whites. Each then could be secure against a mixing up of the races that might not be desired by either group. Some hail the decision as laying down the basis on which good feeling and accommodation among the races might actually be enhanced.

Mutual respect for so-called rights, it is argued, could be substituted for conflict and clash, and thus each group be in a position to evolve a really substantial policy. Nations are to be taught through the United Nations charter, under the plans evolved at San Francisco, to have a new regard for each other and it may be that within nations different groups may get pointers in the same direction.

* * *

WHEN CREDITS of demerits are handed out for "razzing" of the Ohio Price Administration in Ohio high rank must be accorded to Robert R. Williams, Executive Vice President of the Ohio State Restaurant Association. Williams keeps after the boys and the girls in OPA and never a foible or a folly misses his gaze. He was out recently with a forecast that 20 per cent of the eating places in Ohio are to be out of business because of the difficulties of finding stuff to sell. It is capital gossip that he furnishes the both from above and from below, so to speak. Well, somebody with the "needle" may be able to get for people a chance to live as no bureau ever has been known to quit its activities without pressure.

61b-1945

Senate Bill S181

Church And State

Washington Post

The Senate subcommittee on labor and education has been holding hearings on the very important issue of Federal aid to education. Senate bill S181 is backed by the National Education Association and should be passed. By now the need for Federal aid is so well known as to be beyond argument.

But a competing bill has been introduced, one which provides Federal aid, not only to public schools, but also to private and parochial institutions. This seems to me a very dangerous encroachment on the principle of separation of church and state functions, a principle which is largely responsible for the high degree of education and freedom from religious bigotry which this country enjoys.

I am myself a church member, and I strongly uphold the right of groups, religious or otherwise, to run private schools, but as a taxpayer I equally strongly object to paying taxes for the maintenance of private or parochial schools, most of which charge tuition. The state has relatively little control over the teaching in these schools, and their standards are frequently quite different from those of the public schools. (I attended one of each type.)

Federal aid for private schools would lead to public payment for school uniforms, for parochial textbooks, etc. The next step might well be public support for churches (they are already virtually tax-free now). We need only look at most of the governments of Europe to see the disadvantages of having a state church, or too many clergy involved in politics.

Let's keep churches and schools separate. No public money for private schools!

VIVIAN BRINSLEY.

Alexandria, Va., April 26.

61b-1945 Weaver Moore Bill

Negro Rights Defended in Texas

Daily Worker - N.Y. 3-10-45

Senate, 'Supremacists' Rebuffed

By Federated Press

AUSTIN, Texas, March 9.—The struggle against efforts to restore white political supremacy met a sharp rebuff here when the State Senate voted to re-refer the Weaver Moore bill to disfranchise Negro voters to the Committee on Civil Jurisprudence.

For the first time in 50 years in a Southern Legislature the rights of the Negro to vote were defended when Sen. J. Franklin Sears of San Antonio made the motion for re-referal.

O'DANIEL

Moore's bill, extending far beyond the issue of "White Supremacy" would in effect wipe out the whole primary system for whites also and put selection of state candidates in the hands of a clique of reactionary Democrats who were ousted from party control last fall.

Senator Moore's measure, the inspiration for which is generally credited to "Pappy" O'Daniel and the Texas Regulars, would wipe from the statutes all reference to political parties, primaries or conventions and would attempt to circumvent last year's U. S. Supreme Court decision that Negroes can vote in the Texas primaries.

Sen. J. Franklin Spears of San Antonio won approval without dissent on his motion for re-referral and for the first time in 50 years in a Southern Legislature the rights of the Negro to vote were defended.

3-10-45

CORRUPT SYSTEM

Sen. Spears, who has just returned from overseas duty as a lieutenant colonel in the U. S. Army, said the Moore bill would repeal all statutes governing political parties and party primaries, eliminating all safeguards against fraudulent elections and driving the Democratic Party back to "a rotten, contemptible and corrupt convention system."

Hitting at the bill's implied attempt to disfranchise the Negro Spears said:

"I don't mind stating publicly that I have no objection to the Negro voting. The Supreme Court has upheld him in that right. If he votes and we let him, the votes will be counted under the statutes of Texas. They won't be counted properly under Senator Moore's system. The groups in control of the convention, whether state, county or precinct, will decide who votes, and how those votes shall be counted."

Scoring the maneuver which pushed the bill through an unannounced committee hearing recently and defending the right of the State Democratic Executive Committee on record as opposed to it to be heard on it, Spears reminded the body: 3-10-45

'It has been the policy of this Senate to give a bill a hearing and a hearing was asked for as far back as February. Bear in mind that few members of the Committee on Civil Jurisprudence really knew how far the bill went or what it did because they had not studied it. The Democratic Executive Committee is the legal organization representing the majority of the people of this state. Let them be heard!"

CLOSED DOORS

The Senate committee on civil jurisprudence, apparently fearing to permit white and black witnesses, and working behind closed doors, quietly slipped the bill out last week with a recommendation for Senate passage.

Kenneth Lamkin of Austin, leading Negro lawyer and president of the Travis County Voters, declared:

"SB 165 represents another attempt to infringe upon the fundamental rights of the Negro citizen of Texas and he will not take it lying down!"

Mr. Woodville Rogers, in a written analysis sent to every member of the Democratic State Executive Committee, writes: 3-10-45

"The bill is a mass murder of 50 years of experience and labor in the effort to secure fair and honest elections and in the effort to preserve the right and privilege of the people to vote. . . . The bill will destroy party organization in Texas. The bill will go further to fan the flame of racial hatred in Texas than anything that has been done or said within the last 50 years."

Changed State Aviation Setup, Committee Aim

Birmingham News
B'ham., Ala. 3-2-45

BY HUGH W. SPARROW
News Staff Writer

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—Alabama's aviation director should be appointed by the governor and be responsible to the state's chief executive with the aviation commission serving only as an advisory body, the legislative interim committee on highways and aviation will recommend in its report to the 1945 Legislature.

The committee, which contemplated abolition of the aviation commission, but finally accepted a compromise to retain the commission in a less active capacity, also has agreed to recommend a greatly modified airport building program.

Instead of approving the four-year construction plan recommended by the aviation commission calling for expenditure of $12,000,000, half to be provided by the state and half by the federal government the committee has okehed a two-year program during which about $800,000 would be expended.

3-2-45

That amount, it was estimated, would be sufficient to build 20 airports at $40,000 each with the state providing $360,000, the federal government an equal amount and municipalities contributing $80,000.

* * *

THESE RECOMMENDATIONS WERE APPROVED Thursday after the highways and aviation committee devoted most of the day's meeting to debating on whether or not to eliminate the aviation commission. The same committee earlier approved final subcommittee recommendations for postwar highway construction and regulation of highway transportation.

The proposals, along with the aviation program, will be consolidated into a single report to be made to the committee of the whole March 24 and later to the Legislature in regular session.

The social welfare committee likewise completed work on its final report Thursday and adjourned until March 20 when the interim bodies meet as a committee of the whole.

Besides recommending increased expenditures for public welfare, old-age assistance and for support of eleemosynary and corrective institutions, the social welfare committee's final report recommended retention of the poll tax, division of the income tax net proceeds between education and public welfare and pre-nuptial blood tests for men and women.

3-2-45

The committee declined to recommend action on a proposal to reorganize the nurses' examining and licensing board and expressed regret because lack of time prevented an investigation of penal institutions and the pardon and parole system. Though the report made no specific recommendations regarding the penal institutions or pardon and parole system, belief was expressed a study should be made of both. 3-2-45

DURING THE AFTERNOON the appropriations and finance committee heard Dr. J. F. Drake, president A. & M. Institute for Negroes at Normal, near Huntsville, and Dr. H. C. Trenholm, president, Montgomery State Teachers College for Negroes, who urge appropriation increases to convert the schools into Grade A colleges. Dr. Drake asked for an increase of about $70,000 annually and Dr. Trenholm a $30,000 annual increase.

Discussing plans for Alabama's participation in the federal postwar highway construction program, the highways and aviation committee report expressed opinion there is a sufficient amount of highway funds available under present federal legislation to permit Alabama's participation in the postwar program.

The committee report said, however, that "in order that our state may be in position to participate fully in any present federal program and future federal programs, we recommend that a bill be passed by the Legislature assenting to the provisions of the federal aid highway act of 1944." 3-2-45

The state, counties and municipalities were strongly urged by the committee "to put forth every possible effort to the end that this state may further develop by securing the very best farm-to-market road system available."

The committee also urged that all counties obtain a qualified county engineer or the services of consulting engineers "qualified to give the proper service with reference to road construction."

Discussing tax diversion, the committee commented:

* * *

"INVESTIGATION BY YOUR COMMITTEE reveals that there is a serious question, especially relating to participation in federal funds, of the diversion of certain funds which should be used solely for highway purposes. We understand that, up to this time, the state has not been penalized because of such alleged diversion of said funds, but this is a serious question and may arise in the near future.

"We have reference to the annual appropriation of $50,000 to the Public Service Commission out of the motor carrier tax; the driver's license tax covered into the Highway Patrol fund; the fines and penalties for violation of the driver's license law covered into the Highway Patrol fund; the payment of taxes levied on lubricating oil to the Highway Patrol fund; the alleged diversion of the proportionate part of the motor vehicle taxes by the counties and municipalities, part of said tax not being earmarked by the counties and municipalities for highway purposes whereas all of said tax should be so earmarked.

"It is the opinion of some of the members of your committee that the question of diversion may extend to a diversion by the counties and municipalities of funds arising from gasoline taxes which are not earmarked for highway purposes."

Recommendations relating to highway transportation and reciprocal agreements in regard to truck regulations included: 3-2-45

* * *

EXEMPTION OF COMMON CARRIERS from the necessity of providing collect on delivery bonds when the carriers do not provide collect on delivery service.

Reduction of the minimum age for automobile drivers from 16 to 15 years.

Passage of legislation preventing pedestrians in drunken or intoxicated condition from being on public highways and roads.

Enactment of a state disorderly conduct statute.

Legislation authorizing officers to take in and care for, at the owner's expense, motor vehicles of a drunken driver on a public road or highway.

Use of four-wheel truck trailers on highways.

The social welfare committee's report recommended, among other things:

Additional funds to provide a statewide average monthly payment of $20 to present old-age assistance recipients with about 6,200 additional cases added to the pension rolls.

An increase in pensions to Confederate veterans from $100 to $150 monthly and to widows of Confederate veterans from $40 to $50 a month. 3-2-45

An increase in the minimum budget for the Department of Public Welfare of $4,708,075 annually, of which $2,019,083 would come from the federal government, $1,470,326 from the state and $1,218,665 from cities and counties.

* * *

PROVISION IN THE STATE BUILDING PROGRAM for establishment of hospitals or public nursing homes for chronically ill adults, the cost of the homes and hospitals to be paid for by the state.

An increase in the weekly appropriation for patients in Bryce Hospital to a minimum of $5 and a maximum of $7.50, and expenditure of $900,000 for renovation and repair old old buildings and for additional buildings and equipment.

An appropriation of $450,000 to renovate and improve buildings at the Parflow State School for Mental Deficients.

Separate 300-bed dormitories for men and women patients at the Searcy Hospital for Negroes, together with other building improvements and additions.

Ex-officio membership of the commissioner of public welfare on the boards of trustees of the State Training School for Girls, the Alabama Boys Industrial School and the Alabama Reform School for Negro Lawbreakers. In addition, appropriation increases for these schools for improvement in plant facilities and in supervision.

Adequate statewide provision for mentally deficient children, white and Negro, under administration of the Alabama Hospitals for the Insane and Mentally Deficient.

* * *

ADDITIONAL STATE SUPPORT for the Southern Industrial Institute, at Camp Hill, and the Alabama School of Trades.

Consideration by the Legislature of wage and hour legislation.

An increase in unemployment compensation payments from $15 to $20 a week; an increase in the tax on excess wages and amendment of the law to provide for coverage of employers with four or more employes. (The minimum now is eight.) 3-2-45

Retention of the poll tax.

Submission of the question of stream pollution abatement to the 1947 Legislature.

Legislation establishing a pension and retirement system for state employes.

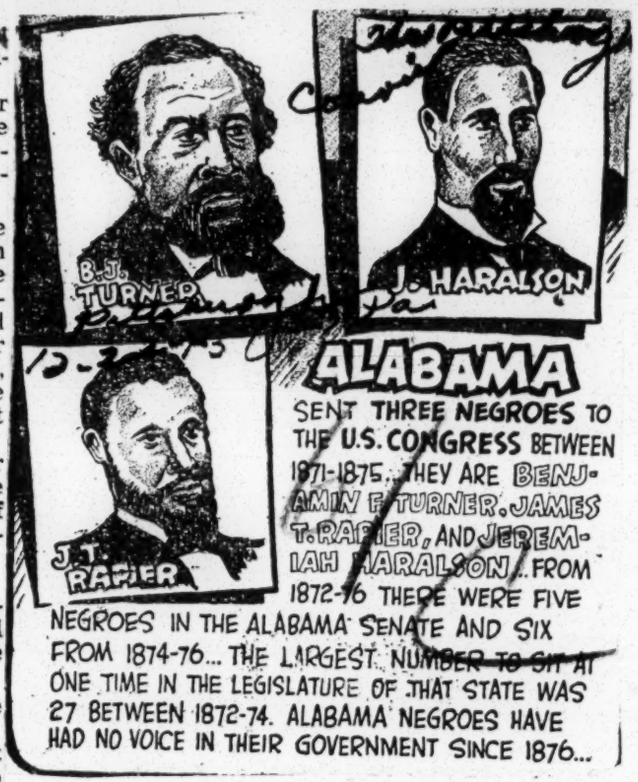
Prohibition of the sale of demorel, a semi-narcotic outlawed by federal law.

Blood tests for men and women marriage applicants.

Retention of the income tax with the proceeds to be used for public welfare and education.

An increased appropriation for the Department of Toxicology.

Approval of a bill proposed by Director E. P. Russell, of the Department of Corrections and Institutions, relating to prizes for convicts.



Jackson Says Ellis Reaches 40 Years Back For Anti-Negro Campaign Staff

Atlanta, Ga. Daily Worker

12-1-45

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — (SNS) — Despite the poor success politicans in recent times have had with the Negro question, it is likely to spotlight the 1946 elections in Alabama next Spring.

Handy Ellis, lieutenant governor of Alabama, from his law offices in Columbiana, Alabama has circulated extracts from a 40-year-old piece of anti-Negro literature, in announcing his intentions of running for Governor of Alabama.

Unlike the brand of anti-Negro propaganda that ensued from the 1944 campaign headquarters of Jim Simpson in his rejection by the voters for the U. S. Senate, and the hostile literature issued by Judge Horace Wilkinson in advertising the "White Supremacy League," the libel being spread against the Negro by Mr. Ellis is in a humorous vein reminiscent of the campaign bunk of former Senator Tom Heflin.

ANTI-NEGRO FOLDER

In a four-page folder, entitled "The Colored Brother" or "The Creator's Masterpiece," Mr. Ellis has dug up the distorted work of S. F. Davis, of Indianola, Miss. which "appeared in the Memphis Cemmercial Appeal 40 years ago."

The views of Mr. Davis, as subscribed to apparently by Mr. Ellis are so ridiculous, stupid, and simple-minded, as to be unworthy of reproduction even to display their absurdity.

The Negro is pictured by Mr. Davis, as a curious over-indulgent non-man whose standard 'rations' is "a peck of corn meal, two pounds of sugar, one pound of coffee, three pounds of salt meat and one gallon of black molasses a week," all of which can be consumed at one sitting." He is a sub-human, according to Mr. Ellis' favorite authority on the Negro who is "immune to all kinds of poison" and can drink liniment and eat antiphlogistine without it hurting him. Or an animal who "can live a week on three soda crackers, a box of sardines and five cents' worth of cheese.'

12-1-45

NEGRO ADMIRES ART

Mr. Davis is of the opinion that the Negro is "a great admirer of art, and in nearly every Negro's home, be it ever so humble, there hangs a life-size crayon portrait of himself." He pictures the Negro as loving excursions and loving to ride on merry-go-rounds."

In Mr. Davis' account are exaggerations and the assigning of special traits and characteristics to Negro people. He has neither delienated correctly nor interpreted fairly the Negro.

Mr. Ellis's purposes in going back to this archaic article is obvious. He seems to be tryng to create the same kind of bad impression of the Negro now that existed forty years ago when the 1901 post-reconstruction constitutional convention adotped the poll tax, set up the system of county boards of registrars and placed other restrictions in the registration laws.

Evil propaganda that shows the Negro an abnormality would tend to create the harmful impression that he is now ready to vote, unfit for a better standard of living and does not belong n the atomic-age economy. It is the kind of thinking that must be built up to pass the "Boswell White Supremacy Vote Bill."

12-1-45

In other words, Mr. Ellis endorses and advocates, it seems, the idea that the Negro is not a citizen but a clown. He is going to ask the voters of Alabama to elect him governor of this state on a backward, burlesque platform.

It might prove helpful for Mr. Ellis to consult Richard Wright's "Black Boy," which is a contemporary piece by a Mississippi-born writer. It deals more truthfully with the South and the Negro than anything and mentality of writers like Mr. Davis would be able to produce. Mr. Davis has created a myth of the Negro equal only to the folly of the myth of "white supremacy."

61c-1945

California

California Governor Names Negro To $10,000 Position

Atlanta Daily World

SACRAMENTO, Cal.—(ANP) — Gov. Earl Warren last week named Atty. Walter Gordon of Berkeley as chairman of the California Adult Authority board, the supervisory authority over all male adult inmates of state prisons.

7-17-45

Atty. Gordon has been a member of the three man board since its operation a year ago. He succeeds Lewis Drucker, white, as chairman. The California Adult authority established by the governor last year serves as an advisory board to the governor in parole matters and has complete authority in the classification of duties of adult male prisoners. The annual salary for board members is $10,000.

CALIFORNIA GOVERNOR APPOINTS NEGRO TO $10,000 STATE JOB

The Plain dealer

Sacramento, Calif. (ANP) — Gov. Earl Warren last week named Atty. Walter Gordon of Berkeley as chairman of the California Adult Authority board, the supervisory authority over all male adult inmates of state prisons.

7-20-45

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Californian Named To $10,000 State Job

The Call 7-17-45

SACRAMENTO, Cal. — (ANP) — Gov. Earl Warren last week named Atty. Walter Gordon of Berkeley as chairman of the California Adult Authority board, the supervisory authority over all male adult inmates of state prisons.

Kansas City, Mo.

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61c-1945

Chicago and New York

Comparison of Important Political Positions In New York and Chicago

The New York Amsterdam News
New York, New York 11-10-45

A list of important positions, Democrats and Republicans, held by Negroes in New York and Chicago follows:

CHICAGO	POSITIONS	NEW YORK
William L. Dawson	Congressman	Adam Clayton Powell
Irvin C. Mollison	Federal Judge	
Herman E. Moore		
C. C. Wimbish	State Senate	
Wendell E. Green	Judge (In city courts)	Francis E. Rivers James S. Watson Charles E. Toney Jane Bolin Hubert T. Delany Myles A. Paige
Fred J. Smith	Assemblyman	William T. Andrews
Corneal A. Davis		Hulon Jack
Charles J. Jenkins		William Prince
E. A. Welters		
Charles M. Skyles		
Oscar DePriest	Councilman	Benjamin J. Davis
William H. Harvey		
James B. Cashin	Civil Service Commissioner	Ferdinand Q. Morton
Edward M. Sneed	County Commissioner	
Sydney P. Brown	Board of Education	
Harry B. Deas	Acting Police Captain	
Kinzie Blueitt	Police Lieutenant	Emmanuel Kline George Redding
None	Acting Police Lieutenant	Lewis Chisolm
Fifteen	Police Sergeants	
Walter L. McCoy	Assistant States Attorney (District)	James Yeargin
Edward E. Wilson		Allen Early
Clifford Pemberton		William Loguen
Richard E. Harewood	Assistant Corp. Counsel	Richard L. Baltimore
Fred (Duke) Slater		Eardlie John
Georgia Jones Ellis		
Adam E. Patterson		
Roy Washington	Assistant City Prosecutor	
William Chaney	Captain Fire Department	
	Battalion Chief	Wesley Williams
Robert L. Taylor, chairman	Housing Authority	Frank R. Crosswaith

It's 23 Years Since City Has Had A Negro on the Board of Education

The Worker

Mayor-elect William O'Dwyer, who takes over the helm of the world's largest city Tuesday, is being strongly urged by many groups and individuals to appoint a Negro to fill a vacancy on New York's seven-man Board of Education.

There has not been a Negro on the city's school policy-making body since 1922, when the term of Dr. E. P. Roberts expired. O'Dwyer will be faced immediately with the problem of finding a replacement for Daniel Paul Higgins of Manhattan, who retired on Dec. 19.

The replacement will have to come from Manhattan, which contains the world's largest Negro community—Harlem. The conditions of the Harlem schools, as well as those in Brooklyn's Negro community, are a sore spot in the city's education system. 12-30-45

The Mayor-elect will have to fill another vacancy when the term of Mary E. Dillon, now the President of the Board, expires on March 31. Miss Dillon is from Brooklyn. N.Y., N.Y.

Several leading Negro spokesmen, including Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, only Negro member of the City Council, have urged the Mayor to appoint a Negro. Numerous labor, parents and Negro organizations have sent him resolutions along those lines. 12-30-45

Most appointments made by O'Dwyer thus far have been satisfactory to labor and to other progressive groups. These include his retention of Dr. Ernest Stebbins as Health Commissioner, of Dr. Edward Bernacker as Hospitals Commissioner, of Budget Director Patterson, and his choice of Edward Rhatigan as Commissioner of Welfare.

WIFE GETS ALIMONY FOR LIFE

Pittsburgh Courier-Pa. 6-9-45

By THELMA BERLACK BOOZER
(New York Bureau)

NEW YORK—Because she has decided to divorce Congressman Adam Clayton Powell Jr., the glamorous Mrs. Isobel Washington Powell left Gotham on Friday, June First, for Reno, Nev. If all goes well, both parties will be free in six weeks from now. 6-9-45

Mrs. Powell's trek to that popular divorce State follows a slightly revised but better separation agreement signed here early Monday night, May 28, by the militant politician-minister and herself. In this particular proceeding Mrs. Powell was represented by the law firm of Arkin, Lebivici and Kottler of 39 Courtland Street; Mr. Powell by Farbstein and Markowitz of 276 Fifth Avenue.

GETS ALIMONY FOR LIFE

The major revision in the separation agreement is the matter of cash settlement made on Mrs. Powell. The terms of the agreement will be written into any divorce decree that is granted Mrs. Powell, who is to receive alimony for the remainder of her life, unless she remarries.

The popular couple parted about Oct. 6, 1944, after a marriage that has lasted eleven and one-half years. The first separation agreement was signed in January. Mrs. Powell admitted that she will seek her divorce on the grounds of "extreme mental cruelty."

LINKED WITH HAZEL SCOTT 6-9-45

If Congressman Powell appears in the Nevada divorce proceedings but does not contest his wife's suit, it will be possible for either or both the principals to marry another person in this State.

For many months the names of the handsome Mr. Powell, who is editor-in-chief of the People's Voice, a weekly tabloid, and Miss Hazel Scott, pianist extraordinary and former night club entertainer, have been linked romantically. Congressman Powell is pastor of Abyssinian Baptist Church, said to be the largest Protestant church in America.

HAZEL SCOTT GETS LICENSE

N.Y. N.Y. Times

She and the Rev. Clayton Powell Jr. to Wed Wednesday

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

STAMFORD, Conn., July 24—Hazel Scott, pianist and night-club star, and the Rev. Adam Clayton Powell Jr., Representative in Congress from the Twenty-second New York District, today obtained a license to be married here. They announced the ceremony would be performed by Mr. Powell's father, a minister of the Abyssinian Baptist Church, next Wednesday.

Mr. Powell gave his age as 36 and his occupation as Congressman. His home is 732 St. Nicholas Avenue, New York. His first marriage ended in divorce. Miss Scott gave her age as 25 and her home address as 25 Monroe Place, White Plains, N. Y. This will be her first marriage. 7-23-45

Mr. Powell said he had consulted his congregation about his plans to marry Miss Scott and that they approved.

Between the Lines

Louisiana Weekly

(By Dean Gordon B. Hancock for ANP)

New Orleans, La.

STATESMANSHIP VERSUS SHOWMANSHIP

When A. Clayton Powell, Jr., was elected to Congress, this column was quick to see his great opportunity to give the Negro race the strong political leadership it sorely needs through these critical times. It is doubtful if any newly elected official in the history of this country has ever been so profusely advised. If ever there has been an over-advised public servant it was young Powell. This column took the position that the very best thing Negroes could do for Mr. Powell would be to let him alone. Much of the unsolicited advice amounted to an exhortation that he become a showman down in Washington. We took the position—and we still hold it—that what the Negroes need and what the situation calls for is not showmanship but statesmanship. 7-28-45

The more I hear of Powell and his congressional deliverances the more I am convinced that the man is evincing qualities of statesmanship of a high order and for this the race and nation may well be thankful. When a great opportunity and a great statesman meet head-on, things have a way of changing for the best. If Powell continues in his indicated course and uses the common sense he has so often manifested, he is going to advance the fortunes of his race and nation. By his recent utterances in which he makes clear that there is a liberal south that must be reckoned with, he made a statesmanlike stroke. He acknowledged the better element of the south as distinct from the Negro-baiters and Negro-haters. Too often even Southern Negroes do not make the distinction clear. When more Southern Negroes muster enough courage to do and say what Powell has said, we are going to see things take a faster turn for the better.

Powell knew as any average man should know that one unfavorable stand on the part of a southern white man does not disqualify him as a liberal. Most of us are prone to count a southerner as a total loss if he does not say everything we want said and do everything we want done. We too often forget that the southern white man, like the southern Negro, is limited by his contingencies which fact to ignore deprives him of even the opportunity to go part of the way with us. For A. Clayton Powell to clearly discern and set for this stubborn fact is a source of deep satisfaction to close students of the situation.

In other words, Powell has a strategy and that strategy consists partly in cultivating the liberal southerners for Mr. Powell has found out that the vaunted north is not going to override the contrary south however rabid it might be in its position on things interracial. Mr. Powell's position is especially strategic in view of the political heritage which has come to the south by the passing of the lamented Roosevelt. Truman, a southerner, is President. Byrnes of South Carolina is secretary of state and the end is not yet. It would be the height of folly to insult the south in toto because of the unwholesome political odors which emanate from Mississippi.

Powell's recognition of the possibilities of the liberal southern element is not nearly as remarkable as his courage to state it in Congress. There are thousands of other Negroes who see it but lack the moral courage and stamina to state it publicly. Had Powell been content to be a showman he would have implored the immunity that living in the north gives and excoriated the entire south in retaliation for the degraded statements of its political plug-uglies. But intent on serving his race and nation, Rep. Powell makes efforts to cultivate the better south and in this he proves himself a statesman. 7-28-45

It was a full recognition of the better south that inspired the Negroes who met in Durham in 1942 and wrote that immortal document now known as the Durham charter. Of the few northern Negroes who tried to gain-say our efforts, it is gratifying to reflect that Powell was not among them. He saw then what others saw and claim they did not see; he has expressed what others feel and lack the courage to express. 7-28

Good luck to Adam Powell, away to a good start in what can easily turn out to be one of the most brilliant political careers of all history! Statesmanship versus showmanship.

The Powells Due In D. C. This Week

The Informer Houston, Texas 9-22-45

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) —Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., of New York and his bride, the former Hazel Scott of fame in the entertainment world, are due to arrive in Washington this week. The Congressman did not return to D C. during the opening week of Congress following the summer recess.

Rep. Powell issued a statement, however, during his absence, directed to the Secretary of State, James F. Byrnes, concerning the American position on Korea. He declared: "The news that the former Japanese governor general is to remain at his post in charge of Korea is astounding. This is in direct opposition to everything that we, have fought this war for. The people of Korea are exceptional in regards to character and all the other things that democratic nations stand for.

"I am requesting a reply as to why this procedure is being allowed. I don't think the excuse that 'such matters are left in the Army's hand' will be acceptable to me or the American people."

President Truman, at his press conference last week, however, said the Korea decision was a theatre decision. He said as soon as it is possible to remove the Japanese they will be removed. When asked whether that would be in a day or a year as reported in newspapers, Mr. Truman referred the reporter to General MacArthur.

SCOTT-POWELL WEDDING

Sirs:

The letter written by Mrs. William Sullivan of Chattanooga, Tenn., who objected to the pictures of the Hazel Scott-Congressman Powell wedding (LIFE, Sept. 3), would have been more at home in a German publication of two years ago.

It is indeed unfortunate that America's young men have to fight and pay the price to protect the comforts of narrow-minded and undeserving people along with the rest.

ENSIGN HENRY POOLE

Brunswick, Ga.

Sirs:

. . . By what process of reasoning does your Tennessee reader conclude that a nightclub girl is unworthy to marry a preacher? One might even be permitted to ask how many clergymen are worthy to marry nightclub girls.

HENRY LAING WATT

Milwaukee, Wis.

Hazel Scott Wed to Minister

Courier-Journal

Thousands Jam Adam-Hazel Reception

N. Y. Amsterdam News
N. York, N.Y.

New York, Aug. 1 (U.P.)—The congressman-minister and the night-club entertainer got married today and the ensuing reception created a stir such as seldom is permitted to ruffle the even tenor of life of uptown Manhattan's smart East Side.

Hazel Scott, the pretty Negro girl from Trinidad whose pay check totals thousands of dollars weekly because of her peculiar ability to make the classics sound like jazz when she plays the piano, was married at Stanford, Conn., to the Rev. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., New York's first Negro Congressman and pastor of Harlem's Abyssinian Baptist Church.

Louisville Ky.

From Stamford the wedding party drove back to New York's Cafe Society Uptown, the cabaret where Hazel rose to fame and which she never permanently deserted even though she played engagements in the movies and elsewhere from time to time. Owner Barney Josephson had promised the newlyweds a reception and they got it.

Outside the club when they arrived shortly after 1 p.m. was a line extending from the club entrance, near Lexington Avenue, westward clear to Park Avenue.

Others Asked to Make Room.

The bride and bridegroom received their well-wishers in the night club. About 90 per cent of them were residents of Harlem. Powell and his bride knew all of them and there must have been close to 2,000.

8-2-45

Josephson had loaded his tables down with refreshments and the guests pitched in. The wedding cake had been cut previously and packaged in small boxes so that each person would get a piece. For show there was a huge imitation cake topped by an icing replica of a church.

After a third of the guests had been admitted, it was necessary to request over the public-address system that those who had partaken of refreshments leave so those still waiting outside could get in. Regulating the line were about two dozen policemen under a deputy assistant chief inspector.

Late in the afternoon Powell and his bride escaped the party for their honeymoon trip.

8-11-45

REV. AND MRS. A. C. POWELL, JR.

61c-1945

Benjamin J. Davis. Jr.

Across The Desk

New York Age

By LUDLOW W. WERNER

P.R. — New York's City Council is elected by a cumbersome system of voting called "Proportional Representation." In the election just concluded, members of the Council are elected for four year terms now, instead of two years, as heretofore.

11-24-45

Already there is a movement on foot among some of the newly-elected Councilmen to abolish the present P. R. system and do it on a senatorial district basis, rather than on a county-wide basis as present. If that is the avowed purpose, I am all for it.

I have closely watched "P. R." ever since New York adopted that system of election of City Councilman when it abolished the Board of Aldermen. The first two years of its existence, there was no Negro representative in the Council because Negroes, like many others, did not understand thoroughly the way the election worked, or how to campaign effectively to ensure election.

First Negro elected to the City Council was Rev. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. pastor of Abyssinian Baptist Church. He was elected, not because of the type of campaign he waged, but because Negro leaders, of all political faiths got together, worked together, and jointly worked in his behalf, in and out of the polls.

When Powell decided not to run for reelection, the Communist party selected Attorney Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., to make the run. Campaign managers of Davis were wise enough to seek advice from persons familiar with the P. R. system and fortified with that knowledge, they effectively campaigned. When the counting was all over, two years ago, Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., was declare delected as City Councilman.

Being a Communist Councilman in a Council controlled by Democrats is no easy job. Davis knew that. He knew that his every act would be regarded with suspicion because he was a Communist. He knew that he would be subjected to the most severe criticism. He knew that he would be the target for the most vicious attacks. He knew that he would be the object of the most unfair discrimination. He knew that he would be the victim of the most unjust treatment. He knew that he would be the subject of the most unfair publicity. He knew that he would be the victim of the most unjust treatment. He knew that he would be the subject of the most unfair publicity.

Davis

61c-1945

Rep. William Dawson

The life of a Negro Congressman

ONE MORNING LAST WEEK we pushed open the door of Room 117 in the Old House Office Building in Washington and entered the outer office of Rep. William Levi Dawson (D., Ill.).

His secretary, a lovely looking girl with upswept hair, a broad nose, and wide, intelligent eyes, looked up from her typing, and told us to have a seat.

We leafed through a *Chicago Defender*, which was among the newspapers and magazines on a big table in the center of the room, and glanced at *Negro Digest*.

She's adjusted

Dawson's secretary stopped typing, and we started to chat. She told us her name was Christine Ray Hughes, and that she had worked for Dawson since he first came to Congress in 1942. Before that, she had been secretary-assistant to Arthur Mitchell, Dawson's predecessor, for three of his four terms. So she had been running a Negro Congressman's office continuously since January, 1937.

We asked if she liked Washington.

"Well," she said, "I'm adjusted to it."

Did she find the social taboos that exist against the Negro in the Capitol annoying?

"I'm adjusted," she repeated. "I live at home. My husband's overseas with the Red Cross, but I keep house and don't have trouble eating. At lunch, I can eat in some government cafeterias. But in the evening, if I want to entertain a friend who isn't colored, it's hard. Really it is.

"We can't go into the downtown restaurants, movies, or theaters. The only place around we can eat at is Union Station."

A Negro major came out of Dawson's inner office. Mrs. Hughes smiled, and we went in.

The Congressman was sitting at his desk, and stood up briskly. He's a tall, heavy-set man in his late 50s, and he wears a thin black mustache. His coat was off, and he was wearing suspenders.

We told him we had been talking with Mrs. Hughes about Washington's Jim Crow customs. His face tightened.

"I live with my wife's family here," he said, "and don't eat out much."

Did he have any trouble when he does go into restaurants?

"I don't go into them. But I don't have trouble at functions."

At the theater? At movies? (There are separate Negro and white movie theaters in Washington.)

"I don't have time to go to theaters. I attend an occasional movie."

How about buses? Does he ride them?

"No. I drive my own car."

Virginia buses? The ones that have signs up front saying Negroes must move to the rear?

"I've never been on one of those."

If he did go on one, would he move to the rear?

Views politics as service

"I don't know really," he said tersely.

Was he interested in the Negro situation in Washington? In slum clearance?

He paused, and thought a minute. Then he spoke carefully.

"I'm very much interested in the Negro situation in Washington," he said. "I think slum clearance here ought to be one of our major postwar programs."

We asked what he thought he could accomplish in politics—for his race, and for all his constituents.

"Let me state it this way," he began. "Politics is one of the most important phases of civic life. In America it offers the greatest weapon either for the protection or advance of the civic rights all citizens are entitled to under our government. Politics is a method of service; a way in which you can serve people."

The phone rang, and Dawson spoke on it about the possibilities of getting to Chicago for a funeral. "I'm sorry," he said. "I can't get out . . ."

Politics for minorities

He hung up. "Politics . . ." he said to us. "I believe minorities should use politics to attain their rights and defend themselves in their rights. Of course they can attain rights through economic means, or the acquisition of knowledge, or religion. It's hard to say which is more important. But all phases can be coordinated under political leadership for the best results."

A loud gong sounded throughout the building.

"That's the call to the floor," Dawson explained. "If the Whip phones, and says he's got a quorum, I won't go over."

Mrs. Hughes poked her head through the door to say that the Whip had called to say there *was* a quorum in the House.

Dawson relaxed. "You see how it is," he confided. "Nine-tenths of the work is done off the floor. Why should I go to the floor when I have important work here?

"People say to me: What can one man do? How can one man help a race?

"Look. This office contains certain privileges, certain prestige. There are many doors open to me just because I am a Congressman.

"I see as many people as I can. I never write a letter if I can talk to someone."

He pulled reflectively at his cigar.

"I work in my own way," he said. "Battles aren't won by flag waving. Different people go about things in different ways. I've no criticism of anyone so long as he is honest. But I operate without going out to get lots of publicity."

He moved forward, and sat on the edge of his chair. "People say: Why doesn't Dawson make more noise?

"I tell you my very presence in Congress makes a difference. I came to Congress to do a job. I believed I was fitted by

Photo from Harris & Ewing

Rep. William Dawson (D., Ill.) working in garden of his Washington home (story, left)

training, education and experience to do it. I still am of that impression.

"The important thing is to make people loose their hydrophobia on the question of color, and realize that color is incidental to humanity."

The phone buzzed. "Hello there, Bob—how are you?" said Dawson. "Fine and dandy. Yes. Yes. That's right. No, I wouldn't do that, Bob. You've used your influence with the President. That's enough."

Too modest

He hung up. His voice lost its soft quality. "Now," he said, almost triumphantly. "That was a high official calling about the FEPC. You see how things go. It's not necessary to make a noise when you fight."

As we were leaving we asked what the Congressman wanted for his two children. He paused, and then said, speaking carefully again, "I want for my children what will bring them happiness."

In the outer office Mrs. Hughes said, "Did the Congressman tell you he was made Assistant Chairman of the National Democratic Committee last year—the first Negro to hold the office?" We said no.

"He's too modest," she said. "Maybe you'd like to read this speech, which he read into the Congressional Record last month. It incorporates his philosophy pretty well."

'Travesty against justice'

We glanced through the speech, and jotted down some notes on it. It was a

commencement address given by Dawson at Wilberforce University, Ohio, in June; it was called *Race Is Not a Limitation.*

The situation of the Negro in America today, it read, *is a travesty against justice and fair play, and an insult to the vaunted blast of equality and democracy and gives lie to the claim of Christianity based on the fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man. . . . As bad as is our situation today, it is but small when compared to that faced by our forebears 80 years ago. . . .*

God made us men. God made us like all other men—in his own image—whether white or black or yellow or brown or red. God limited us only by the limitations which we place on ourselves. . . .

That man is to be pitied whose only claim to supremacy lies in something over which he has no control—the color of his skin. The world is fast beginning to look to deeds and achievements as the badge of excellence and we must prepare ourselves to meet the requirements. . . .

We asked Mrs. Hughes if she cared to lunch with us, and she said yes.

"We'll eat at the Supreme Court cafeteria," she said. "The food is good, and they'll admit me without trouble."

We asked how it felt not to be allowed into some restaurants, and always to have to think about whether you would be admitted here or there.

"I'm used to it," she said. "I'm not the type to burst in where I'm not wanted. But . . . Well . . . it's just that downtown restaurants in Washington admit any kind of white person, no matter how he conducts himself or how he looks . . ."

61c-1945

Dr. Norris Begins New U.S. Duties

Texan Succeeds T. N. Roberts in Agriculture Job

The Call

WASHINGTON. — Dr. Ernest M. Norris, newly appointed assistant to the personnel director of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, assumed his duties here in the Washington office on August 1, Secretary of Agriculture Clinton P. Anderson announced this week.

B-10-45

Dr. Norris, who is succeeding the late Thomas N. Roberts, was director of graduate studies in agriculture at Prairie View State college, Prairie View, Texas, at the time of his appointment to the position in the Department of Agriculture.

Kansas City Mo.

Deals with Racial Problems

In his new post, Dr. Norris will represent Personnel Director T. Roy Reid in specific problems concerned with racial factors and in formulating and putting into effect plans and programs for extending and increasing knowledge and understanding of racial groups to personnel policies and department objectives and to work closely with colored agricultural colleges in helping them develop plans for preparing students to take advantage of employment opportunities in agriculture.

Dr. Norris, who was born in Normangee, Texas, September 3, 1903, received his training at Tuskegee, Prairie View, and Cornell university, receiving his doctorate in agrciultural economics and rural education from the latter in 1934. He is thoroughly acquainted with rural problems, having been vocational agriculture teacher at a rural school in Alabama, and principal of a rural school in Texas.

To Prairie View in 1927

From 1927-29 Dr. Norris was instructor of horticulture at Prairie View; from 1927-37 he was vocational agriculture teacher-trainer for the State of Kentucky; and since 1937 has been director of graduate studies in agriculture, and teacher in the resident-trainer program of vocational agrciulture at Prairie View State college.

Dr. Norris is married and has two children, a boy 11, and a girl 13.

Townsend Asked To White House

Chgo. Def.
Weekly Review

WASHINGTON. D. C. — Willard S. Townsend, president of the United Transport Service Employes of America, CIO, and member of the General Executive Board of the Congress of Indusrtial Organization, was invited by President Harry S. Truman to participate in the Labor-Management conference to open at the White House Nov. 5th.

11-3-45 Birmingham

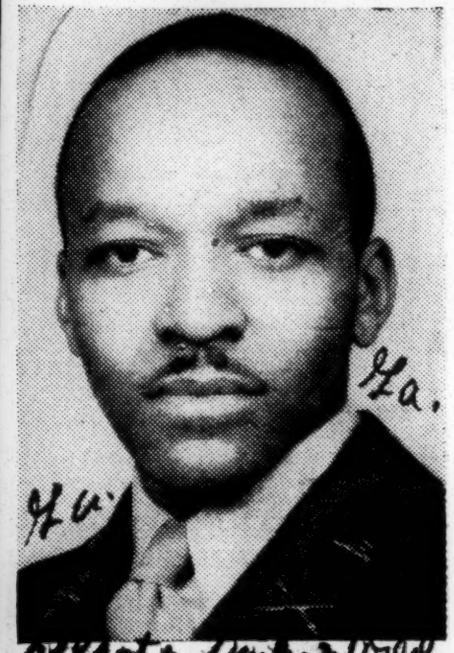
State Dept. Official

RALPH J. BUNCHE,

whose appointment by Secretary of State Byrnes as a member of the State Department's Caribbean Commission was a significant step forward during 1945. Mr. Bunche also served as advisor for the State Department during the San Francisco World Security Conference.

D.C.

61c-1945 D.C.



Atlanta Daily World.

HEADS PRESS UNIT — Major Daniel E. Day, former Chicago newspaperman, who has been elevated to the Chief of the Negro Interest Section of the Press Branch, War Department, Bureau of Public Relations at Washington, D. C., Editor of the section since August, 1943, Major Day succeeds Major Homer B. Roberts, also of Chicago, who retired October 10 (U. S. Army photo from Bureau of Public Relations.) 11-3-45

61c-1945

Illinois

Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky.
AP Wirephoto
FIRST NEGRO ever appointed to the federal bench, Irvin C. Morrison of Chicago is sworn in at New York as judge of U. S. Customs Court by Judge Webster J. Oliver. 11-4-45

The Newyork, N.Y. N.Y.

Irvin C. Mollison, who has had a distinguished law career in Chicago, is now a judge of the United States Customs Court, having been sworn in Saturday in New York City. His appointment by President Truman and unanimous confirmation by the Senate made him the first Negro to join the Federal bench within the continental United States. To an outstanding civic leader and public servant, whose work has advanced democracy in America: 11-5-45

Hats off!

JUDGE MOLLISON

The Pittsburgh Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

By JOSEPH D. BIBB

11-10-45

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

IRVIN C. MOLLISON, brilliant Chicago attorney, is now Associate Judge of the United States Customs Court. He, thereby, becomes the first colored man to serve as a Federal judge in continental United States. When President Truman made this appointment, and the Senate confirmed it, a far-reaching precedent was established. The sinister bars have been lowered, and it no longer is unthinkable to envision a representative of thirteen million colored Americans sitting in solemn dignity upon the bench of the highest court in the land — the United States Supreme Court.

Mr. Bibb

Grave responsibilities now fall upon this lone jurist. He is appointed for a life term and during good behaviour. His salary will be ten thousand dollars per annum and there are pertinent indications that the salary will soon be boosted to fifteen thousand dollars. Nine judges serve in the Customs Court. One is Chief Justice, the other eight are designated as Associate Judges. This judicial body hears and decides appeals for review on the appraisement of merchandise brought into this country, and decides protests against the decisions of Collectors of Port. The position of Mr. Mollison is that of Federal Judge. 11-10-45

* * *

IT IS ADMITTED with almost universal unanimity that our new judge is eminently qualified. Judge Mollison is a graduate of both the College and Legal Departments of the University of Chicago. He is a member of the honorary fraternity of exceptionally brilliant students, the Phi Beta Kappa. He has established a scintillating record as a lawyer and has long labored in the interest of the under-privileged and minority groups before the most important courts of the Nation.

Judge Mollison, during his eventful career before the bar, has handled more than fifty civil rights cases. He was prominent among the capable attorneys who won the important Lee vs. Hansbury case, dealing with restrictive covenants. This case, when decided by the United States Supreme Court, attracted nation-wide interest. Because of his comprehensive understanding of the law and nature of restrictive covenants, Mr. Mollison has handled over twenty of such cases within the last three years. Very little has been paid to this lawyer for such service, nor has he received adequate pay for his peerless endeavors in matters of extradition and rendition. For more than twenty years this jurist served vicariously in the interest of the poor people, sponsored for legal redress by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Such services merit reward, demand recognition and deserve emolument.

* * *

PRESIDENT TRUMAN and Attorney General Tom Clark have created history. Truman from Missouri, and Clark from Texas, have instilled new hope in the hearts of American colored people. They have blasted the notion that all Southern Democrats are narrow and mean. The appointment of Judge Mollison will most certainly enure to the political benefit of the President, the Attorney General and the Democratic Party.

By securing this recognition for colored Americans, Congressman William L. Dawson, who sponsored and supported Judge Mollison, has proved his influence in Washington. Undoubtedly Congressman Dawson has won the respect of the White House and has established himself in the circles of Democratic politicians as being a wise, shrewd and capable adviser. The appointment and confirmation of Judge Mollison holds forth in silent eloquence to the genius of Congressman Dawson in securing respect for colored Americans.

* * *

WHILE THE venom and spleen of the unreconstructed Southern rebels are being spewed about, this appointment stands out as a challenge to those who indulge it. The Republicans are also challenged to lower the bars in the States where they hold sway. A new note has been struck in American politics.

The appointment of a colored man to the Federal Court Bench within the confines of continental United States is thrilling and inspiring beyond expression and we trust that this incident is prophetic of a new-found fairness in dealing with all American citizens.

Civilian Aide To War Sec'y Resigns Post

The Atlanta Daily World

New Appointee Is Former Lieutenant Colonel With 92nd

Atlanta, Georgia

Ascendency to Federal Bench in Continental U. S. Is Highly Significant

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — Truman K. Gibson Jr. is resigning as civilian aide to the secretary of war. His position will be filled by Marcus H. Ray of Chicago, until last Saturday when he was separated from the service, a lieutenant colonel of artillery with the 92nd Infantry division. Gibson proposed Ray's name to the department. 11-11-45

Perhaps the primary significance in the change is the fact that, unlike the experience following World War I, the post of civilian aide to the secretary is likely to remain as an important function at least for the balance of the present administration in Washington.

600th COMMANDER

The new civilian aide, a former postal employe in Chicago, was commanding officer of the 600th field artillery battalion with the famed "Buffalo" division, until he was flown back to Washington Monday a week ago and informed of his new assignment. He preferred to be separated in the Chicago area.

Ray is also a former commanding officer of Company F, Eighth Infantry, Illinois National guard. He was activated with all other guardsmen and in January, 1941, went to Fort Custer as commanding officer of the second battalion, 184th field artillery regiment. Two years later he commanded the 93rd field artillery battalion at Camp Stewart, Tenn., and in September, 1943, went to Fort Huachuca with the 600th. The outfit arrived in Italy as a part of the 92nd division on November 2, 1944.

Lt. Col. Ray was awarded the Legion of Merit, Bronze Star Medal, and from Crown Prince Umberto received the Cross of Merit of War, an Italian honor, on September 1

SECOND IN POST

In succeeding Gibson, Ray becomes the second civilian aide to the war secretary. Gibson entered the department as assistant civilian aide to William H. Hastie on November 28, 1940. When Hastie quit on February 1, 1943, Gibson became acting civilian aide and remained in this position until September of that year when he was made permanent.

Gibson was decorated with the Medal for Merit on September 17, for outstanding service. His resignation goes in this week, and after a period of assisting his successor to acquaint himself with the work, Gibson will return to Chicago where he will resume the practice of law.

JUDGE MOLLISON PRAISES PRESIDENT TRUMAN DURING IMPRESSIVE INDUCTION AFFAIR

The Black Dispatch
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
11-17-45

Leaders From Over Nation Gather to Witness Elevation of First Negro to U. S. Continental Judgeship

LIBERIA SENDS GREETINGS

NEW YORK — Hailing his appointment at the beginning of a new era of Negro participation in government, national leaders of both groups gathered in New York last Saturday to witness the induction of Irvin C. Mollison of Chicago as Judge of the U. S. Customs Courts, a lifetime job at $10,000 per year. 11-17-45

Expressing his gratitude to President Truman for the appointment, Judge Mollison told the crowded Customs Court room that the President "has in concrete fashion carried out his announced policy of justice and fairness to all people in the United States. I am a living example of his policy.

Sworn into office by Judge Webster J. Oliver, presiding judge of the Customs, Judge Mollison received tributes from members of the New York judiciary and a host of national leaders.

Brigadier General William O'Dwyer, Democratic candidate for Mayor of New York City, declared: "I wish all of the children of today could be in this room and participate in this function and go out of it strengthened with a feeling of this democracy under which we live, that it is working and will continue to work." 11-17-45

Congressman Adam Powell in his tribute to Judge Mollison stated: "It is the beginning of a series of appointments which have been long overdue to a very loyal and faithful minority in this nation."

Speaking on behalf of the NAACP, Walter White paid lavish tribute to Judge Mollison and stated "we are confident that he is going to make a brilliant record as an American jurist."

Congressman William L. Dawson of Chicago, declared that Judge Mollison's appointment was brought about "not by Mr. Mollison's brilliance, not by his fine background, but by the earnest endeavors of a simple people who participated in their government."

Dr. Channing Tobias, in praising Judge Mollison declared: "He possesses one other qualification, that is the common touch with the common man." He added, "In this particular branch of the law he probably will not come very often into contact with the masses of the people, but he will be a better judge even in this department because he has come into contact with the masses in the wholsome way he has." 11-17-45

The hour long induction ceremony opened with an invocation by the Reverend Marshall Shephard, Recorder of Deeds of the District of Columbia. The oath was administered in a brief ceremony by Julge Webster J. Oliver who thereupon spoke briefly of the duties of the court. He stressed the fact that customs court judges sit in all principal ports of entry in the United States and its possessions.

Judge Oliver called upon leaders of the New York judiciary who welcomed Judge Mollison to the Court. Greetings were brought from Liberia by the Honorable Dewey A. Grimes, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Republic of Liberia. He was followed by a host of leaders in the Democratic Party of New York and the nation.

Among the honored guests present at the induction ceremony were: Dr. Silas Taylor, James Imberton, John Sengstacke, State Senator C. C. Wimbish, Corneal Davis, Ray Jones, Hon. William Andrews, M. Joyner, Dr. and Mrs. Cummings, Jeanetta Welch, Brown Price, Joseph Ford, Hemina Adams, Mr. and Mrs. Brewer, Assistant Attorney General Paul P. Rao, Jacob I.

man, Hon. Harry M. Durning, ard A. Alexander and Capt. ugo Rogers. 11-17-45

CAPITAL SPOTLIGHT

Daily World
By

LOUIS LAUTHIER

(For NNPA)

Atlanta, Ga.

Illinois Solons

Three colored men have represented the first Congressional district of Illinois in the House in modern times. They are Oscar De Priest Arthur Mitchell and Bill Dawson.

De Priest was the rough-and-ready boss type. Mitchell was techy. Dawson is tactful and as a consequence, is accomplishing more than his two predecessors put together. 11-28-45

For example, when De Priest was first elected to Congress, there was some questions about his taking the oath of office and suggestion was made that when he presented his credentials, he might be asked to step aside. A reporter made an objective analysis of the situation that might confront him. De Priest was furious and swore vengeance.

Mitchell stayed at odds with newsmen during the four terms he served. He broke up cameras and insulted reporters.

The story concerning the selection of Jeanetta Welch Brown as an organizer for the Democratic national committee would have offended De Priest or Mitchell, if either one of them were the assistant to the chairman of his political party. But not Dawson.

If Dawson were piqued, he never showed it. Well, I know people in an organzation will fight," he commented after the story had been read to him. "If they're not kept busy," he said, "they will fight each other. I think it's healthy sign and shows they're interested."

* * * *

Moreover, Dawson has a basic philosophy. He believes in expressing his appreciation of his friends and not advertising his enemies. That is the philosophy he would have colored people adopt in the case of people like Mary Norton of New Jersey and Helen Gahagan Douglas of California, on the one hand and Bilbo Rankin and their ilk on the other. He reasons that lambasting them simply serves to keep them in Congress.

* * * *

On the other side of the political fence, Perry W. Howard, Republican national committee man for Mississippi, is in a dither about people who beg for eleemosynary institutions but are partisan in their politics. He is readying a blast at them. 11-28-45

* * * *

Incidentally, the Republican national committee meeting in Chiduce some fiireworks over the colduce some firewroks over the colored voter. Herbert Brownwell, chairman of the Republican national committee, has refused to see Bob Church, of Chicago, who heads the American Republican Committee. It's a bet that Church will make a fight upon Brownell.

* * * *

Also in the Republican picture is the National Council of Negro Republicans, headed by Joe Baker, of Philadelphia. As far as can be learned, this group is being financed by Ernest T. Weir, a steel magnate in Pennsylvania, who has served as chairman of the Republican finance committee. 11-28-45

This group apparently has the blessings of Brownell but does not meet the demands of colored Republicans for integration into the work of the Republican national committee.

* * * *

Appointment of General Dwight D. Eisenhower as Army Chief of Staff to succeed General George C Marshall brings hosannas from colored people. He's straight on the color question. Fleet Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, who was appointed Chief of Naval Operations to succeed Fleet Admiral Ernest J. King, also is all right, if you take the word of Lester Granger, executive secretary of the National Urban League. But Nimitz is a Texan and never was known as a liberal during his tour of duty in the Navy Department before the war when a colored man could enlist only as a messman in the Navy. The verdict on him should be reserved.

* * * *

General H. H. Arnold, commanding general of the Army Air Forces and General Brehen Somervell, commanding general of the Army Service Forces, also have submitted their resignations, but President Truman has not yet accepted them. No tears will be shed when they are relieved from their commands.

61c-1945

Kentucky

2 Negroes Nominated.

Courier-Journal

Each party nominated a Negro for the Board of Aldermen by thumping big majorities. William W. Beckett won the Democratic nomination from the Eighth Ward by 10 to 1 and Eugene S. Clayton won the Republican nomination from the 10th Ward by 6 to 1.

The Democratic organization slate was broken in two races. Charles A. Staebler, Jr., unslated candidate, was nominated in the 34th Legislative District over Ferd A. Gnau and Michael B. Gilligan was nominated in the 35th Legislative District over William Chester Peterson, the slated candidate. 8-10-45

The Democrats polled a gross of 21,292 votes in the contest for County Clerk, which was the heaviest race on that side. The Republicans polled a gross of 8,742 votes in their heaviest race, that for Mayor. Louisville

Roy W. Easley, head of the Republican slate, received 7,888 votes for Mayor as compared to 854 received by Charles W. Ryans. Other Republican candidates on the Ryans slate fared similarly.

Three Are Sworn In On Equalization Board

Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.

Oaths of office for a new term of work were taken yesterday by the City Board of Equalization which will begin a review of tax values listed on real and personal property by special and regular deputies who have been working on the lists for a number of weeks. Major Wilson W. Wyatt swore in the members.

Reappointed by the Board of Aldermen were Walter Jacobs, 2736 Hollywood Terrace; E. F. Metzner, 2206 Edgehill Road, and Joseph R. Ray, Negro, 3340 Grand. All Republicans, the three men served for the first time as a group last year. 8-15-45

NEGRO ON CITY COUNCIL

Louisville, Ky., Nov. —(NNPA)— For the first time in the history of this city a colored man has been elected to the city council. He is Eugene S. Clayton, Republican, who defrayed the Democratic nominee by a majority of 141 votes. Houston, Texas

KENTUCKIAN NAMED TO STATE EDUCATION BOARD 11-24-45

Pittsburgh, Pa. Courier

MONTICELLO, Ky.—(By ANP)—O. M. Travis, widely known merchant here, has just received notice of his appointment to the State Board of Education. He thus becomes the first Negro to hold this post. The appointment was made by Governor Willis, elected as the Republican candidate at the last election. The State Board exercises broad powers over Kentucky's public school system.

Negro Legislator To Address Meeting Of Lawyers In N. Orleans

the INFORMER

Houston Texas

NEW ORLEANS — Charles W. Anderson, Jr., member of the Kentucky legislature, will be the principal speaker at a public meeting to be held at St. James AME church on Friday, September 7, it was announced by the local arrangements committee of the Southwest Bar association. 8-18-45

Mr. Anderson is the only Negro in the South in the legislature. He will attend the sessions of the Southwest Bar association here and will meet with local Negroes interested in discussing the political future of the race. He is president of the National Bar association and lives in Louisville, Kentucky.

Delegates

Delegates from the states of Oklahoma, Arkansas and Texas have already indicated that they will be present for the meeting. Lawyers residing in the states of Kansas, Louisiana, Texas, Oklahoma and Arkansas are eligible for membership in the association, and affiliate of the National Bar association which represents all of the lawyers in the United States.

Among those who have written in for reservations are W. J. Durham of Dallas, Texas, who represented Dr. Lonnie Smith in the famous Texas white primary case; Amos T. Hall of Tulsa, Oklahoma, a member of the national legal committee of the NAACP, and Harold Flowers of Pine Bluff, Arkansas.

All sessions of the association will be held at the General Longshore Workers Hall, 518 South Rampart street. There will be a reception at the Autocrat club for the visiting lawyers.

CHARLES W. ANDERSON, Jr.

First Negro Is Appointed To State Education Board

Louisville, Ky.
Courier-Journal

Frankfort, Ky., Nov. 14 (AP)— O. M. Travis, Monticello, was appointed a member of the State Board of Education today, the first Negro to hold such a post in Kentucky.

Travis, a merchant, is a member at large of the Republican State Central Committee, and long has been active in educational affairs of his race. 11-15-45

Fulfills Pledge.

He succeeds James W. Turner, Paintsville, who resigned on being elected a circuit judge. The Education Board appointment, made by Governor Willis, is for the term ending June 30, 1948.

The State board approves budgets and exercises broad powers over Kentucky's public school system in co-operation with State Superintendent of Public Instruction John Fred Williams. It consists of eight members, including the superintendent, who is its ex-officio chairman. Regular terms of its members are four years. 11-15-45

Appointment of Travis was made in line with an announcement by Governor Willis last summer that at the first opportunity he would name a Negro as a member of the group.

TO CITY COUNCIL

The Call Kansas City, Mo

LOUISVILLE, Ky. —(NNPA)— For the first time in the history of this city a colored man has been elected to the city council. He is Eugene S. Clayton, Republican, who defeated the Democratic nominee by a majority of 141 votes. 11-30-45

He also announced 11-17-45

Louisville, Ky.

CHARLES W. ANDERSON JR., of Louisville, Ky., who was re-elected to the State Legislature without opposition on the GOP ticket last week. He will serve four more years. Mr. Anderson, who is president of the National Bar Association, was first elected to the legislature in 1935.

61c-1945

Liberia

Liberian Vice Council Ranks 3rd Hightest In Career Examination

new york age

n.y.; N.Y.

MONROVIA, Liberia -- Rupert Alstyne Lloyd, Vice Consul at the American Legation, recently took the examination as a career officer in the Foreign Service of the United States, and received the third highest rating of 400 aspirants.

12-15-45

Mr. Lloyd has a B. A. from William College, 1930; M. A. from Harvard, 1931; studied at the Universite de Bordeaux, 1931-32; Universite de Paris, 1938-39. He was instructor in French, Miner Teachers College, 1932-34, Morehouse College, 1935-38, and Morgan State College, 1939-41. Appointed clerk in the American Legation at Monrovia in 1941 he was made Vice Consul in 1942.

61c-1945

Massachusetts

COUNCILMAN—Herbert L. Jackson, a tailor in Malden, Mass., has been elected a councilman. He is the first Negro to enter a municipal election in that city, and defeated five other contestants. Jackson received 1,448 votes. 11-24-45

Mass. Supreme Court Names Negro Veteran To Law Clerk Staff

N.Y. N.Y. Age
12-8-45

BOSTON, Mass. — The Massachusetts Supreme Court, for the first time in its history, named a Negro as one of its law clerks.

Recipient of the precedent-making appointment was Herbert O. Reid, 27, of Cambridge, a native of Wilson, N. C., who volunteered for military service in 1942, became a second lieutenant in the 369th Regiment, N. Y. N. G., and fought at Okinawa.

61c-1945

Mississippi

Rankin Chants Same Old Hymn of Hate

PM New York, N.Y. 10-25-45

By CHARLES A. MICHIE
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Oct. 25.—The thin, shrill voice of Mississippi's John Elliott Rankin beeped out of the loud speakers in the House of Representatives. It had a familiar ring. He was cussing Communists, slurring Jews and telling an inattentive world he was a friend of the "niggers."

This, by the way, was Rankin's defense of the un-American activities of the House Un-American Activities Committee, which some unappreciative Congressmen thinks should be quickly and quietly interred before it gives all of Congress a bad name.

The way it came about was this: They set a couple of hours aside in the House for debate on whether the House Un-American Activities Committee—alleged legitimate offspring of the old Dies Committee—should be continued or not. A lot of vocal Congressmen took a crack at it. First, Rep. Emanuel Celler (D., N. Y.).

Celler was inquisitive about why the activities of Rankin's committee (Rankin's not actually the chairman, but he runs the show) did not extend into investigating what goes with Gerald L. K. Smith, the Knights of the White Camelia, We The Mothers, National Blue Star Mothers, Joe McWilliams's Servicemen's Reconstruction League, Edward James Smythe's Protestant War Veterans and the DAR. He also asked, somewhat naively, why Rankin wasn't sticking his investigative nose into the "hate sheets," such as the *Cross and the Flag*, *Destiny*, and the *Constitutionalist*, all anti-Ssemitic and anti-Negro.

Celler said the new Un-American Activities Committee has two choices, it can follow the lead of the old, discredited Dies Committee or it can proceed in true American tradition. He mentioned the fact that the Committee had asked for scripts of seven radio commentators.

"This could have the effect of frightening men off the air," he warned. "I hope they also ask for scripts of such as Upton Close, Rupert Hughes, H. V. Kaltenborn and Bill Cunningham." There is little chance.

Andrew J. Biemiller (D., Wis.), got up to wonder if Rankin's Committee was doing anything about the scores of veterans organizations which were being "spawned" by the hate groups. Apparently, nothing because Rankin didn't mention them later. Ellis E. Patterson (D., Cal.), put in a word to say there's no difference between the "old" and the "new" Dies Committees.

"If the Committee can investigate radio scripts, it can investigate the press," he said. Patterson is author of the resolution which would kill the Un-American Committee, and author of another which would regulate the scope of an investigative group.

Rep. Hugh De Lacey (D., Wash.) releated an amusing anecdote. The un-American Committee was hot after a Phil Baker script *of Take It Or Leave It*. The $64 question was what sort of unity was good for Americans. The fellow who answered said that advocating the fascist theory of racial supremacy was bad stuff. That, friends, was what the Committee was after.

Rankin had 30 minutes all blocked out for himself, but he took time to say that he had just witnessed "the most ridiculous procedure ever seen in Congress—unmitigated attacks on the DAR by "the Jewish gentleman from New York." Celler had protested the group's barring of Marian Anderson and Hazel Scott, Negroes, from Constitution Hall.

Celler rose to protest that Rankin was out of order in referring to him in that fashion. The chair agreed.

"It is extremely strange that a man who attacks the DAR should object to being referred to as a gentleman of a certain race," smirked Rankin. Celler again protested that he was saying the same thing by indirection.

"Does the gentleman object to being called a Jew or object to being called a gentleman?" Rankin asked. He was sternly rebuked by the chair and told to "proceed in order and I think the gentleman from Mississippi knows what I mean." 10-25-45

Then Rankin hit his usual stride.

"I'm a better friend of the niggers than all the left-wing liberals," he piped. "There are the whitest white folk and the blackest niggers in my district I ever looked at. We get along fine. They're protected. It's about time we stopped attacking the white majority in this country. Some of the stuff these radio broadcasters say shouldn't be blazoned into the ears of the American people."

FORMER BILBO MANAGER ASKS NMU TO HELP LICK HIM

Daily Worker N.Y., N.Y. 10-30-45

A former campaign manager for Senator Bilbo told a National Maritime Union meeting in New York recently, "I ask you to help us defeat Bilbo and everything he stands for."

Rossi Broom, representing the Voluntary Citizenry Committee of Mississippi, appeared at his own request before a New York membership meeting of the NMU to thank the union for its stand against Bilbo.

Broom, who said he managed Bilbo's 1940 campaign, told the NMU he had come to them because he wanted them to understand that "Bilbo does not represent the majority of Mississippi."

"I know, that you and many other groups are interested in the FEPC, and I say that in Mississippi sooner or later we will defeat the Bilbo faction that has so long dominated Mississippi politics. I seriously hope that the Mississippi electorate will demonstrate this truth upon Senator Bilbo who is disgracing an august body like the U. S. Senate by making such remarks as he has. 10-30-45

"Mississippi is going to wake up, and we invite you of New York and every other state to keep your eyes upon it and let us prove to you that we have men of high caliber capable of representing the democracy of Mississippi and the U. S. Senate just as good as any state in the union."

Of Jimcrow, Brown said:

"There has been a certain restriction that has not been to the good of the people and the general welfare of Mississippi, but I am sure that in the not so instant future, we shall raise the dark veil from over Mississippi that will give not only economic freedom, but will give fair employment and a right to vote without payment of a poll tax."

In a letter written for the Mediterranean edition of The Stars and Stripes, the student council—composed of white, Negro and Neisei soldiers—declared "there is enough dynamite in 35 words that Rep. Rankin uttered to make us stop and think just what did we fight for." The letter added: 11-28-45

"The words we are referring to are 'we are not attempting to smear anyone but we are trying to keep the flag flying over a white government. It is about time all those minorities stopped attacking the white majority in this country."

"Those words uttered by a member of Congress right after America and her allies have won a war which we were told by the federal government, OWI and the Army was to bring the four freedoms to enslaved peoples are rather ironical. . . .

"We ask you, Rep. Rankin, did our buddies die in vain? Will America become a place on the earth where all men regardless of race, color or creed can work together as peaceful, law abiding citizens or will you and your kind win out over the teaching of all religions, morals, ethics and all that is decent?"

Rankin Statement Gets Fire From Students

The Birmingham News Birmingham, Ala.

ROME, Nov. 2—(AP)—The student council of the American Army's university training center at Florence criticized Rep. Rankin (D., Miss.) for remarks it attributed to him concerning "white government" and "the white majority" in the United States.

9 Congressmen Denounce Rankin in House Debate

CELLER DELACY MARCANTONIO

By ART SHIELDS Daily Worker

WASHINGTON, Oct. 24.—The Rankin Un-American Activities Committee was under heavy mass attack in the House for most of today's session. Nine Congressmen blasted the pro-fascist committee for its red-baiting and radio-baiting, while Rep. John E. Rankin (D-Miss) screamed insults against Jewish and Negro members in reply.

A half dozen additional members sought to get the floor against Rankin, but couldn't because the time had already been allotted.

Rankin had support too—from the polltax and Republican combination. An ominous volume of hand-clapping and laughter greeted his Jew-baiting cracks against Rep. Celler (D-NY), who opened the debate against him, and his cries of "N——r" against Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. (D-NY).

GOP'ERS CLAQUE FOR RANKIN

Two-thirds of Rankin's applause came from the Republican side. 10-25-45

The attack on the committee was made a special order of business today after many members had told Speaker Sam Rayburn (D-Tex) that they wanted to protest the un-American outfit's behavior. East, West and Midwest representatives joined in the mass attack on the un-American committee today. New York N.Y.

Celler and Vito Marcantonio (ALP) from New York, Ellis E. Patterson and Clyde Doyle, two Democrats from California; Hugh De Lacy, John M. Coffee and Henry Jackson, three Washington State Democrats, and Frank E. Hook (D-Mich) took part in the drubbing of Rankin's smear gang.

No fascist spokesmen in Congress have gotten such a going over this year.

Marcantonio, Celler, Patterson, De Lacy and others emphasized the similarity of the Rankin and the Hitler technique.

CALLS RANKIN FASCIST

Rankin had jeered at Celler as "Jewish," repeating his jibes after Speaker Rayburn called him to order, and he had pointed at Powell every time he used the word "N----rs" in referring to colored people.

Marcantonio blasted this technique in a cold and devastating speech that closed the debate.

"When you refer to a member's race, color or creed in this way, you are behaving like a fascist," said Marcantonio. "The Nazis too began by referring to members of the Reichstag as 'Jewish' but soon they were writing the word 'Jew' on store windows and houses. And they ended by pinning the name 'Jew' on their victims in the concentration camps. 10-25-45

"The same thing applies to 'Communism,'" continued Marcantonio. "The red-baiting here follows the same Hitler pattern. And it leads toward the destruction of democracy here as in Germany."

Celler had linked the committee's activities with the wave of anti-Semitism, Negro-baiting and "hoodlumism" spreading over the land.

LYNCH THREATS

The Un-American Committee, he pointed out, never bothered to investigate Father Coughlin's pro-fascist propaganda, the hoodlums of Joe McWilliams in Chicago, Gerald L. K. Smith, of the reviving Ku Klux Klan, the Christian American Association or the "necktie parties" in parts of the south.

Rankin hinted at lynching reprisals against progressive congressmen in his half-hour speech.

The people where he came from, he said, would know how to "take care" of the "left wingers" before him if they came down there, he declared. "They wouldn't last a half hour," he said.

The Mississippian began Jew-baiting Celler in his first sentence with a jeering reference to the New Yorker as "Jewish."

The Speaker admonished Rankin when Celler protested and Marcantonio demanded the stenographer "take down the words" preliminary to having them expunged from the record. But Rankin referred again in heavy accents to the "Jewish gentleman," then said, amid the laughter of the poll taxers and half the Republicans, that he didn't know whether Celler objected most to the characterization of "gentleman" or "Jew."

Speaker Rayburn permitted this to go on with feeble instructions to Rankin to withdraw his words on one occasion, which Rankin did laughingly, and the advice that Rankin should refer to Celler as a member of a "minority race," not as a Jew.

That didn't help much.

The Speaker, however, did not call Rankin down for his repeated use of the word N . . . r," nor his finger-pointing at Powell.

Thousands at Davis Garment Area Rally

Thousands of people gathered yesterday noon at 36 St. and Seventh Ave. in an election rally for Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr.

The rally, one of the largest election meetings held in the garment center this year, was addressed by Councilman Davis, Carl Brodsky and Albert E. Kahn. Esther Carroll, member of Local 22 of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, presided.

Why The Bilbos Stay In Office

BY MARQUIS CHILDS

WASHINGTON, Dec. 3—The Jewish war veterans have asked for the impeachment of Sen. Theodore Bilbo, "The Man," Mississippi's gift to the nation.

For some time, members of Congress have been receiving letters and petitions urging that Bilbo be removed from the Senate. They have come in some instances from prominent individuals.

Not long ago a Democratic senator, one of the younger liberals, got such a request. He was asked to initiate a move to oust Bilbo. His reply was no, and his reasons for saying no make, it seems to me, good sense.

Naturally, he wrote, no true American would attempt to expose Bilbo's primitive prejudices. "The Man" was obviously debasing the level of debate and discussion in the Senate.

But, the senator pointed out, to try to unseat him would be to set an extremely dangerous precedent. It would be impeachment of a senator for his views, rather than for any wrongful act.

A precedent of that sort could be turned against the defender of an unpopular cause. It could be used to keep obstreperous minorities in line.

* * *

WHILE THE SENATOR DID NOT SAY SO in his letter, an even better reason is that it would tend to make Bilbo a martyr. He would get support from colleagues who actually may despise him.

A martyr is far more dangerous than a nuisance. That is just what Bilbo is today—a nuisance who knows how to exploit his nuisance value.

Sen. Bilbo at the same time does not, of course, represent the South. He no more represents the region from which he comes than Frank Hague represents New Jersey or Rep. Harold Knutson represents Minnesota.

* * *

WHAT THESE MEN DO REPRESENT is a failure of American democracy. They represent the court-house ring, the machine, peanut politics aligned with self-seekers who exploit the peanut politicians for what they can get out of government.

One Bilbo in the Senate is a passing phenomenon. But a Senate of Bilbos might try to put into practice some of the weird proposals that the Mississippi talks about, such as sending all Negroes back to Africa.

* * *

THE ANSWER OF COURSE, IS WITH THE ALL OF US. So long as we let politics go by default to the peanut politicians, as we think of politics as something beneath us, just so long will we get Bilbos, and probably in increasing numbers.

Conscientious congressmen overwork themselves and certainly, by present standards, they are underpaid. That is why we lose good men like Georgia's Rep. Robert Ramspeck to private enterprise.

That is why the Bilbos stay on year after year riding on public apathy and forgetfulness.—©.

Bilbo Violated Oath, Impeach Him, Jewish War Vets Demand

ATLANTIC CITY, Nov. 26.—Impeachment of Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo of Mississippi was demanded yesterday as the Jewish War Veterans of the United States concluded a three day encampment.

In a resolution adopted by 1,000 delegates, Bilbo's ouster was asked the ground that he has "violated also demanded: an end to the White religious prejudices." The House of Representatives was called on to prevent future occurrences.

During the encampment, held at the Chelsea Hotel here, the JWV Rights to colleges indulging in racial and religious bias; full support of U. S. committments to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation

Administration, and passage of a federal law outlawing anti-Semitism. The organization condemned groups organized by anti-Semites.

Maj. Maxwell Cohen of Boston, veteran of both world wars, was elected national president, and Mrs. Alice Gilman of Malden, Mass., was named national president of the women's auxiliary.

61c-1945 Mississippi

Newark City Board Slams Bilbo; Boston Mayor Urges Ouster

Daily Worker New York N. Y.

NEWARK, N. J., Aug. 26.—The City Board of Commissioners at its regular meeting this week denounced Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo of Mississippi.

In "protest and resentment," the board lashed out against the pro-fascist senator for "narrowness and bigotry" and for racial and religious hatred and intolerance "generally displayed by him in his speeches and conduct."

The board specifically scored Bilbo's "Dear Dago" salutation on a letter to Miss Josephine Piccolo, sister of soldier killed in this war.

Newark's progress, the board pointed out, has been achieved through the harmonious action of Italian, Jewish and Negro people and other groups, including many Catholics, "all of whom have been the subject of slander and derision from Bilbo."

BOSTON, Aug. 26.—Mayor John E. Kerrigan called this week for the impeachment of Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo.

In wires to Massachusetts Senators Walsh and Saltonstall, the Mayor urged support of any impeachment proceedings against Mississippi's version of Adolf Hitler.

Bilbo, Kerrigan said, was a "ruthless destroyer of democratic American principles for which we have sacrificed the lifeblood of our land." He condemned Bilbo's "acts of prejudice and persecution of minority groups," and specifically denounced the pro-fascist's

BILBO

attack on Jewish, Catholic, Italian and Negro citizens.

Another prominent Bostonian calling for Bilbo's impeachment this week was Peter M. Leavitt, president of the New England division of the American Jewish Congress.

Bilbo To Be Candida... To Succeed Himself

Times Dispatch

BILOXI, MISS., Aug. 23—(AP)—United States Senator Theodore G. Bilbo said today he would be a candidate to succeed himself in the Senate and declared war on the Yankees.

Richmond Va.

Asked if he had any news, the Senator said:

"Well, you can tell the people I'm a candidate for the Senate and that one of my first planks will be to remove the nuisance windshield $5 automobile tax, and to fight the Fair Employment Practices Committee, the antipoll-tax laws and other antilegislation introduced by the Yankees."

Bilbo Vilifies Jewish Citizen

Peoples' Voice New York N. Y.

Continuing his campaign of vilification against citizens who protest his violent attacks upon minorities, Senator Bilbo has now written a letter to Leonard E. Golditch, executive secretary of the National Committee To Combat Anti-Semitism. PV quotes excerpts:

"Dear Golditch———

". . . you are a notorious, contemptible and pusillanimous liar and a dirty, filthy, scavenger beetle. . . . (

". . . this is a helluva lie. . . ."

"This is a sonofabitch lie. . . ."

"This is the silliest damn lie you ever uttered. . . .

". . . dirty skunks like you be on the lookout. . . .

"You lie like a dog. . . .

"You are a black hearted, damnable liar. . . .

"You prove to be a silly jackass. . . .

"Your whole paragraph . . . is a dirty, infamous concoction of a dirty, twisted, distorted, limicolous brain."

"You are the first damn liar, and such a . . .

". . . thousands of letters endorsing the fight I am making against crackpot legislation in the Congress sponsored by you and your *communistic mongrel bunch*. . . . [Italics our. The "crackpot legislation" Bilbo refers to, of course, is the bill for a permanent FEPC. Does he include President Truman, strong backer of the bill, among the "Communist mongrel bunch"?—Ed.].

"You are the first damn liar, and such a helluva liar. . . ."

[——AND FOR THIS WE PAY BILBO $10,000 A YEAR]—Editors.

Mayor Bilbo

9-21-45 N.Y., N.Y.

Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Sept. 21.—Immediate removal of Sen. Theodore Bilbo (D., Miss.) as chairman of the Senate District Committee was demanded today by the Washington Chapter of the American Veterans Committee.

The AVC chapter, composed solely of veterans of World War II, voted to request Senate Majority Leader Alben Barkley to take whatever steps necessary under Senate procedure to remove Bilbo from the "Mayoralty" of Washington.

9-21-45

The Veterans' Committee cited Bilbo's insulting letters to servicemen's relatives whom he addressed as "Kike" and "Dago" as among the principal reasons for his removal. It added that the post of Senate District Committee Chairman required "a man who practices tolerance" instead of one who preaches race hatred.

Toward Freedom

The Daily Worker New York N.Y.

IT IS ironical, indeed, that the most undemocratic and "Un-American" Congressman from the least democratic state in the union, Mississippi, should now have the effrontery to inject himself into the councilmanic campaign of a genuine fighter-for-democracy, Ben Davis, in probably the most democratic great city of our nation.

But this is part of the meaning of the subpoenas issued by the Rankin-dominated new "Dies Committee" for Councilman Ban Davis and other Communist leaders to testify in Washington today. One of the foremost and immediate purposes of their witch-hunt is to smear Ben Davis on the phony "separate Negro state" issue, which his political opponents are trying to play up as a means of preventing his reelection—and thereby any Negro representation in the New York City Council.

9-26-45

John Rankin, whose trick parliamentary move succeeded in reviving the "Dies Committee" on the first day of Congress, has reasons we can well understand for trying to defeat Councilman Benjamin Davis.

Rankin was elected in 1940 by 7,079 votes—representing just 3 percent of the people of Mississippi. Practically all of these were votes by white Mississippians, because the feudalistic rulers for whom Rankin speaks continue to disfranchise Negroes and most all of the poor whites. This is how a misrepresentative of his type is able to remain in Congress year after year—indeed, since 1921.

Davis was elected by the votes of some 43,000 citizens of Manhattan. Over half of these votes were cast by progressive white citizens, who recognized in Ben Davis a staunch fighter for the rights of all people. It was a free election, in which all citizens were allowed to vote, and which was conducted by the most democratic election system yet devised—proportional representation.

Of course, Negro-hating, pro-fascist Rankin wants to keep Ben Davis from going back to the City Council!

* * *

JOHN RANKIN personifies the most vicious anti-democratic forces in American political life. He slanders Jews and Negroes and foreign-born citizens; hates and does all he can to weaken organized labor; seeks to exploit our veterans; and throws all of his parliamentary skill and arrogance into the struggle to block measures designed to broaden the freedom and enhance the economic security of the masses of people.

Ben Davis personifies the essence of American democracy. Although a member of an oppressed minority, he serves with distinction on the legislative body of the greatest city in our nation. In his official capacity he struggles not only to relieve the special problems of his own people, but equally as hard to combat the persecution of foreign-born citizens and Jews, and also to have our local, state and national government use its power to broaden democracy and security for all Americans.

IT IS our opinion, however, that Rankin and his "Gestapo" associates on the Un-American Committee of the House of Representatives will get slapped in the face for their smear attempt.

They will find that Ben Davis and the other Communist leaders they have subpenaed are able, courageous and thoroughly informed spokesmen for the people — more than a match for such petty politicians as emerge from the rotten-boroughs of Mississippi. They will also find that the politically mature voters of Harlem cannot be stampeded by the

Yes, we can well understand why Rankin and his ilk are trying to enter and confuse the Harlem Councilmanic campaign. But other we have full confidence that this time they will meet their masters.

and once effective but now outmoded Hitlerian device of red-baiting.

Of course, Negro-hating, pro-fascist Rankin wants to keep Ben Davis from going back to the City Council!

* * *

500 Vets in Hospital Demand Bilbo Ouster

The PM New York, New York 9-27-45

By United Press

SPOKANE, Wash., Sept. 27.—Five hundred war veterans at Baxter General Hospital have demanded the impeachment of Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo (D., Miss.) for "spreading and fostering racial and religious discrimination."

The War Veterans' Committee for Equal Rights wrote the Mississippi poll taxer yesterday attacking him for his "vehement denunciation of various segments of the American people" on the floor of Congress. 9-27-45

The committee, organized last July to protest discrimination against American war veterans of Japanese ancestry by a Spokane Veterans of Foreign Wars post, was roused to action by Bilbo's widely-publicized statements and letters against what he called "Dagoes" and "Kikes."

from ED BYKOWSKI → to THEODORE BILBO

Civic Leaders Assail Bilbo

The Daily Worker New York, New York 10-1-45

Special to the Daily Worker

MILWAUKEE, Sept. 30.—Senator Bilbo was strongly condemned for his fascistic activities at a hearing before the Legislative Committee of the Common Council of Milwaukee. The hearing was held on a resolution to urge Sens. Wiley and La-Follette to fight for the expulsion of Bilbo from the Senate.

A large turnout of representative civic, church and labor leaders entered into a lively discussion that pointed out the implications of Bilbo's racist and hate propaganda led straight to the concentration camps of Maidenek and Belsen. The harmful consequences of the poll-tax in bringing men like Bilbo to the floor of the Senate where he can carry on his disgraceful attacks on the Negroes, Jews, Poles, Italians and Catholics was emphasized.

Sends Iron Cross to Bilbo . . 'Has Earned It'

Daily Worker

A Nazi Iron Cross is on its way to Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo, Mississippi's mouthpiece for fascism. N.Y., N.Y.

The cross was placed in the mail on Saturday by Edward Bykowski, nationally known veteran, who has conducted a one-man picket campaign against the Senator.

"You have earned the right to be decorated with the Nazi Cross," Bykowski said in his letter to Bilbo. **"As a representative of the American people, I am taking this opportunity of forwarding it to you."**

VETS JOIN BYKOWSKI 10-8-45

In releasing the letter, Bykowski also announced that he will return to Washington in 10 days to continue his fight. This time, however, he will be joined by 50 veterans as well by the four Americans whom Bilbo called "Dear Dago," "You Nigger," and "You Kike."

The four are Miss Josephine Piccolo of Brooklyn, Dolly Mason and Critt McSwain of Chicago; and Leonard Golditch of the National Committee to Combat Anti-Semitism.

The full text of Bykowski's letter to Bilbo follows:

58-60 43rd Avenue,
Woodside, Queens, N. Y.
October 6, 1945.

Senator Theodore G. Bilbo,
United States Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Bilbo:

Your letters which have shocked the people of our United States and of the entire world are becoming more and more offensive to every decent human being. First you addressed loyal and patriotic civilian Americans with names unfit to repeat. Then you referred to me, an honorable discharged, veteran (60 percent disability) who took part in the battles of the Coral Sea, Midway, Guadalcanal and Savo Bay and thereafter spent three years in Naval Hospital, as an "undesirable nationality." 10-8-45

But now when you call four members of our armed forces still serving our country "four dirty and cowardly so-called military men . . . sickening and offensive to all clean and decent human beings" just because they protest your foul letters, you have gone away past the bounds of simple loyalty to our country.

Hitler and the Nazis for many years told the German people and the people of the occupied countries the very same thing.

When I was a member of our armed forces, Senator Bilbo, I was taught how to obey orders and to respect the uniform of our country and the men who wore them. Above all I was taugh loyalty and respect for those in command in Washington who were guiding our destiny.

You have made it very clear now that you do not know what loyalty and respect for our fighting forces means. 10-8-45

You have earned the right to be decorated with the Nazi Cross.

As a representative of the American people, I am taking this opportunity of forwarding the Nazi Cross to you. Attached to this letter you will find your decoration.

Of course I would welcome the chance of pinning it on you personally, but my experiences with you in the past has convinced me that you are the little man who is never there.

Senator Bilbo, when I left Washington I promised I'd be back. Well you can expect me shortly with Americans representative of the cross-section that made our country great.

And we will stay in Washington and carry our message around the country until the Washington air is free of the poison of Bilboism.

Yours truly,

EDWARD BYKOWSKI.

1,200 at Rally Urge Bilbo Go

Daily Worker N.Y. N.Y.

The 1,200 people attending the Oust Bilbo Rally at the Pythian Temple Thursday night rose to their feet in a rousing ovation as the picketers of Bilbo marched into the hall, to the tune of Rodger Young.

In the line was Ed Bykowski, veteran who picketed Bilbo alone for 17 days, until his wounded leg forced him to leave, Dolly Mason, young Negro woman recipient of the "Dear Nigger" letter, Josephine Picollo, who received the "Dear Dago" letter, a group of merchant seamen and veterans, including a WAVE. 10-20-45

The meeting was called by the Citizens Committee of the Upper West Side.

Bilbo sent a wire to the meeting branding the group as "Communist mongrels."

Speakers included Eleanor Gimbel, Rev. Benjamin Richardson who said that the time was near when the world would unite to wipe the Bilbos from the earth. Councilman Michael Quill said, "Picketing Bilbo will help but the real way to get rid of Bilbo is to pass the anti-poll tax bill."

The Rankin Disgrace

Daily Worker New York, New York 10-26-45

IT IS not new for Rep. John Rankin of Mississippi to use the epithet of "nigger" on the House floor and to insult members of Congress because they happen to be Jewish.

This has been going on for a long time—and has been getting the applause of scores of Republicans and of many Southern Democrats who do not dare to speak so boldly themselves.

Back in 1941 the late Rep. Edelstein of New York died of a heart attack after answering one of Rankin's anti-Semitic tirades.

It is not new—but the longer it is permitted to continue the more ominous it becomes. This kind of anti-Semitic rabble-rousing on the floor of the Reichstag was one of the favorite tactics of Nazi deputies.

But there was something new on Wednesday when Rankin repeated the same kind of disgracefud performance. This time Rankin and his so-called Committee on Un-American activities was denounced by nine Congressmen. Just imagine a man of this kind investigating un-American activities.

This was a good beginning. Rankin should no longer be permitted to get away with his Hitleresque orations. The next time he tries it there should be a motion to censure him or to have him expelled outright from the House. **And the Hook resolution to abolish the Rankin Committee should be promptly passed.**

4 GIs From Mississippi Joining Anti-Bilbo Picket Line

The Daily Worker New York, N.Y.
10-9-45

Expulsion by the Senate of Sen. Theodore Bilbo will be demanded by the nation's most unusual picket line, the Daily Worker learned yesterday.

The anti-Bilbo picket campaign, started by Edward Bykowski, disabled Navy veteran, will be joined tomorrow by more than 25 other wounded vets from nine or more states and by four GIs from Bilbo's home state of Mississippi. Nisei, Chinese-American, Negro and white veterans will form the line of march.

The Mississippi racist will be also confronted with four who received his notorious hate letter: Josephine Piccolo, who he called "Dago," Leonard Golditch, whom he called "Kike" and Dollie Mason and Critt McSwain whom he called "Nigger."

A delegation of picketers plans to see President Truman to discuss Bilbo's unfitness for public office and the importance of passing anti-poll tax and permanent Fair Employment Practices legislation.

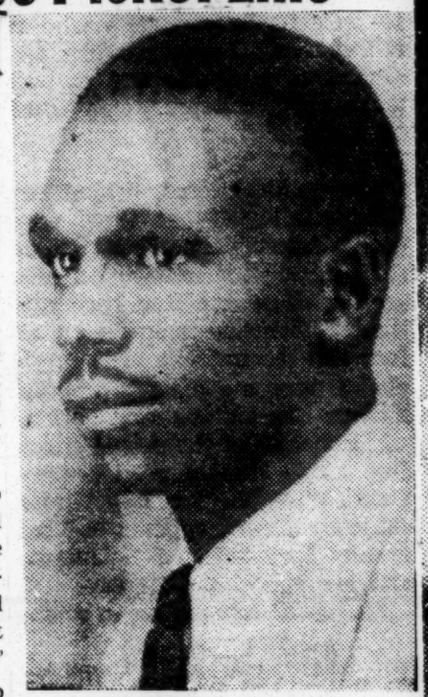
WILL KEEP AT IT

"Bykowski and company," as they call themselves, intend to keep marching in front of the Senate until Bilbo falls—or until their funds give out.

Bykowski has already put in all his own pension and is rapidly going through his disability allowance. Robert B. Clark, treasurer of the group and a Navy veteran, has also spent most of his pension.

They have received individual contributions from Councilman Benjamin J. Davis Jr., Henry Kraft of the Harlem YMCA and others. Clark said, while the Negro Labor Victory Committee has also promised to help. 10-9-45

The picketers need more support at once. Contributions can be sent to Robert B. Clark, care of the National Committee to Combat Anti-Semitism, 100 W. 42 St., New York 18.



ROBERT B. CLARK
Fighting Bilbo

Associated Press Wirephoto

BILBO PICKETED—Pickets led by Edward Bykowski, of New York (left) former Navy man, parade with posters before the home of Sen. Bilbo, Democrat, Miss., in Washington. They protested the senator's stand on minorities.

Bilbo Walks By Picket Line Unrecognized

Louisville Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.

Senator Says Marchers Are 'Pawns for Uppers'

10-16-45

Washington, Oct. 15 (AP)—Senator Bilbo (D., Miss.) slung a laundry bag over his shoulder and passed unrecognized today through a line of marchers picketing his apartment residence.

The pickets, led by Edward Bykowski, wounded Navy veteran, carried placards demanding Bilbo's ouster from the Senate and criticizing his statements concerning racial minorities.

In the group of 11 men and women was Miss Josephine Piccolo, the Brooklyn young woman who says she received a letter from Bilbo last summer with the salutation, "Dear Dago."

Intervened after his arrival at the Capitol, Bilbo told a reporter that "I have no comments on those poor boys. They're just pawns and tools in the hands of their uppers."

DEMAND OUSTER

Bilbo's Home Picketed By Marchers

Atlanta Constitution
Ga.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 15.—(AP)—Sen. Bilbo, Democrat, Mississippi, slung a laundry bag over his shoulder and passed unrecognized today through a line of marchers picketing his apartment residence.

The pickets, led by Edward Bykowski, wounded Navy veteran, carried placards demanding Bilbo's ouster from the senate, and criticizing his statements concerning racial minorities.

Interviewed after his arrival at the capitol, Bilbo told a reporter that "I have no comments on those poor boys. They're just pawns and tools in the hands of their uppers."

Bilbo said "quite a number of people" saw the episode and that "I just went on about my country's business—that's important."

"This," he added, "is just an extenuation of the campaign of disunity that the Commies are playing." 10-16-45

As for the pickets themselves, he said: "I feel like saying what Christ said on the cross, 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.'"

Change the World

The Pure Faith of a Single Sailor . . .
Ed Bykowski Is an Inspiring Symbol

Edward Bykowski, you have inspired us all. A new generation is coming forward, that will keep up the war against American fascism until the people are completely victorious!

by Mike Gold

The Daily Worker New York N.Y.

BILBO, the poltax Senator from Mississippi reminds one of nothing less than Julius Streicher — bull-necked, foul, pornographic Nazi who once strutted over Germany in military boots, a whip constantly in his hand.

Streicher the unspeakable is dead. But his filthy spirit after the hanging flew over the Atlantic to Washington, D. C. Bilbo employs almost the same foul gutter language and struts in the same manner as the late Nazi. But it's not a reincarnation. Bilbo and Streicher are diseased products of the same world disease of racial imperialism.

10-17-45

How inspiring to see a young American sailor coming back after heroic war duty, and out of his own pure consciousness, rising single-handed to take on this Bilbo!

Edward Bykowski, 31 years old, was born in New York City of Polish-Catholic parents. He had never been a radical; he had never read any books on the race question, or Communism or liberalism. He is an American who hastened to volunteer before Pearl Harbor. In civilian life he had been a drug clerk in a city hospital, working under Civil Service. In the Navy he became a pharmacists' mate, assigned to heavy cruiser Vincennes.

* * *

FROM the official Navy files we learn: "Bykowski, known to his friends as Big Ski, since he stands 6 feet 4 inches, was with the rose from his bed and with blood pouring from the stump of his arm, he helped the other men load ammunition to be sent to the gun turrets."

Bykowski remembered all those scenes. Bilbo had insulted him personally in the deepest reaches of his soul, by insulting the memory of all those brave young seamen who had fought for America.

So limping on his bad leg, using the few dollars of his military wages for expenses, the young American veteran started a one-man picket campaign against Bilbo. He did it on his own. It was his personal problem.

* * *

OTHERS have come to join the Purple Heart veteran. At this moment a group of some 25 veterans are marching with Bykowski in Washington. This Thursday night, there will be a big "Oust Bilbo" Rally at which Bykowski will speak, along with J. Raymond Walsh, the Rev. Ben Richardson and other spokesmen of democracy.

The pure faith of a single young sailor, a man of no funds, no influence, no committees or printed leaflets, has started this movement to kick the American Julius Streicher out of the Senate. And it is growing into a powerful movement, and Bilbo's chances for political survival are actually frightening to the dirty old beast from Mississippi.

task force that took Jimmy Doolittle's planes where they took off to bomb Tokio. Subsequently his ship, the Vincennes, participated in the battles of the Coral Sea, Midway, Guadalcanal, and Savo Bay, in the Solomon Islands.

"In the latter engagement, the Vincennes was torpedoed and sunk. Bykowski could have got off without injury, following his skipper's order to abandon ship. Instead, he stuck to his battle station to administer first aid to his wounded shipmates, saving the lives of five.

"While performing these services he was hit by shrapnel from a 500-pound bomb, and received serious wounds, including a compound fracture of the left leg in four places—an injury from which he will never fully recover. It was blood plasma that saved his life."

The "Big Ski" was in a convalescent hospital for two years. While there, the vision came to him. He would read the filth of a Bilbo or a Rankin or John O'Connel. And memories would come to him of the Negroes, Jews, Italians and other American sailors who had died in his arms, or who had gone back to the fighting despite their wounds.

"One of the men brought him below decks had been a Negro with his arm blown off. He cared for this man as best he could, turned to take care of anohter patient. While Bykowski's back was turned the Negro sailor

NEW YORK, N. Y.
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SEP 22 1945

BILBO TELLS OFF OUR CITY

It's Wicked, Senator Says in Two New Blasts.

Senator Theodore G. Bilbo of Mississippi branded New York as a "wicked city" and advocated "protection of the white man's blood stream" in letters made public by two organizations here today as the latest development in the controversy aroused by the Senator's alleged racial remarks.

The Four Freedoms Committee, which recently held a protest meeting with regard to Senator Bilbo, to which he was invited, released a letter from Bilbo to the committee's chairman, Maude B. Richardson, containing the assertion: "If you are white or even a self-respecting Negro, you will agree with my convictions especially on the protection of the white man's blood stream as well as the Negro's.

"I can assure you I have no apology to make to any one for my convictions," Bilbo added.

In a letter released by Dr. Paul F. Brandwein, president of the Federation of Science Teachers Associations of New York city, Bilbo declares that he has "never attacked any minority group in this nation.

Bilbo Invokes Science.

"I must, however, take issue with what you have said in the last paragraph of your letter," Bilbo wrote. "There are certain physical, mental and moral differences between the white and Negro races that science has long recognized. Even Prof. Boas, to whose school of thought your group evidently belongs, recognized that there was a difference in the brain capacity of a Negro and a white man.

"Prof. Boas pleaded for the mixing of the blood of the white and black races, and for the mongrelization of the nation. It is this infamous scheme and plan that I have been fighting and will continue to fight."

The furor over Bilbo's views was aroused recently by his addressing a Brooklyn woman in a letter as "My Dear Dago."

"I think it is perfectly wonderful that Gen. O'Dwyer and the Republican candidate for Mayor have made me and my convictions an issue in their campaign," Bilbo stated in the letter released by the Four Freedoms Committee. "I take it that they have no local situations that deserve their consideration. For instance, the conditions that obtain in Harlem."

He Tells Off Our City.

The Senator inclosed four copies of his speeches, asserting that when what he really said was compared with "the misrepresentation and lying generally of papers in your wicked city you will be astounded and ashamed that you ever mentioned my name in your meeting or at any other time or place."

The Four Freedoms Committee announced that it intended to hold still another protest meeting shortly "to which Senator Bilbo will again be invited in view of his recent refusal to see Edward Bykowski, the military veteran who picketed him in Washington."

unions to the pickets' headquarters at 1015 M St., N. W.

Help is beginning to come in from some trade unions to the picket line today.

Golditch's wife and four-year-old son Ronnie joined him on the line today.

Combat Anti-Semitism.

Liberties member; Robert Clark, Negro Navy veteran, and Leonard Goldlich, head of the Committee to Piccolo of Brooklyn, Dolly Mason, Detroit CIO auxfor the International Labor Defense; Josephine

Among them are Milton Becker, GI director

"march for human rights."

Old-timers, meanwhile, are continuing the daily

Daily Worker

HELP FRO MINIONS

chat with the pickets in front of Bilbo's home, and urge them to keep up the fight.

Among the well-wishers was a two-striper Navy lieutenant in uniform. The officer shook hands with each picket in turn, white and colored.

Miss Charlotte Pinkett, daughter of one of the best-known Negro families in Washington, is one of the new additions to the picket line.

Negro, White Officers Join GI Picket Line; Bilbo Looks, Flees

By ART SHIELDS

WASHINGTON, Oct. 21.—A tall, Texas ex-Army lieutenant and an ex-Navy officer, with two Negro Navy veterans from Sen. Bilbo's own capital, Jackson, Miss., and a string of GIs, white and colored, caused Bilbo to flee again from the picket line last night.

10-22-45

One look from a car window at the black and white faces and Bilbo speeded down an alley to the tradesmen's entrance of his apartment house at 208 Massachusetts Ave., N. E.

Bilbo has been ducking the veterans' picket line for three days. Accompanied by two private detectives the 68-year-old racist has been jumping from a car down the basement steps.

Four war veterans, who came to the picket line from the Southern Negro Youth Congress, said they would enjoy telling the story of Bilbo's retreat to the folks back in Dixie.

ANTI-BILBO DIXIETES N.Y. N.Y.

The Southern pickets included:

Malcolm C. Dobbs, former first lieutenant overseas, a six footer from Houston, Texas, who won the Silver Star, the Purple Heart with clusters, and a recommendation for a Distinguished Service Cross.

The anti-Bilbo picket line, and the campaign

Carey Eldridge, French language teacher during two years in Europe. Also:

the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, N. C., who served three years as a Navy lieutenant, junior grade, off Africa, England and France.

WHITE AND NEGRO

The white officers marched in line with two former Negro Navy men, one still wearing his seas uniform.

The uniformed Negro was Calvin T. Neil, of Jackson, Miss., who served three years in the Navy as a warrant officer, junior grade.

Neil, who fought 17 months in the China, Burma and India theatres, has been a student at Tougaloo College in Jackson, Miss.

With him was Frank E. Hale, a Negro of Birmingham, Ala., who served two years in the Navy as a pharmacist mate, third class.

On the line also was Louis Burnham, of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, with headquarters in Birmingham, Ala., one of the rising Negro leaders of the newly developing zation secretary of the South.

Beauty in Anybody's Language. These three young Negro women are samples of contradictions to Bilbo's theory that photographs of Negro women are not used in catalogues of white firms to display their clothing because "their dark skin, dull, expressionless eyes, flat noses and thick lips do not lend themselves to illustrations of harmony and beauty." There are hundreds of thousands more like those pictured above—Ida James, Sheila Guys, and Lena Horne—many who are darker and more beautiful. Ask your own Nordic "superior" men, Bilbo!

SEN. BILBO

The Worker

By CLARENCE TOLIVER

THE group picketing the residence of Senator Theodore Bilbo in Washington, D. C., led by Edward Bykowski, Purple Heart veteran of the South Pacific, is a storm signal for America.

These pickets have earned the gratitude, and should have the support of all who believe in The Four Freedoms.

This group is the same kind of warning the Lincoln Brigade was when those gallant men went to Spain to fight fascism in its initial try for world power.

It brings to mind, too, the lesson of one of the most aptly titled books in recent years, **Freedom Road**, by Howard Fast.

Onward to Freedom

In this book Gideon Jackson, carrying his gun, comes home to a South desolate from the destruction of war. He comes with a spiritual sense of justice and brotherhood, a deep democratic conviction, to claim the new freedom for which he had fought. 11-18-45

He found that although the Northern armies had defeated the slave owners, there was still the struggle against those who were organizing forces that had not accepted defeat.

Senator Bilbo, who has been insulting American citizens because of their national or racial backgrounds, stems from these same forces of reaction that have robbed, lynched, raped, murdered and intimidated Negroes and held millions in virtual slavery by polltaxes and a network of racial proscription.

Now, Edward Bykowski comes home from another war in which he has seen men give their all in the cause of freedom.

He, too, comes with a sense of justice, brotherhood and democratic convictions of equality. Somehow he expected to find things different.

He will tell you that during his two years and 11 months in the hospital he had seen veterans who had left arms and legs in battle station dressing depots throw newspapers on the floor in disgust when they read of what the Bilbos were doing in the land they fought to save from fascism.

In short, the men and women picketing Bilbo to protest his slanders of American citizens are inspired, like Bykowski, by the men who have died and been maimed in the war. They are the new vanguard on Freedom Road.

All Bykowski wanted, he says, when he first went to Washington was to get Bilbo to go with him to any military hospital. He wanted to show him the men who had made sacrifices in the war, and see if Bilbo had the "intestinal fortitude" to call them the racial names he had used in sending out insults under his Senatorial mailing privilege. 11-18-45

It's a New Generation

As it should be, these pickets are the sons and daughters of people who came to America from many countries. Their ancestors came in search of freedom and opportunity.

Only the Negro came in chains.

Further, they represent a generation that came to maturity through the turbulent years of unemployment, depression, WPA and war.

While the virus of fascism spread throughout the world, their eyes were kept focused on the beacon of democratic ideals by the leadership of a great President . . . Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

They saw him mobilize our country for war and heard him define the principles for which we were fighting.

And so, they understand, these pickets, as did their forbears, that eternal vigilance is the price of freedom.

They know the events that led to this war, the Jewish pogroms and the racial superiority boasts, and they know it is the foul mouthings of the Bilbos and Hitlers that poison the minds of men deliberately so as to make them hate each other.

Edward Bykowski no longer feels as he felt when he first went to Washington. He feels now that Bilbo speaks for the American fascists and their sympathizers, the Christian Fronters, the Rankins, the Gerald Smiths, the Daughters of the American Revolution (hear, hear!), all the adherents of white supremacy.

In plain words, Bilbo is drunk with his polltax power. He is using his seat in the U. S. Senate, paid for by American citizens, and which he holds by virtue of violating our Constitution, to insult citizens with abusive name-calling.

What many people throughout the country are perhaps unaware of is that polltaxing is in direct contradiction to the Constitution. New York, N.Y.

What they are equally unaware of is that "the man"—and this is the crowning irony of the whole affair—as chairman of the Senate District Committee is "mayor" of the Nation's Capital.

This makes his actions as the Senator from Mississippi the concern of the people of the United States.

Recently at an "Oust Bilbo" meeting in New York a telegram was read which he had sent, protesting that the meeting was "un-American" in that he had not been invited to submit his side of the story. He added, however, that he would not have come to the "mongrel" assembly, anyway, since he "draws the color line." This is dangerous talk. It can be used—and is probably intended to be used—to cause dissension and splits in the labor movement and disaffection in interracial organizations.

But its overall danger is that such talk strikes at the interracial unity of the working class. This was the technique used by the plantation owners during Reconstruction and since to cause bitterness and hatred between the poor whites and the blacks.

Confronted With The Same Problem

These are the problems which confronted Gideon Jackson when he came home from the war. These are the problems which confronted Edward Bykowski when he came home from the war.

This man can be removed from the Senate by a motion introduced by a member of the body. You owe it to the future of America and the world to write to your Senator urging this motion.

Edward Bykowski and his fellow pickets would appreciate copies of these letters, which can be sent to him at 1015 M St., N.W. Washington, D. C.

It is the patriotic duty of all people's organizations to work for the removal from public office all the Rankins, Eastlands and Bilbos.

This is the storm signal——

This way, citizens, lies the next stretch of Freedom Road.

EDWARD BYKOWSKI

61c-1945

Mississippi--Bilbo

The Montgumery Advertiser
Montgomery Ala.

Washington Calling

By MARQUIS CHILDS

WASHINGTON.—The Jewish war veterans have asked for the impeachment of Senator Theodore Bilbo, The Man, Mississippi's gift to the nation.

For some time, members of Congress have been receiving letters and petitions urging that Bilbo be removed from the Senate. They have come in some instances from prominent individuals.

Not long ago a Democratic senator, one of the younger liberals, got such a request. He was asked to initiate a move to oust Bilbo. His reply was no, and his reasons for saying no make, it seems to me, good sense.

Naturally, he wrote, no true American would attempt to defend Bilbo's primitive prejudices. The Man was obviously debasing the level of debate and discussion in the Senate.

But, the senator pointed out, to try to unseat him would be to set an extremely dangerous precedent. It would be impeachment of a senator for his views rather than for any wrongful act.

A precedent of that sort could be turned against the defender of an unpopular cause. It could be used to keep obstreperous minorities in line. 12-2-45

While the senator did not say so in his letter, an even better reason is that it would tend to make Bilbo a martyr. He would get support from colleagues who actually despise him.

A martyr is far more dangerous than a nuisance. That is just what Bilbo is today—a nuisance who knows how to exploit his nuisance value.

Senator Bilbo at the same time does not, of course, represent the South. He no more represents the region from which he comes thank Frank Hague represents New Jersey or Representative Harold Knutson represents Minnesota.

What these men do represent is a failure of American democracy. They represent the courthouse ring, the machine, peanut politics aligned with self-seekers who exploit the peanut politicians for what they can get out of government.

One Bilbo in the Senate is a passing phenomenon. But a Senate of Bilbos might try to put into practice some of the weird proposals that the Senator from Mississippi talks about, such as sending all Negroes back to Africa. 12-2-45

The answer, of course, rests with all of us. So long as we let politics go by default to the peanut politicians, so long as we think of politics with a certain condescension as something beneath us, just so long will we get Bilbos, and probably in increasing numbers.

Conscientious congressmen overwork themselves and certainly, by present standards, they are underpaid. That is why we lose good men like Georgia's Representative Robert Ramspeck to private enterprise.

That is why the Bilbos stay on year after year, riding on public apathy and forgetfulness.

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61c-1945

Missouri

Redistricting Has A Major Bearing

The St. Louis Argus
St. Louis, Missouri

Just how much speculation is being indulged in concerning the fixing of the boundaries of the new Magistrate Courts which will take the place of the Justice of the Peace Courts which are now in operation. Under the new Constitution, adopted last February, the Board of Election Commissioners (in St. Louis) is required to divide the city into as many districts as there are hundreds of thousands of the inhabitants of the city. Where there is a major portion of 100,000 people in excess of the other numbers, a district will be created for these. 11-23-45

Districts Required to be Equal

The Constitution requires the districts to be "compact and continuous" in territory, and "as nearly equal in population as may be," the idea and intention being to lay out district between lines as nearly straight as will enable the body outlining the districts to include in each of them about the same number of the inhabitants of the city living in territory that is adjacent to the other parts of the particular district. At present, there are nine Justice of the Peace Districts in the City of St. Louis, each having one Justice of the Peace, except in the Fourth and Fifth, in both of which there are two justices of the peace. It so happens that these districts lie within the territory heavily populated by Negroes, and embracing the downtown business district.

Many rumors are flying around town concerning the boundaries of the new Magistrate Districts which will replace the Constabulary districts now in existence. Nearly every justice of the peace and constable has submitted an outlined district to the Board of Election Commissioners, of course, favoring themselves in so far as forming a district in which they can control the elections; but these proposed districts have little regard for the provisions of the Constitution regarding the compactness and equality of the districts in territory and population. 11-23-45

Some of the proposed districts resemble the outline of a dog's hind leg, curving here and dipping there, in order to gain an advantage for certain politicians. It is rumored that there is an effort being made to divide the territory inhabited by Negroes so that it will be impossible to elect a Negro to these offices.

There are more than 117,000 colored people living in the City of St. Louis, and , with the exception of little isolated patches in extreme north, south and west St. Louis, this mass of people lives between the river and Euclid avenue and from North of Park avenue on the South to St. Louis avenue on the north, with Grand avenue being the western boundary of those living south of Delmar avenue. 11-23-45

One informed citizen, who has kept close watch on the proceedings, has stated that the same tactics which so long delayed the redistricting of the city into wards a few years ago are being resorted to in regard to the Magistrate districts. So far, the Board of Election Commissioners has not seen fit to hold any public hearings on the matter. It was in public hearings that the question of the boundaries of the wards was finally worked out satisfactorily, so that each ward in the city is approximately the equal of every other ward in population and the territory is compact and contiguous. A meeting of colored citizens has been called to consider this matter, and there is a clamor for public hearings to be held by the Commissioners, in order to insure fair play. Negro citizens are becoming alarmed over the matter as they see themselves and their children in danger of losing the political advantage which their segregated condition has enabled them to gain during the years that have passed.

According to census figures, there are more than 118,000 colored people living in the area above described, and there should be two districts out of the nine, which the city is entitled to, in which colored men could be elected to office. 11-23-45

Dewey Puts Grant Reynolds On State Correction Board

New York Amsterdam News

N.Y. N.Y.

ALBANY—Governor Dewey on July 20 appointed Grant Reynolds, a war veteran of New York City, as a member of the State Commission of Correction. At the same time the Governor reappointed John L. Schoenfeld, of New York City.

Mr. Reynolds succeeds Thomas B. Dyett, of New York City, whose term expired June 21, 1944.

Mr. Reynolds was born in Miami, Florida. After receiving his elementary education in Detroit, Mich. schools, he attended New York University and Fenn College, Cleveland, Ohio. He did graduate work at Eden Theological Seminary, Webster Groves, Missouri, and Oberlin Graduate School of Theology where he worked toward his Master's Degree. He took special courses at the Chaplains School, Harvard University, and at New York University. At present, he is attending the Law School of Columbia University. He has B. A. and B. D. degrees.

2-28-45

Was Cleveland Pastor

Mr. Reynolds has served as Athletic Director of the Harlem Boys' Club; social worker, New York City Department of Welfare and Administrative Assistant, Washington Bureau National Association for Advancement of Colored People. At one time he was Pastor of the Mt. Zion Congregational Church, Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. Reynolds was a member of the Governor's Committee on Unemployment of Negroes in Ohio and the Religious Education and Interracial Committees of Cleveland Church Federation.

He served two years ten months in the United States Army and was honorably discharged with the rank of Captain.

He is married to Ethel Ford Reynolds, of Newburgh, New York.

Appointed

CAPT. GRANT REYNOLDS

Gov. Dewey Appoints Negro Asst. Attorney

The Interracial Review

NEW YORK — (ANP) — Gov. Thomas E. Dewey appointed Philip Watson, a prominent local attorney, as assistant attorney general last week.

8-11-45

Atty. Watson, who is a graduate of New York university law school, will be attached to the litigation bureau of the state law department's local office.

Benjamin Davis Whips Red-Baiters

Black Dispatch

and City Call

NEW YORK CITY.—The most vicious redbaiting campaign in America's history was swept into oblivion with the overwhelming election of Ben Davis, Communist, to a second term in the New York City council. Davis received more than 60,000 votes, the second highest total in a field of 12 candidates who raised the red scare on every hand.

12-8-45

Justice Delany Gets 10-Yr. Term On Domestic Bench

Chicago Defender

NEW YORK CITY.—Justice Hubert T. Delany, former Assistant United States Attorney, was appointed justice for a full ten-year term on the Domestic Relations Court bench this week.

The appointment was made by Mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia following Justice Delany's three years of filling unexpired terms on the Domestic Court bench.

Born in Raleigh, N. C., Justice Delany was graduated in 1923 from the College of the City of New York and three years later was graduated from the New York University Law school. In 1927 Charles H. Tuttle, United States Attorney, appoined him Assistant United States Attorney.

In the five years he served as a Federal prosecutor, Justice Delany handled 500 cases and obtained 498 convictions. When he resigned in 1932, he was asked to remain for six months as a special prosecutor.

In 1934 Mayor LaGuardia appointed him to the old board of Taxes and Assessments. When this body was superseded by the Tax Commission under the new city charter, Justice Delany was appointed a member of the commission.

8-9-45

His first appointment to the Court of Domestic Relations was on Aug. 1, 1942, to a vacancy created on the bench when Presiding Justice Warren Hall entered the armed forces.

Atlanta, Ga.

Atlanta Daily

NEW U. S. ASSISTANT PROSECUTOR SWORN IN—Brooklyn, N. Y. — Hand raised, Phillip J. Jones is shown (center) as he took the oath of office as Assistant United States Attorney in Brooklyn today. At left is Bertram L. Baker, confidential inspector in Borough President Cashmore's office. Beside him is Mrs. Jones. Administering the oath is Federal Judge Harold M. Kennedy, and at right Miles F. McDonald, retiring U. S Attorney. (INP)

Mayor LaGuardia Renames Delany To 10-Year Term

NEW YORK — (ANP) — Justice Hubert T. Delany was appointed by Mayor F. H. LaGuardia last week to serve a full ten-year term in the court of Domestic Relations.

Justice Delany has been serving unexpired terms and military vacancies in the domestic relations court for more than three years. Mayor LaGuardia names him to that court for the first time on August 1, 1942, to fill a two-year vacancy created when Presiding Justice John Warren Hill entered the armed forces.

Negro Named to Customs Court

WASHINGTON, Oct. 3.—President Truman has named Irving C. Mollison, Chicago Negro lawyer, for the U. S. Customs Court at New York, to the vacancy created by the death of Tom Walker.

Customs Court Appointee

Associated Press WIREPHOTO

WHITE HOUSE VISITOR—Irving C. Mollison, Chicago Negro lawyer, talks with President Truman at the White House following his appointment yesterday to the United States Customs Court at New York

Negro Appointed To U. S. Customs Court in New York

By the Associated Press

President Truman has chosen Irvin C. Mollison, Chicago Negro lawyer, for appointment to the U. S. Chstoms Court at New York.

Attorney General Tom C. Clark announced the President's decision yesterday as he left the White House in company with Mollison, a native of Vicksburg, Miss., who received his education at the University of Chicago and has practiced in that city for a number of years.

Clark said Mollison would fill the vacancy created by the death of the late Tom Walker, a brother of former Postmaster General Frank C. Walker, to which Rep. Jed Johnson (D., Okla.), originally was appointed.

Johnson announced a few days ago that he had decided not to accept the judgeship. President Truman, in a letter, had asked him to remain in the House.

NEGRO GETS BENCH POST

I. C. Mollison, Chicago, Chosen by Truman for Court Here

WASHINGTON, Oct. 3 (AP)—President Truman has chosen Irvin C. Mollison, Chicago Negro lawyer, for appointment to the United States Customs Court at New York.

Attorney General Tom C. Clark announced the President's decision today as he left the White House in company with Mr. Mollison, a native of Vicksburg, Miss., who received his education at the University of Chicago and has practiced in that city for a number of years.

Mr. Clark said Mr. Mollison would succeed to the vacancy created by the death of the late Tom Walker, a brother of former Postmaster General Frank C. Walker, to which Representative Jed Johnson, Oklahoma Democrat, originally was appointed. Mr. Johnson announced a few days ago that he had decided not to accept the judgeship.

The lifetime post pays $10,000 a year.

Chicagoan Named to U. S. Court

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

WASHINGTON — Following his nomination by President Truman last week to the judgeship of the U. S. Customs Court in New York City, Irvin C. Mollison, a Chicago atttorney and native of Vicksburg, Miss., declared: "This is another expression of the President's announced policy of justice and fairness to all Americans."

A member of the Chicago Board of Education, Attorney Mollison's nomination requires senatorial confirmation. His nomination was made upon the recommendation of Attorney General Tom C. Clark, who personally escorted Attorney Mollison to the White House, where they conferred with the President.

$10,000 A YEAR

Located at 201 Varick Street in New York City, the Customs Court has jurisdiction over questions arising out of the importation of merchandise. It has a presiding judge and eight other judges. The post carries a $10,000-a-year salary and life-time tenure.

Representative William L. Dawson of Chicago supported Attorney Mollison for the position, and said: "I am happy to learn of the appointment. I have known Mr. Mollison for many years and I know he will fill the position with honor and distinction and will be a real asset to the Federal judiciary."

Attorney Mollison also had the support of Senator Scott W. Lucas, Representative A. Rowan and Mayor Edward J. Kelly of Chicago.

Frank C. Walker, to which Representative Jed Johnson (D., Okla.) originally was appointed, but declined.

If the nomination is confirmed, it will mark the first time in American history that a Negro has been named a Federal judge within continental United States.

The Chicato attorney, 47, a graduate of the University of Chicago Law School, said he was "deeply grateful to President Truman for his appointment of me as a judge of the United States Customs Court."

HIGH COURT PRACTICE

Attorney Mollison is a member of the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States and is licensed to practice before the U. S. Treasury Department. He is a member of the Cook County Bar Association, Illinois State Bar Association and National Lawyers' Guild. He also is a member of the Board of Directors of the Chicago Chapter of the National Lawyers' Guild.

He has had good experience in Federal courts, handling various types of civil cases, equity, bankruptcy and habeas corpus cases involving extradition matters. He has handled a number of cases involving civil liberty and civil and citizenship rights.

WINS MERIT AWARD

The Chicago attorney was awarded the Merit Award in June, 1936, at Baltimore, by the NAACP at its twenty-seventh annual conference. He is the son of Mrs. Ida W. Mollison and the late Atty. Wilis E. Mollison, also a prominent Chicago lawyer.

His wife, Mrs. Alice Mollison, is engaged in social work.

FIRST TIME IN HISTORY

Attorney General Clark said Attorney Mollison would succeed to the vacancy created by the death of the late Tom Walker, a brother of the former Postmaster General

Sets Precedent

ST. CLAIR T. BOURNE, native New Yorker who resides in Brooklyn, was appointed last week to the position of Director of Publicity of the New York State Department of Labor—first Negro to hold such a position in the United States. Mrs. Bourne, ex-head of publicity for the temporary FEPC in Washington, is a former Amsterdam-News employe, and has been in the newspaper field since 1931. Industrial Commissioner Edward Corsi, close friend of Governor Dewey, announced the appointment Monday, October 22. — Amsterdam Studios Photo.—G.

Judge Mollison's Appointment

President Truman's appointment of Attorney Irvin C. Mollison to the judgeship of the U. S. Customs Court in New York City is a laudable attempt to have the privileges of democracy reach down equally to all citizens on the basis of ratio and merit rather than on color and race. In this Mr. Truman has broken a long-standing custom and charted a new course, which we hope, will be continued. He has likewise added to the wealth of his stock with Negroes.

Judge Mollison, the first Negro ever to be accorded such a distinction within continental United States, brings with him to the federal judgeship a splendid background of formal preparation and experience. He is a graduate of the Chicago Law School, having conducted a lucrative law practice in Chicago since 1923, and he holds membership in a great number of professional organizations, attesting to his wide human interest and his genuine passion for knowledge. Although a man of only 47, Judge Mollison's career is already rich in attainment and promise.

61c-1945

North Carolina

North Carolina Governor Names Negro On New State Recreation Commission

RALEIGH, N. C. — (ANP) — Gov. R. Gregg Cherry of North Carolina, in announcing last week the membership of the new state recreation commission just authorized by the legislature, named W. J. Kennedy Jr., of Durham to the seven member board.

Appointment of a Negro to a mixed commission which will have state-wide scope, appraising recreational needs for the state, cooperating with counties, cities and towns in promoting recreational systems and acting as the receiver for any federal funds which may be allotted for recreation, shatters precedent in the south.

The white members of the commission are R. L. McMillan, Raleigh; the Rev. Charles S. Hubbard, Roseboro; Charles W. Funter, Gastonia; John C. Mackerell, Banner Elk; Mrs. John C. Hewitt, Charlotte; and Montgomery Hill of Greensboro. Mr. Kennedy will serve for three years.

Far reaching plans for improved recreation throughout the state are expected to be developed by the commission. A state advisory committee comprising 30 members has been set up. John R. Larkins, consultant on Negro work for the N. C. Board of Charities and Public welfare, will serve on the advisory committee.

Mr. Kennedy, who is vice president and secretary of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance company in Durham, is an outstanding churchman, active in many civic interests in his home town and in the state. Local leaders feel that Gov. Cherry by including Negro representation on this newly established commission has led North Carolina another step along the path of demonstrating that the principles of democracy can be as practical in the south as in any other part of the United States.

61c-1945

Office Holding

Powell Sticks His Neck Out

A Fep-American 2-10-45

The work-or-fight bill passed the House last week by a vote of 246 to 165.

Some 65 Republicans, 180 Democrats and 1 American Labor Party member voted for it. In opposition were 116 Republicans, 48 Democrats, and 1 Progressive.

Men 18 to 45 may be ordered by draft boards to take essential war jobs. Those who refuse or those who leave essential jobs without draft board permission may be (1) inducted into the Army immediately, (2) fined up to $10,000, or (3) imprisoned up to five years.

An effort by Representative Clason (Rep., Mass.) to amend the bill by inserting a provision that essential plants which discriminate in hiring because of race, creed, or color shall not have workers sent them by draft boards was voted down 148 to 113. 2-10-45

The Massachusetts Congressman argued that both parties had pledged themselves to end discrimination against colored workers and that war plants can be manned fully if they will hire colored men and women.

In Detroit and Washington, he said, the number of colored workers refused jobs runs into the thousands.

Objection to the Clason amendment came from Representative McCormack (Dem., Mass.) who declared it might interfere with operation of the existing Fair Employment Practice Commission (FEPC) or with the permanent FEPC bill now before the House Labor Committee. Colored people, he said, want a permanent FEPC.

Congressman May (Dem., Ky.) pointed out that the labor draft bill is a temporary measure effective only until next May 15.

Mr. Clason offered to withdraw his amendment if Mr. McCormack would agree to bring the permanent FEPC bill out of committee. He said Mr. McCormack knew the FEPC bill would not get to the House and would not get out of the committee. Mr. McCormack could not guarantee that it would either. 2-10-45

It was at this point that Rep. Adam Powell (Dem., N.Y.) made his maiden speech in the House OPPOSING the Clason amendment — that is, opposing an anti-discrimination clause in the work-or-fight bill.

The New Yorker called it a cheap partisan trick to play upon racial prejudice. The Clason amendment wasn't an FEPC amendment, he said, and Republicans who were interested in FEPC should vote for it when the real bill comes out of committee.

How much influence the Powell speech had, we do not know. The fact remains that both colored Congressmen, Powell and Dawson, voted against the amendment and it was lost by 35 votes.

As we see it, an anti-discrimination amendment attached to the work-or-fight bill could do it no harm.

Congressman Powell may be right in not wishing to see an amendment to a temporary measure substituted for permanent FEPC legislation.

It may be wise to hold both parties to their pledges to set up a permanent commission to deal with discrimination in employment. 2-10-45

However, suppose Representative Clason is right. Suppose the FEPC bill does not get out of committee and is not brought before the House. In that case, Mr. Powell may have been the instrument which prevented government from abolishing racial discrimination in employment even though it be for the period covered by this emergency act only.

Beyond question, Mr. Powell has stuck his neck out. Time alone will show whether his speech was wise or foolish.

Assuming that he has assurance of the Democratic leaders that the FEPC bill will be brought out and passed, and that from a party standpoint he felt it his duty to pass the work-or-fight bill without amendment, the question still remains, why a speech against the amendment?

Why not, as did Mr. Dawson, vote without making a speech?

Democrats Back Councilman Davis For Reelection

Daily Worker 5-7-45

By EUGENE GORDON

The Democratic Party of Manhattan will back Benjamin J. Davis Jr., for Council of the City of New York, J. Raymond Jones, leader of the Democratic Party of the 13th District, announced yesterday.

The occasion was the Ben Davis Ball given in the Golden Gate Ballroom at 142nd St. and Lenox Ave. in honor of Councilman Davis. 5-7-45

While an estimated 5,000 persons shouted, sang, and applauded Jones recalled that the Democrats did not support Davis in 1943 but that they were glad to name him as their candidate now.

Jones was followed, a few minutes later, by Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., who said:

"Without any major party endorsement in 1943 the people sent Ben Davis to the City Council. This time the people have the support of the powerful Democratic Party.

"The new world we hear about as a'coming is already here, when Tammany Hall nominates a Communist." 5-7-45

Powell recounted a story which showed that Tammany's nomination had to be fought for.

"We told Tammany that if it wanted the Negro people, it would have to take Ben Davis along with them," Powell said.

Declaring that it is no longer considered a stigma to be a Communist, Rep. Powell brought down the house with a broadside against critics of "our most gallant ally, the Soviet Union, and its magnificent Red Army."

The bulk of the Negro people, he declared, have been against red-baiting during the war and will be against it during the peace.

"Thus we come to launch the campaign of Ben Davis, not Ben Davis the individual, but Ben Davis, the symbol of the people's unity." Powell then announced that he was serving as co-chairman of the Ben Davis Committee with Dr. George Cannon. Dr. Cannon was chairman of the Ben Davis Committee in 1943.

Councilman Davis said:

"I am proud to be associated with the party of Roosevelt and Truman, and with the Roosevelt-Truman Democrats in New York.

"I will continue to represent all the people, Republicans, Democrats, American Labor Party members and Independents, irrespective of party.

"We want to make New York City the first in America to get rid of jimcrow, anti-Semitism, and all other forms of racial discrimination. We are for full employment, decent housing and social welfare." Councilman Davis said that he would carry on a campaign of unity and cooperation with all for a better New York, and that the fight now was for his bill to create a city anti-discrimination bureau in the Mayor's office. 5-7-45

Kenneth Spencer, screen and radio artist; Ray Lev, pianist; Hazel Scott, pianist; De Merchant and Laura Duncan, singers; Mary Lou Williams, composer and pianist; Max Pollikoff, violinist; and a score of stage and screen stars offered the entertainment.

Saul Mills, secretary of the City CIO Council, said that the council endorsed Davis in 1943 and would undoubtedly endorse him again on the basis of his record.

10 Candidates Pay Fees To Enter Race

Richmond Times

First Step Taken At Comptroller's Office

5-9-45

Ten candidates for local offices paid their filing fees yesterday at the office of City Comptroller J. Maurice Miller, thereby taking the first step toward officially entering the Democratic primary, which will be held August 7. Among them was a Negro, Rev. W. B. Ball, pastor of the Goodwill Baptist Church, who filed for one of the city's seven seats in the House of Delegates.

City Registrar Vernon N. Davis estimated yesterday that 500 persons had registered in recent weeks in order to be eligible to vote in the November election. It was believed that approximately 400 were Negroes.

Martha Conway, of 4700 Leonard Parkway, also filed for the House of Delegates yesterday, becoming the thirteenth candidate for Richmond's seven seats.

Two previously announced candidates for City Sergeant filed yesterday. They were Lewis A. Schumann, a deputy clerk of Hustings Court, and Walter B. (Dooley) Gentry.

Others who filed yesterday and the offices which they seek are as follows:

George E. Williams, Jr., 4830 West Seminary Ave.; C. D. Gray, 2821 Griffin Ave., and Samuel P. Flournoy, 3021 Lamb Ave., all for justice of the peace from Lee Ward.

Emmett Lee Ford, 15 North Stafford St., and Irvine N. Wharton, Jr., 2108 Lakeview Ave., both for justice of the peace from Clay Ward.

John Selph, 614½ North Twenty-first St., for justice of the peace from Jefferson Ward.

Today is the deadline for filing, and Mr. Miller said no filing fees will be accepted after 4:45 P. M., when his office will close. The City Democratic Committee will meet at the Hotel Richmond at 8 P. M., and will be in session for some time to receive late petitions from candidates.

Legislature in Va.

5-9-45

RICHMOND, — (ANP) — For the first time in many years, there will be a Negro candidate in the Democratic primaries in Richmond. Ball, pastor of Goodwill Baptist church here, has complied with all poll tax, as required by law and of the filing requirements, paid registering, than has been true for his filing fee and become a can- the 500 people who didate for the Democratic nomi- qualified to vote during the past

nation for the house of delegates. three weeks, fully 80 percent of Rev. Ball is given an outside chance to win the nomination. There are 50,000 registered voters in the presidential fall, however, less voted. There has been ity among Negro voters up the back three year's s required by law and

Minister Files for

The Call

'South's Hope Lies In Men Like Wallace, Hill'—Ethridge

Montgomery Advertiser 2-17-45

ATLANTA, Feb. 16—(AP)—The hope of the South lies in men like Henry Wallace rather than some of its own political leaders Publisher Mark Ethridge, of The Louisville (Ky.) Courier Journal, said tonight.

Ethridge, in an address prepared for delivery to the Georgia Academy of Political and Social Sciences, termed "Southern reactionaries" Democratic Senators George, of Georgia, Byrd, of Virginia, Bailey, of North Carolina, McKellar, of Tennessee, and Connally, of Texas.

"The hope of the South does not lie in men like that," said the Kentucky publisher. "They do not represent what its people are thinking and they do not advocate the extension of Democracy and take their chance on what the people are thinking.

Hill, Arnall Linked With Wallace

"The hope of the South is in men like Wallace, who are ready to fight the centralization which has been a curse to all sections of this country except the East, who are ready to use the credit and resources of this country to develop still more resources in the regions."

With Wallace, Ethridge linked Gov. Ellis Arnall, of Georgia, Democratic Senators Pepper, of Florida, and Hill, of Alabama, and "a dozen young Congressmen from the South, who have broken through the domination of political machines and won by direct appeal to their people."

Ethridge described the current battle over President Roosevelt's selection of Wallace to be secretary of Commerce as a historic struggle for power inside the Democratic party and said "his challenge to the Southern reactionaries is all the greater because the Southern tory is the most reactionary man in America; he adds to his economic bourbonism a dismaying cynicism toward civil rights and the Democratic process."

Destruction of Machines Feared

"The Southern bourbons see in Wallace's coming to power the possible destruction of tight little machines which keep them in office . . . . ," he added.

"An aggressive liberalism and a disposition to move ahead . . . . is the only thing that can save the South from a further decline into poverty, illiteracy and backwardness when the postwar boom is over." 2-17-45

Reviewing the 1944 presidential election, the Kentucky newspaperman recalled the rejection of Wallace as a vice-presidential nominee and his subsequent campaigning for Roosevelt. Blaming the southerner for Wallace losing the nomination, he said Wallace and other elements brought about Roosevelt's re-election without which the Southern Democrats would have lost their posts of power in Congress.

"That section of the country which contributed nothing to the election of Roosevelt. . . now has the power. . . to force him to name as his State Department team a group of reactionaries or mild liberals; to force him to accept a compromise that degrades Wallace and deprives him of the ability to put into operation the only conservation program that has been devised for the postwar period. A program to provide jobs for the people in this country who want to work," Ethridge said. 2-17-45

Party Is Schizophrenic Janus

"Indeed the Democratic party at the moment is a schizophrenic janus; it is not only a split personality, but it is facing both ways."

The publisher said those who were fighting Wallace were "first, ignoring or violating the will of the people as already expressed; two, . . . are voting against the immediate long-term interests of the south; and three, . . . their attitude and political philosophy will lead the South further into economic disaster and into a more marked degree of political impotence."

Ethridge reviewed in detail Wallace's record and his expressed attitude toward the commerce post and compared it with that of former Secretary Jesse Jones. He cited figures of government spending in Southern States and asserted "Jesse Jones followed the principle of the rich getting richer if the allocations of defense plant corporation are a criterion." 2-17-45

Not Expressing Will of People

"I can understand why a Texas or Louisiana senator would consider Jesse Jones a great benefactor and feel impelled to rush to his defense," he said, "but I cannot understand why Senator George, or Senator Byrd, or Senator Bailey would not feel that his people had been taken advantage of." 2-17-45

Again referring to the election, Ethridge said "in no primary and in no election in the South last year in which the New Deal was an issue, did it lose."

"There is nothing in the political history of the South for the past year to give any Southern senator reactionary the argument that in fighting Wallace, and therefore the administration and all it has stood for, he is expressing the will of the people," Ethridge said.

Nomination Believed Doomed After Grilling By Bilbo

Montgomery Advertiser Ala. 2-20-45

By ROBERT L. RIGGS
The Courier-Journal Washington Bureau.

Washington, Feb. 19.—The Senate Agriculture Committee today wound up its inquiry into Aubrey Williams' fitness to head the Rural Electrification Administration, with every indication that the Roosevelt Administration will lose this portion of its effort to staff the Government with liberals.

The committee vote on Williams was postponed for several days, to give the members time to read the printed record of hearings. But the inquiry closed with a blunt statement from Theodore G. Bilbo, of Mississippi, that he will oppose Williams because Williams believes the Government ought to prevent employers from refusing to give jobs to qualified Negroes.

Bankhead to Vote 'No.'

John H. Bankhead, of Alabama, another member of the Democratic committee majority, already has indicated he will vote against Williams. With all the Republicans, except George D. Aiken, of Vermont, and possibly Henrik Shipstead, of Minnesota, likely to oppose him, Williams stands little hope of a favorable report if Tom Stewart, Tennessee; Richard B. Russell, Georgia, and Tom Connally, Texas, join Bankhead and Bilbo.

By his denunciation of Williams' approval of the principles of a Fair Employment Practices Commission, Bilbo won back from Representative John E. Rankin, also of Mississippi, the title of No. 1 white supremacy champion of the South, a title he forfeited temporarily to Rankin by casting a vote favorable to Henry A. Wallace in the Senate on February 1.

Queried On Racial Mingling.

"Do you subscribe," Bilbo asked Williams, "to the President's executive order setting up the F.E.P.C., which resulted in the breaking down of color barriers in Government cafeterias, which forced the two races to eat together and which caused whites and blacks to use the same toilets?" 2-20-45

"I completely subscribe to the F.E.P.C., Williams replied quietly, well aware that his answer might mean the end of any hope for confirmation. "I subscribe to the principle that there should be no discrimination in employment because of race, creed or color."

Ellender Tries to Pour Oil.

"Do you believe," said Bilbo, "that the United States Government has a right to go into a Mississippi sawmill employing 10 men and tell the foreman he must employ Negroes?"

"If a Negro applicant has the necessary qualifications," said Williams, a native of Alabama, "and was rejected solely because he was a Negro, the Government has a responsibility to stop that kind of treatment."

Allen J. Ellender, of Louisiana, an ardent Williams supporter, cut in to point out that both candidates in the last presidential election pledged support to F.E.P.C. 2-20-45

Bilbo Won't Be Soothed.

"I don't care what the President thinks about it," Bilbo retorted. "I'm not controlled by him in everything."

As an additional reason for opposing Williams, Bilbo charged he should have paid back to the Presbyterian ministerial board $750 spent on his college education, inasmuch as he failed to enter the ministry.

Williams had explained that he received, along with many other ministerial students at Maryville, Tenn., a scholarship of $150 a year for five years. He said he never understood that the denomination expected him, or any of the others who failed to become ministers, to pay back that sum.

Aiken Praises Williams.

Before Bilbo got in his denunciation of Williams, two other committee members, one a Democrat and one a Republican pledged their support to him. The Republican, Aiken, said that during his term as Governor of Vermont he considered the National Youth Administration, headed by Williams, to be the best agency set up by the Federal Government during the 1930's.

"There is no evidence here to show that Williams was not a good administrator of N. Y. A.," Aiken said. "There is no evidence here to show that he would not be a good administrator of R.E.A."

Championed By Lucas.

The Democrat, Scott W. Lucas of Illinois, said the testimony against Williams—most of it offered by Senator Kenneth McKellar of Tennessee—was "very unfair, prejudiced, incompetent and immaterial." 2-20-45

"In 10 years," Lucas said, "I've never seen a nominee so abused and so maligned. If you can convict this man of anything, it is that he is a humanitarian."

The question of whether Williams' is unfit for the job—as charged by his former Presbyterian pastor — because he has "denied the divinity of Christ" got short shrift at the hearing.

Constitution Invoked.

"The matter of why I did not go into the ministry is a question of my conscience, between myself and my God," Williams said. "The Constitution of the United States forbids that test for public office, and I do not wish to be a party to a violation of that ban by even discussing it. It is a very dangerous thing, latent with potentialities of evil to have it even brought up."

"I agree with Mr. Williams," Shipstead said, and other committee members nodded agreement. The matter had been brought into the hearing by McKellar, with the co-operation of Bankhead.

Tables Turned On Critics.

Williams made some Congressional faces by turning upon his inquisitors some data they had used against him. Harland J. Bushfield, South Dakota, leading the Republican attack, had offered as proof of Williams' Communist leanings the fact that he addressed a meeting of the American Youth Congress in Milwaukee in 1937. Williams read to the committee a list of nine Senators and 33 members of the House who let their names be used as sponsors of that meeting. Among them was Arthur Capper, sitting today at the committee table.

The Kansas Republican made no comment on his 1937 sponsorship, even when Williams said: "I don't criticise these Senators and Congressmen, but I do point out that I never did sponsor a meeting of the Youth Congress—I merely addressed it."

Robsion Listed as Sponsor.

"Perhaps," said Hugh Butler, Nebraska Republican, "the members of Congress were not as familiar with the Youth Congress as Mr. Williams was."

"Men in public life should be discreet," Lucas said to Butler.

Among the nine senators listed as sponsors was the late M. M. Logan of Kentucky. Among the 33 representatives was John M. Robsion, Republican, from Barbourville, Ky.

61c01945

Office Holding

'Won't Sit With Negro' Says Rankin

New York Amsterdam News 1-13-45

Harlem's Congressman Declares Mississippian Is A Leader of Fascism

Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, home for his first weekend since being sworn in as a member of the 79th U. S. Congress, took occasion to blast Rep. John Rankin, of Mississippi, following the latter's statement that he wouldn't sit by Powell in Congress or anywhere else.

Congressman Rankin was reported in press dispatch from Greenville, Miss. as having stated that he would not sit by Powell in the House or anywhere else: and further, in his opinion, sending Powell to Congress was the worst thing that could happen to members of his race.

Congressman Powell was shown the clipping of the Greenville story Sunday a few minutes after he finished his sermon at Abyssinian Baptist Church, of which he is pastor.

Rankin Says

1-13-45

Powell began heeding Rankin shortly after he announced his candidacy for Congress from the 22nd District of New York two years ago, and kept it up throughout the campaign which culminated in his election last November 7. It was not until last week, however, that the New Yorker drew fire from the Mississipian.

In commenting on the Dixie Congressman's statement, Powell said, "As far as Democracy is concerned, Rankin is a degenerate. He is the leader of American Fascism. His presence in the House of Representatives is the most serious obstacle to America's part in winning a People's War or establishing a People's peace. He does not represent the best of the majority even in his own Congressional district. Out of 300,000 citizens, not as many are allowed to vote as are members of my church. 290,000 black and white Americans are politically disinherited by American Fascism in Rankin's own county.

"I am happy that Rankin will not sit by me because that makes it mutual. The only people with whom he is qualified to sit are Hitler and

2 Negro Attorneys Get Detroit Posts

Daily Worker N.Y. 1-2-45

DETROIT, Jan. 1.—The new Wayne County prosecutor, Gerald K. O'Brien, who defeated the anti-Negro former prosecutor William Dowling in the last primary elections, has appointed two Negro attorneys, Charles Lebron Simmons, president of the Detroit chapter of the National Negro Congress, and Elvin L. Davenport, president of the Wolverine Bar Association.

Mr. Davenport is known for his activities in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. *1-2-45*

Mr. Simmons, who is 35, played a leading part in rallying the Negro people for Roosevelt's re-election.

Probe Rankin First, Says Clayton Powell

Daily Worker N.Y. 1-10-45

WASHINGTON, Jan. 9.—Rep. Adam C. Powell, Jr. yesterday charged that Rep. John E. Rankin "is the most serious obstacle to America winning a people's war or a people's peace."

Rankin in a letter to John Lynch, editor of The Greenville (Miss.) Delta Democrat Times, had said he would not sit by Powell in the House "or anywhere else."

"I am happy Rankin will not sit by me," Powell said, "because it makes it mutual." *1-10-45*

He suggested the committee on un-American activities which was revived on Rankin's motion, "should investigate Rankin first."

Powell was elected to Congress by the Democratic, Republican and American Labor parties. Rankin holds his seat by grace of the Mississippi polltax.

REP. A. CLAYTON POWELL

POWELL CALLS RANKIN DOWN AFTER ATTACK

Atlanta World 1-10-45

WASHINGTON — (NNPA) — Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., first Negro elected to Congress from New York, fired his first gun in answer to Representative Rankin's attack against him, contained in a letter by Rankin to a Mississippi editor in which said he would not permit Powell to sit beside him "in the House of Representatives—or anywhere else," and terming Powell's election to Congress "the worst thing that could happen to the members of his race."

Powell declared: "As for as democracy is concerned, Rankin is a political degenerate. He is a leader of American fascism. His presence in the House is a most serious obstacle in America in winning a people's war or a people's peace. *1-10-45*

"He does not represent the best or the majority of the South, even in his own congressional district. I am hoping Rankin will not sit by me because that makes it mutual. The only people is qualified to sit by are Hitler and Mussolini. His recent precedent—shattering move in making the former Dies Committee permanent was typical of the method used by Hitler in the Reichstag. A recently appointed committee on un-American activities should investigate Rankin first. He and his minority lead America in illiteracy and mass murder-lynching, and that is un-Americanism.

"If Rankin is not afraid of me, I dare him to suggest my name for membership in the new 'witch hunt' committee." *1-10-45*

Veteran newsmen on Capitol Hill say this is the first time anyone has ever called Rankin down publicly. One of the wire service reporters says has been waiting many a year to hear it. Powell is seriously considering answering Rankin from the floor of the House today on a point of personal privilege as a result of Rankin's attack on him.

900 Guests Attend Washington Dinner Honoring Hugo Black

Birmingham News Ala. 4-4-45

BY MARGUERITE JOHNSTON
News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—The Washington well-known and important from 48 states—including five Supreme Court justices, the nation's First Lady, and men and women of all creeds—gathered some 900 strong at the Statler Hotel Tuesday night to do honor to Alabama Justice Hugo Black as he received for the second time the Thomas Jefferson Award as the Southerner who during the year has made the greatest contribution to the nation's progress.

"Mr. Justice Black typifies the theory expressed by Woodrow Wilson that law must grow, just as science grows," said Sen. Alben Barkley, who acted as master of ceremonies over a speakers' table of 27, a program of eight speakers.

"The greatest Southerner to be born since Woodrow Wilson," Sen. Claude Pepper, of Florida, said, "He has learned to love all beauty, to hate all selfishness, to respect others as himself. He will be remembered not as a radical, but as a conservator of human values."

* * *

"MR. JUSTICE BLACK," said Washington Atty. Charles Houston, "is a Southerner sufficiently sure of himself, sufficiently sure of the South and its people, and who believes in democracy so deeply that he is willing to give the future a chance."

Dr. Frank Graham, University of North Carolina president and a former holder of the Thomas Jefferson Award, pictured cases in states throughout the nation in which Justice Black "threw the shield of law and constitution" around American citizens whose rights had been endangered. *4-4-45*

Mrs. Roosevelt, after Sen. Barkley had read a letter from President Roosevelt, spoke briefly. "All here," she said, "are deeply conscious of the services which Justice Black has rendered to the liberal causes which everyone here honors in his heart. We are happy to do him honor tonight.

"The Thomas Jefferson Award must mean a great deal to any Southerner. Thomas Jefferson will always be the great leader of our early days who still remains a leader for those who want justice for the common man, for all people—the chance to earn a good life, to stand equally in citizenships in the United States."

After Judge Sherman Minton had traced Justice Black's life and Dr. Clark Foreman, president of the sponsoring Southern Conference for Human Welfare, had presented the award, Justice Black said:

* * *

"I CANNOT ACCEPT this award as merely a personal offering. It implies to me a recognition that we all share common hopes and ideals which rest on a belief in the essential dignity of men.

"This belief led Jefferson to strive increasingly that our nation might establish equal and exact justice to all men of whatever state or condition.

"A government with such a faith is democracy at its best. A government without such a faith leads straight to fascism. The democratic ideal has been sustained through more than a century and a half of our nation's history. Many times in our daily practice we have fallen short of the ideal. But in the long perspective of history, we have little reason to doubt that the long run movement has been in the direction of the goal.

"The democratic faith is being tested today in the crucible of war. It will not be found wanting.

"But it will be tested again by peace. Peace, not war, is the ultimate goal toward which democracy must move. Peace will test the democratic faith. The conditions which created fascism abroad must not be allowed to exist here—the placing of some groups in a preferred class of citizenship at the expense of other groups.

"Democracy is a fighting thing. Each of us has a job to do in the fight. The principles of fascism and all it stands for with its barbaric denial of human values must be destroyed. There must be a resurgence of democratic faith throughout the world.

"There will be. All of you will join in bringing that to pass."

Chief speaker at the testimonial dinner was Fred M. Vinson, federal loan administrator. Mr. Vinson paid tribute to Justice Black:

"Expediency would have counseled him, as a new-robed judge, to take refuge in the dignified anonymity which a lesser man might seek to find on the bench. Instead he straightway challenged in unequivocal tones many of the widely accepted juristic canons of the day. No one can contend that Mr. Justice Black ever feared to own the cause in which his loyalties were enlisted.

"He has transcended the limitations of sectionalism, and established himself as an unmistakably Southern, but genuinely national statesman."

The banquet was sponsored by an independent committee in cooperation with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

Wallace Appoints Negro As Advisor

Atlanta World 4-24-45

Henry A. Wallace, Secretary of Commerce, this week appointed John R. Pinkett, Negro insurance broker of Washington, D. C., to the Small Business Advisory Committee of the Department of Commerce. The committee, which held its first meetings April 18-19, will make suggestions to the Secretary on methods by which small business can do its full share in furnishing maximum employment in the post-war period.

The new appointee, who is president of the insurance firm of John R. Pinkett, Inc., is 56 years old and a graduate of Amherst College in Massachusetts. He has two sons in the armed forces, Capt. John R. Pinkett, Jr., an Army Air Forces instructor at Tuskegee Airport and Corp. Clarence A. Pinkett, now stationed in the South Pacific.

In announcing the appointment of the Small Business Advisory Committee, Mr. Wallace expressed hope that the group would give special attention to the problem of making available to small business adequate supplies of equity financing as well as long-term loans at reasonable rates. 4-24-45

Mr. Wallace likewise announced that this was the first of a series of committees he proposed to appoint to advise him concerning ways and means for developing the fullest use of all manpower, money, credit and science to produce even more for the peace than we have learned to produce for war so that the peacetime stadard of living may be continually rising.

The membership of the committee includes: Ivan Allen, Sr., Wholesale Office Supply, Atlanta, Ga.; Prentiss M. Brown, Detriot Edison Co., Detriot, Mich.; Vincent L. Browner, retail grocer, Des Moines, Iowa; Ernest G. Draper, Federal Reserve Board, Washington, D. C.; Ralph Flanders, Jones and Lamson Machine Co., Springfield, Vt.; W. E. Harber, American National Bank (Independent Oil), Shawnee, Okla.; Lou E. Holland, Holland Engraving Co., Kansas City, Mo.; Eric Johnston, Chamber of Commerce, of the United States, Washington, D. C.; E. H. Lane furniture, The Lane Company, Altavista, Va.; A. W. Lutz, wholesale grocer, Smart and Final Co., Wilmington, Calif.; Stacy Mae, McGraw-Hill Publishing Co., New York City; John R. Pinkett, insurance, Washington, D. C.; Walter Ringer, Foley Manufacturing Co. (garments) Minneapolis, Minn.; Morris S. Rosenthal, importer, New York City; George Rupple, milk processor, Badge Cooperative Creamery, Shawano, Wis.; and John M. Snyder, First National Bank, St. Louis, Mo.

Rankin Disappoints Negro Congressman

Columbia (S.C.) Appeal
Memphis Tenn.

GREENVILLE, Miss., Jan. 7.—(AP)—Representative John Rankin (D., Miss.), in a letter to John Lynch, editor of the Greenville Delta Democrat-Times, said Representative Adam C. Powell, New York negro congressman-elect, would not sit by him in the House of Representatives "or anywhere else." The letter was made public Saturday by Lynch.

Expressing his appreciation for a recent editorial in which Lynch criticized Powell's assertion that he would "probably sit by Representative Rankin in the House" and "I will keep my eye on him (Rankin)," the Mississippi representative's letter added:

"In my opinion, sending this individual to Congress is the worst thing that could happen to the members of his race. It just shows wha a certain Communistic element is trying to bring about in this country. . . . I can assure you that he will not sit by me in the House or elsewhere."

Negro re-elected councilman in Oklahoma town

Los Angeles Tribune
4-23-45

WATONGA, Okla. — A. W. Russworm, Negro councilman here for the past six years and the only member of his race to hold a similar office in the entire state, was re-elected to office last week without opposition. The election marks the third time Russworm has been chosen for the city council of this Northwestern Oklahoma city.

Only one time has Councilman Russworm encountered determined opposition. That was two years ago when the white vote stood solidly against him. This year, he was elected without opposition in the primary.

T. RAYMOND JONES, newly appointed secretary to Commissioner Cohen of the Board of Elections, is sworn in by Supreme Court Justice Charles Schreiber.

Antioch College Must Deplore This Graduate

Pittsburgh Courier

By JOHN H. YOUNG III

JACKSONVILLE—Mayor John T. Alsop was in explosive good humor when I went in for my interview with him. From the moment I sat down in his office he went ranting across the stage like some odd character from Shakespeare. Hardly had I asked him a question concerning the possibility of ap-a patient that's dying. I haven't pointing Negro policemen in Jack-got time to stand in line. Wait sonville, before the phone rang. on me now!"

"Judge Gibbs?" the Mayor inquired of the party calling. "I guess you are calling about that article that was printed in this newspaper about my appointing Negro police."

He put down the phone and said to me: "Boy, I want you to listen to this." 4-10-45

INTO THE TELEPHONE he said: "Judge, there's a colored boy here and I want him to hear what I am saying to you. Now, I didn't appoint those three Negroes as officers on probation. I appointed them as probationary officers. That fellow down there (editor of local Negro newspaper) is just trying to be sensational. We don't want to start any agitation here for Negro police."

The Mayor listened to Judge Gibbs for a while and then said into the phone: "No, cussing him out won't do any good. We'll get together and talk it over."

I ASKED Mayor Alsop what his attitude was on the upgrading of Negroes in all phases of industry.

"I believe that merit should win. Of course, everybody ought to take cognizance of local customs," he said.

The Mayor was difficult to interview. Before I could ask him my next question the began telling me of some incidents that had happened in Jacksonville.

One concerned a Negro doctor. It seems that the Mayor was standing behind this doctor in line at a local bank. In front of the doctor and being waited on by the teller was a white woman. The Negro doctor is alleged to have reached over the white woman's shoulder and said: "I've got

The Mayor said he took offense at this rude action and called the doctor's hand, whereupon the doctor, upon discovering that he was the Mayor, apologized. Leaning over the desk, Mayor Alsop asked: "Do you think he was right?" I did not hesitate to say that if a person had been so rude he was absolutely wrong. 2-10-45

THE MAYOR then told of his cook who had been with him for fifteen years. He said that she had quit and had gone into business for herself, but had failed and had returned to work for him. Then the Mayor told me of still another incident. It seems that there was a bus, driven by a white woman, on which a Northern Negro worker "got out of line" and insisted on sitting in the white section. When asked by the woman driver to move he is said to have insisted on remaining where he was, contending that he had paid his money and was going to ride where he pleased. On the bus was a group of local Negroes who, taking offense, leaped on the Northern Negro, beat him mercilessly and threw him off the bus, breaking his leg. Again the Mayor leaned over the desk and asked: "Do you think that fellow was right?"

"The question is—"

"Never mnid," the Mayor shouted roughly. "If there's any question in your mind we won't discuss it any further.

"What I was going—," I started.

"Never mind," he shouted again. "I see that you and I are going to get into an argument and that won't do." 4-10-45

WHAT I WAS trying to tell Mayor Alsop was that there was a question in my mind as to whether those local Negroes, no matter if the Northerner was wrong, had a right to take the law into their hands to act as judge and jury in the case.

I then asked Mayor Alsop what his attitude was on the use of the ballot by Negroes. Surprisingly enough, he said: "I think that Negroes have as much right to vote as anyone else. If they become educated they will be able to enjoy full use of the ballot."

MAYOR ALSOP concluded by saying: "For the most part we are getting along fine. I hope we are going to continue. When the war is over, veterans ought to be given the jobs."

As a Southerner who believes in the ideal sovereignty of the South, I am forced to say that we of the South would be much better off without such men as Mayor Alsop. There is too much of the propaganda politician in him to ever hope that he will deal with matters as a statesman. I could not find a Negro in Jacksonville who had even heard of the incidents told by the Mayor.

IF THERE IS proof of such Negro characters as the doctor and the Northern bus passenger, then the Negro people of Jacksonville ought to bring such proof to light and condemn their actions. If not they should align themselves with the good-thinking white people and rid their city of an official who deals in such propaganda. 2-10-45

Mayor Alsop is an exact opposite to such reputable Florida public officials as Mayor Turner of Miami and Governor Caldwell.

Before you condemn him as a race-baiting Southerner, perhaps I had better explain that he is a native of Ohio and a graduate of Antioch College there.

61c-1945 Office Holding

Two Negroes Sworn In As Congress Opens

Memphis World Tenn.

Dawson Escorts Powell To Floor; Sit Together

1-12-45

BY HARRY S. McALPIN

WASHINGTON, D. C. The historic 79th Congress of the United States, before a packed gallery which had less than 30 Negro spectators in it, saw two Negroes take the oath of office when Congressmen William L. Dawson (D) of Illinois and Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., (D) of New York were sworn in. The oath was taken by the entire body of 374 Congressmen present at the same time.

1-12-45

Powell, newest member of the Congress and the first Negro from the State of New York, was escorted to the Legislative Chambers by Dawson. Their offices are next to each other in the old house office building. The two Negro Congressmen sat together during the preliminary organization of the House during which time Representative Sam Rayburn (D) of Texas was reelected speaker.

MEETS COLLEAGUES

Later, during the session, Powell spent much of his time talking with Representative Vito Marcantonio (ALP) of New York, who will be their colleagues during the 79th Congress.

Rumors that Powell would be seated beside Representative John Rankin (D) of Mississippi, failed to materialize during this first session. Rankin occupied five different seats during the session. No one was assigned to any particular seat. Powell, by choice however, was seated on the Democratic side of the House, though elected on the Democratic, Republican and American Labor Party ticket.

1-12-45

From New York for the swearing in ceremony and to pay their respects to the new Congressmen came Hazel Scott, of movie and night club fame, whose name has been romantically linked with Powell; Joseph E. Ford, Democratic leader of the 12th Assembly District (South); Guy R. Brewer, Democratic leader of the 12th Assembly District (North); Acy Lennon, secretary to Ford; David Lincorice, assistant pastor of the Abyssinian Baptist Church, of which Powell is pastor — and Elizabeth C. Bullock, a Democratic District captain and Dr. A. C. Powell, Sr., father of the congressman.

Seen in the galleries were Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, president of the National Council of Negro Women; Mrs. Mamie Mason Higgins, assistant to Mrs. Bethune — Mrs. Regina Chandler and Mrs. Venice Spraggs.

1-12-45

Powell had an opportunity to make his maiden speech in Congress in answer to Rankin when the Mississippi Congressman made the first order of business, after organization of the House and other preliminaries were out of the way, a resolution amending the rules of the House so as to make the old Dies Committee on un-American activity a regular standard committee of the House with Powell to introduce Legislation.

Opposition to the measure seemed so strong, however, that Powell made no move on his first day toward carrying out his campaign pledge to answer Rankins whenever he shouted off with his anti-Negro and other reactionary spiels. Rankin's amendment was passed 270 to 186.

Negro Congressman Opposes Rep. Rankin

Birmingham News

1-9-45

Ala.

WASHINGTON— (AP) —Rep. Powell, Negro Democrat from New York, suggested Monday that the committee on un-American activities, recently resurrected on motion of Rep. Rankin (D., Miss.), "should investigate Rankin first."

The statement was made in reply to one by Rep. Rankin that he would not sit by the Negro congressman in the House.

"I am happy that Rankin will not sit by me because it makes it mutual," Powell said, and added:

"If Rankin is not afraid of me, I dare him to suggest my name for membership in the new "witch hunt' committee."

Rankin had asserted, in a letter to John Lynch, editor of The Greenville (Miss.) Delta Democrat Times, that Powell would not sit by him in the House "or anywhere else."

The letter was an expression of appreciation for an editorial criticizing Powell's assertion that he would "probably sit by Rep. Rankin in the House" and would "keep an eye on him."

The Mississippi congressman said that "in my opinion sending this individual to Congress is the worst thing that could happen to members of his race.

"It just shows what a certain communistic element is trying to bring about in this country."

America At War

Washington Post

By Selden Menefee

3-1-45

Southern Statesman

A MAN TO WATCH is Governor Ellis Arnall of Georgia. He symbolizes a new generation of Southern leadership which will not rest until the people of the South are freed of the rotten borough poll-tax system and the semicolonial economy which have held their region back for generations.

3-1-45

The way he has been accepted demonstrates that Southerners are hungry for this sort of leadership. He is Georgia's most popular citizen today, and in a recent swing through the Southern States I heard his name mentioned frequently by people in neighboring States.

His successful drive to repeal Georgia's poll-tax law has already produced reverberations in Tennessee and Alamaba, where new efforts are being made to follow suit, though without success so far.

Southern liberals have no illusions as to their chances of repealing the poll-tax in the seven States which still have such laws. But in the long run, they know they will win. The Southern Planter editorialized recently, "The whole argument in favor of the poll-tax is a foil, a smokescreen to hide the ugly fact that the politicians, now in power, want a small electorate that can be controlled by the officeholders. The poll-tax as a voting requirement . . . is doomed just as surely as day follows darkness. And the quicker it passes, the better it will be for all the people."

The Georgia poll-tax bill was scrapped only after a long, hard fight. The League of Women Voters started to advocate repeal in Georgia six years ago, along with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

As public sentiment for poll-tax repeal increased, Georgia's newspapers gradually began to swing over. Included were such influential dailies as the Atlanta Journal, Augusta Chronicle, Columbus Ledger and Macon News.

Credit Due Arnall

3-1-45

The final push which put the poll-tax repeal bill over the line was Governor Arnall's, however. Four bills for repeal had been introduced, and none apparently had much chance of passage. The Legislature had, in fact, already turned down one proposal to exempt servicemen from the poll-tax.

But Arnall, who is an astute politician, had the speakers of both houses on his side. He issued an ultimatum to the State Assembly that he would suspend the tax by executive order if it were not repealed. The Administration bill was then passed by a 3-to-2 majority in both Houses.

Governor Arnall really represents the younger generation of the South. He was elected in 1942 at the age of 35, after a whirlwind campaign against Gene Talmadge. He received the active support of students and alumni of the University of Georgia, who were incensed at Talmadge's invasion of academic freedom on that campus during an earlier term as Governor.

As soon as he took office, Arnall restored academic freedom at the university, cleaned house in the State government, moved to increase home rule in the counties, reformed the prison system, and had the voting age lowered from 21 to 18 in Georgia. The Governor's ability to get things done in a hurry won him new followers.

Then Arnall branched out as the champion of economic reform for the benefit of the whole South. In public statements he advocated abolition of the differential between Northern and Southern freight rates; modification of the Federal system of matching State social security funds which handicaps the relatively poor Southern States; and building up Southern facilities for air and water commerce with Latin America.

Recently he instituted a Supreme Court suit for the State of Georgia against 19 railroads, charging them with conspiracy against the South in the matter of freight rates. He came to Washington himself to present an able argument in the case.

Wallace Supporter

3-1-45

Governor Arnall was an enthusiastic supporter of the fourth term for FDR, and in the controversy over Henry Wallace's confirmation as Secretary of Commerce he wired Georgia's senior Senator that it would help his State if Wallace were confirmed. In a public statement he added, Henry Wallace is qualified to administer the office of Secretary of Commerce as that office is now constituted. His record as Secretary of Agriculture demonstrated that he was one of the ablest organizers and one of the most efficient and tireless executives ever to serve our Government. . . .

"Mr. Wallace is the outspoken, indeed the most vigorous, ponent of the three dangerous policies that threaten America after the war: discrimination against sections of our country, discriminations against independent business men with other countries. . . ."

Arnall is ineligible for a second term as Governor at the next election, under the State constitution. He's trying to get that changed, but not to apply in his own case. He doesn't want to be accused of having an axe to grind in the matter.

3-1-45

Mark Ethridge, publisher of the Louisville Courier-Journal, recently classed Governor Arnall with Henry Wallace and Senators Lister Hill and Claude Pepper as "the hope of the South." This view is becoming increasingly common among Southern-

When his term expires, the pen- This is, he will continue to be one of the South's ablest advocates in

haps in Congress. Wherever he is, he will continue to be an appropriate scene—per-

STILL FORGOTTEN

New York Age

AS far as official Washington is concerned, the Negro is still the forgotten man with no appointments of any consequence in government recorded to date, despite the overwhelming vote which Negroes gave in the last election to President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. 2-17-45

The New York Age, in the last Presidential election, departed from its traditional backing of Republican Presidential candidates to enthusiastically urge its readers to reelect President Roosevelt on his record of service. The New York Age does not regret having taken that stand because we believe that we were best serving the interests of our race and our country bo so doing.

The New York Age does view with alarm, however, the fact that not a single Negro has received recognition from Washington or been appointed to a position of any consequence in government since the election three months ago. And it is because there have been so many appointments that might have been made of Negroes, but weren't, that we believe that it is time for the Democratic leadership in Washington and elsewhere to check up.

Last week's papers carried announcement, for instance, of the nomination by President Roosevelt of Felix Cole, of Washington, as Minister to Ethiopia. At the time of his nomination, Mr. Cole, a career man in the diplomatic service, was serving as secretary of the American Legation at Monrovia, Liberia. The appointment of Mr. Cole is a deserved recognition of service. And yet, there are Negroes who might have been named to the post and served the office with distinction.

With the exception of Lester A. Walton, who has served as Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to Liberia for the past ten years, not another Negro is serving the United States as a diplomatic official with the rank of Minister. And yet, there are many countries, South American republics, where Negro Ministers would not only be appropriate but would be helpful in promoting the Good Neighbor policy. Haiti, and Costa Rica, are but two that come to mind; there are many more. And there are Negros who could fill any diplomatic posts with honor to the country and themselves. 2-17-45

During the campaign, it was bruited about in circles regarded as close to the administration, that there were several diplomatic posts that would be given Negroes after the election. Costa Rica was prominently mentioned as being one of the countries which would have a Negro Minister. And yet, shortly after the new year, a white diplomat was named to fill that post. The same goes for all other diplomatic posts with the exception of Liberia which has been traditionally held by a Negro for many years. 2-17-45

Who's to blame for this? It would certainly seem that the ranking Negro Democrat in the country, Congressman William Dawson, of Chicago, who also served as Assistant to the Democratic National Chairman during the campaign, would be the person most likely to be the spokesman in behalf of Negroes. Whether Congressman Dawson has urged that patronage be given to qualified and deserving Negroes, we do not know. We do know that as time rolls on, there is less chance for Negroes getting any consideration or patronage. And as time rolls on, the Negro more and more becomes and remains the Forgotten Man.

It's time for somebody to wake up and to give Negroes the recognition to which they are justly entitled.

SECRETARY WALLACE

Birmingham News

The Senate confirmed Henry Wallace as secretary of commerce by a vote of 56 to 32. Five Democrats, McKellar and Stewart of Tennessee, McCarran of Nevada, Byrd of Virginia and O'Daniel of Texas, joined in a last-ditch fight. Four Southern reactionaries and a Western maverick would not be appeased. They preferred joining hands with Republican die-hards to going along with conservative brethren like George and Bailey. 3-5-45

The vote was taken after some speechmaking, to which Senator Hill made a notable contribution. It is to be regretted that the sheer volume of news last Thursday kept Senator Hill's statement from receiving the attention it deserved. It was not so much a defense of Wallace as a plea for senatorial decency. Impressive in its support of Wallace —the man and the official, the doer and the prophet—it was just as telling in its exposition of the progressive ferment in the land. It was a warning to those who have fought Wallace because he gives first place to the people's good.

Wallace's great offense, apparently, is that he has a job program. There are people who think they are damning his proposals by calling them "New Dealing." There are others no less conservatively inclined, men like Ralph Robey, of *News-Week*, who say to the decriers: "You say it is silly. . . . But can you prove it in a way which the next 10 persons with whom you talk will understand and will believe? And then can you go ahead and spell out an alternative course which offers more promise of making sure that there will be a job in the postwar period for everyone who wants to work?" 3-5-45

That is Mr. Robey's sermon to the standpatters, and this is Senator Hill's comment on it: "This nation cannot go forward on the motive power of those who scream and call names; it cannot prosper on a diet of negativism and defeat." Wallace has dynamic ideas. They match the emerging demands of this crucial hour in the life of our country and world. They deserve the test to which they are to be put. But the test cannot be fair if it must be conducted in a climate of "malignance and hysteria." There is no magnanimity and no justice in greeting Wallace at the outset of his career as a cabinet member, with a gratuitous repetition of invidious slogans.

Bankhead Tells Why Senate Rejected Aubrey Williams

Montgomery Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala.

By ATTICUS MULLIN

Aubrey Williams, said by the Dies committee to have been a member of several subversive organizations and who was defeated by the Senate on his nomination by President Roosevelt to be Rural Electrification Administrator, is not a citizen of Alabama, according to the record.

Senator John H. Bankhead of Alabama led the fight in the Senate against the confirmation of Williams and led it brilliantly and successfully in a letter to the writer enclosing some of the records of the committee hearings on Williams, encloses memoranda showing Williams to be a voter in Virginia. 3-22-45

Not only was the man Williams a voter in Virginia, although he had his name go to the Senate as an Alabamian, but in the last campaign he contributed $25 to an independent candidate of some kind who was trying to defeat the regular democratic incumbent in Congress and also democratic nominee, Howard Smith.

As a matter of fact Williams was born in Alabama and an Independent Presbyterian church in Birmingham undertook to educate him at a college in Arkansas but Dr. J. B. Broady, who was the pastor then, said Williams turned on the church after church money was used to help educate him. He left Alabama, has never voted in Alabama and the testimony clearly showed that he favored intermingling of whites and blacks in practically every relationship. In one of the quotations from a column he writes for a publication of the Farmers Union (which also fraternizes with negroes) Williams expressed glee that a union of plasterers in Georgia had decided to admit negroes on equal terms with the whites.

In his cross examination Williams brazenly admitted that he favored a rule which would prevent the segregation of the races in the cafeterias, rest rooms, etc., in the government buildings in Washington. He would have white girls working under negro men, etc. He wanted no separation of races when it came to eating or play or anything else. And he said he would favor the government stepping into any industry, even a small sawmill in the South, and telling the sawmill owner whom to employ if a negro applied for a job and was refused it.

Senator Bankhead did not wonder that Williams was defeated for confirmation by the Senate and that so many southerners voted against him.

61c-1945

Testimonial To Black Significant

4-11-45 B2.

There was a significance far deeper than showed on the surface in the testimonial dinner and the Jefferson award tendered to Associate Supreme Court Jusitce Hugo L. Black in Washington last week.

Justice Black was selected to receive the award for a second time because of his consistant adherence to principles of fair play, justice, and regard for the rights of the comman man. Consistent adherence to these principles means a definite championing of the rights of Negroes, among other things, because the Negro is so sinned against, discriminated against.

Far too frequently has it happened that when a white man in America champions the cause of the common man — which must necessarily include the Negro — he is walked up the steps of the guillotine and his head chopped off.

HENRY WALLACE 4-11-45

Witness the fate of Henry Wallace at the Democratic Convention in Chicago last July. Wallace had beome the symbol of liberalism. He had been forthright in his statements and actions where the rights of Negroes to participate in all the benefits of democracy were concerned. At the convention, knowing he was on the spot for his liberal ideas, he walked, nevertheless, into the lion's den, stuck his head into the lion's mouth, and proceeded to twist the lion's tail. His now famous "equal opportunity, and poll-tax must go" speech was delivered with a ringing sincerity. The lion bit off his head. 4-11-45

Undeterred, Wallace pursued the same course even after his defeat for a place on the Democratic ticket as running mate to Roosevelt. And again, when his name came before the Senate for confirmation as Secretary of Commerce, he was maligned, malled and mangled. To his everlasting credit, his head, though bloody, has never bowed. But there are so few who could come through the same experience without giving up the ghost.

AUBREY WILLIAMS

Then, there was Aubrey Williams. His administration of the National Youth Administration, under which Negro boys and girls got their first real break for training in skilled industrial occupations, branded him as a Negro-lover in the eyes of Bilbo and his ilk. His efforts to organize the small farmers, including Negro farmers, roused the ire of the Farm Bureau Federation. His favorable attitude toward the F. E. P. C. stamped him as a liberal and progressi 4-11-45

The recent castigation of Aubrey Williams by reactionary elements in the Senate of the United States when his name came before them for confirmation as President's appointee for the position of Administrator of the Rural Electrification Administration is still fresh in our minds. Williams, like Wallace, will not bow his head.

But the pattern is clear. It is not new. Clarke Foreman, Nathan Strauss, and many others felt the axe because they were openly liberal. 4-11-45

Such a procedure puts the fear of the Devil into the hearts of lesser men than Wallace and Williams. Liberals who have vulnerable spots in their backbones are likely to say to themselves: "Why should I stick my neck out for the common man —including Negroes — when I can sail along on smooth waters by just keeping quiet and conforting to custom.

LIBERALISM BOOM

Then along comes the testimonial to Justice Black. He has eached the pinnacle of success in the judiciary. He is respected. He is acclaimed. His championing of the cause of the common man has not harmed him. It is a tonic to the less courageous. It is a boon to the cause of liberalism and progressivism. It is timely. Let us hope that those who may have quavered in their responsibilities to ALL Americans in their positions of public trust will take heart and fear not. Though they may not rate the acclaims of Justice Black, they can know that all America will not turn from them if they but consistently fight the good fight.

Dawson On 5 Committees; Powell On 3

Louisiana Weekly New Orleans, La. 1-27-45

(By The Associated Negro Press)

Washington, Jan. 23.—Tuesday, when Rep. Doughton of North Carolina finished reading nominations for standing committees in the new house of the 79th Congress, William Dawson of Chicago had been named on five committees and Adam C. Powell, Jr., of New York, had been named to three with both men serving together only on one committee.

Dawson's assignments are coinage, weights and measures; expenditures in the executive departments, insular affairs, invalid pensions, irrigation and reclamation. 1-27-45

Powell's assignments include Indian affairs, invalid pensions and labor. They are serving jointly on invalid pensions. Mr. Dawson's most important appointment is to the insular affairs committee which covers Puerto Rico and Virgin Islands.

Corrected List of Congressmen

AFRO-American Balt. Md. 1-27-45

This list is reprinted from the AFRO of several weeks ago with corrections and additions.

Name	State	Congress	Years
James H. Rainey	S. Carolina	41st-45th	1869-1879
Jefferson F. Long	Georgia	41st	1869-1871
Hiram R. Revels	Mississippi	41st	1869-1871
Josiah T. Walls	Florida	42nd-44th	1871-1877
Benjamin S. Turner	Alabama	42nd	1871-1873
Robert C. DeLarge	S. Carolina	42nd	1871-1873
Robert B. Elliott	S. Carolina	42nd-43rd	1871-1875
Richard H. Cain	S. Carolina	43rd and 45th	1873-1875 1877-1879
Alonzo J. Ransier	S. Carolina	43rd	1873-1875
James T. Rapier	Alabama	43rd	1873-1875
John R. Lynch	Mississippi	43rd-44th	1873-1877
Blanche K. Bruce	Mississippi	44th-46th	1875-1881
Jeremiah Haralson	Alabama	44th	1875-1877
John A. Hyman	N. Carolina	44th	1875-1877
Charles E. Nash	Louisiana	44th	1875-1877
Robert Smalls	S. Carolina	44th, 45th, 47th, 48th and 49th	1875-1879 1881-1887
James E. O'Hara	N. Carolina	48th-49th	1883-1887
Henry P. Cheatham	N. Carolina	51st-52nd	1889-1893
Thomas E. Miller	S. Carolina	51st	1889-1893
John M. Langston	Virginia	51st	1889-1893
George W. Murray	S. Carolina	53rd-54th	1893-1897
George H. White	N. Carolina	55th-56th	1897-1901
Oscar DePriest	Illinois	72nd-73rd	1931-1935
Arthur W. Mitchell	Illinois	74th-77th	1935-1943
William L. Dawson	Illinois	78th-79th	1943-1947
Adam C. Powell	New York	79th	1945-1947

Hiram Rhodes Revels and Blanche Bruce were the only colored Congressmen to serve in the Senate. All others served in the House of Representatives.

Arthur W. Mitchell, William L. Dawson and Adam Powell are the only Congressmen of this group elected on the Democratic ticket. All others were Republicans.

Sidney Brown Named to Mollison's Post

afro-American Balt. Md.

CHICAGO, Ill. (ANP)—Sidney P. Brown, well-known South Side lawyer, has been appointed by Mayor Kelly to serve the unexpired term of the school board of Irvin C. Mollison, attorney, who resigned to accept a judgeship in the Federal Customs Court. The appointment has been referred by the city council to the committee on schools. 10-27-45.

Brown is a World War I veteran and a graduate of Howard University and the Northwestern University Law School.

Barnett and Patterson To Remain on U.S. Jobs

The Call-Kansas City, Mo. 9-21-45

WASHINGTON. — In response to a request from Secretary of Agriculture Clinton P. Anderson, both Claude A. Barnett, director of the Associated Negro Press, and Dr. F. D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee, will continue in their positions as special assistants and advisers to the Secretary.

In a letter addressed to Mr. Barnett, Nathan Koenig, executive assistance to the Secretary, said, "Secretary Anderson and I are aware of the important work you and Dr. Patterson have been doing, and the Secretary would like to have you both continue as his special assistants." 9-21-45

As formerly, Dr. Patterson and Mr. Barnett will have their headquarters at Tuskegee and Chicago respectively where also they will continue with their other work.

Serious Discrimination In State Department

The Worker Brooklyn.

Editor, The Worker: N.Y. N.Y.

There is serious racial discrimination in the **departmental** personnel of the State Department. All the **messengers** are Negroes, no secretaries or assistant or undersecretaries are. With the exception of the Liberian mission, there are no Negro ambassadors or ministers, a condition which also proves racial discrimination, and deprives the taxpayers of the services of 10 percent of the population. 10-14-45

When we come to the Foreign Service officers "of career," we find next to no Negroes and from about five to fifteen Jews. Eighteen million citizens discriminated against for race or religion by a country that has just defeated Hitler fascism and Japanese feudalism!

How is this latter discrimination carried out? **Oral** and **written** examinations are given to candidates for the U. S. Foreign **Service. Each** counts 50 percent. But the **written** examination takes up to **21 hours** of tests, when the **oral** interview lasts about 15 minutes, has no published standards, yet counts 50 percent of the examination. According to an important published opinion of the Commissioner of Education of the State of New York, an oral interview test without definite standards is no test at all, but the subjective expression of the examiner. By this means, all Negroes and nearly all Jews are deprived of their equal rights, as citizens, to serve their country according to their abilities. **To this extent,** the announcement of hundreds of vancancies in the U. S. Foreign Service is a fraud upon the people.

MARTIN T.

HENRY WALLACE'S FIGHT
Pittsburgh Courier 2-3-45
Pittsburgh Courier-12.

Only once in the last twenty-five years and six times in the entire history of the Nation has the Senate refused to confirm a Cabinet appointment by a President. Yet, Henry Wallace, a former Vice-President and Secretary of Agriculture, the righteous reformer, the popular choice for renomination as Vice-President and leader of the liberal forces of the Nation, may be rejected by the Senate as Secretary of Commerce. Twelve years ago Henry Wallace, an obscure editor of a farm journal, was confirmed by the Senate as Secretary of Agriculture without a dissenting vote. Now Henry Wallace, beloved and respected by millions throughout the earth, has become unacceptable to the United States Senate. 2-3-45

Why would the Senate reject Wallace? Is that body afraid of greatness, and will it only approve mediocrity; or has Henry Wallace, despite his popular following, become a threat and a danger to a Democratic government? The Southern and conservative Northern Senators, and the press have attempted to shield their real interest and purpose by accusations of incompetency and "starry-eyed dreamer." They say Wallace lacks the business experience to supervise the expenditure of the billions at the disposal of the Reconstruction Finance Commission and its subsidiaries. They say he is too visionary to handle Government finance which will fix the trend of the entire economic and social structure of the Nation. The emptiness and insincerity of these charges are exposed by the record which shows Wallace handled most efficiently and satisfactorily six billion dollars as Secretary of Agriculture. It is not Wallace's weakness, but his strength that they fear. 2-3-45

Henry Wallace has become the Nation's leading liberal holding high office. He is the uncompromising and irrepressible spokesman for Negroes, labor and other underprivileged minorities. He fervently believes that the promises and guarantees in our Constitution are solemn and sincere pledges which must be lived up to. He earnestly clings to the social and economic philosophy of the "New Deal," while others who are less forthright have abandoned it. He favors greater opportunities for workers, and neither expedience nor prudence can silence his advocacy of their interests. He believes that Negroes should enjoy all the rights, privileges and immunities other citizens possess and proclaims this heresy when his political life is at stake. While others have been advanced by their pretense and faithlessness to these causes, he has been sacrificed for his earnestness and sincerity. While they have given lip service, he has practiced them. Nowhere and at no time can it be said he betrayed the lofty ideals he publicly espouses. He has kept the faith. That is why the unregenerated, the timid and those less resolute call him a dreamer.

Henry Wallace is opposed because Southern and Northern conservatives consider him the greatest menace in public life to their creed and practices. The South opposed his nomination in Chicago because of his preachments against color discrimination, the poll tax and labor injustices practiced in the South. They know that if the growing strength of Negroes and labor in the North had a sincere advocate and leader in high office, the despotism of the South would soon crumble. 2-3-45

Northern reactionaries hate him because his economic policies would force them to disgorge all the unjustifiable advantages which they have always had over the poor and underprivileged. They know he will keep his word that "Little Business" will receive the same amount of Government aid that "Big Business" has been receiving. They know that he will spread the blessings of Government to all who are in need, and strike down tyranny wherever found. This treasonous alliance of Southern and Northern reactionaries has always sprung into action when a mutual enemy threatens to disturb their inhumanities or their loot.

This is not merely a fight against a Cabinet appointment. It is a fight against all the things that Henry Wallace stands for. It is a fight aganist Negroes, labor, and the common man. It it is fight against the philosophy of government. It is a fight to defeat liberalism and advancement. It is a fight to maintain a status quo in government during a post-war era. This is not a skirmish. It is a decisive battle. For this Cabinet and Congress will draw the pattern of peace, and the Negro status for years to come may be fixed by just such seemingly collateral issues. 2-3-45

Labor has been mindful of the importance of this struggle and has thrown its full weight into the battle. Although Negroes are one of the chief beneficiaries of Wallace's sacrifice, they are apparently unaware that their well being and interests are involved. If Negroes are to keep their friends, they must support them. They must write their Senators and Congressmen. They must protest to the public and press and let the world know they are aware of the magnitude of this issue. They must let President Roosevelt and Northern Democratic Senators know that THEY have not shown such zeal and enthusiasm in support of Wallace that would endear them with the Negro people.

One of the unforgettable moments of American Negro history is Wallace's speech at the last Democratic National Convention. His defiant plea that "Negroes must be given first-class citizenship and the poll tax must go" not only sealed him doom as a Vice Presidential candidate, but also for any office which race-crazed Southerners and Northern race bigots can block him. Henry Clay won immortality by saying "I'd rather be right than President," but when he said it the Presidency was not within his grasp. If history holds a niche for one who merely utters his sentiment, certainly the place of Henry Wallace, who has lived this principle and has suffered for it, is secure.

Rep. Mary Theresa Norton (D., N. J.), a present one of the leaders in the fight to bring the bill for a permanent FEPC to the floor of the House for a vote, is the dean of women Representatives.

Born in Jersey City, Mar. 7, 1875, Mrs. Norton first was elected to Congress in 1925 and has been there ever since. She was the first woman ever to become a chairman of a House committee when, in 1932 she succeeded to leadership of the Committee on the District of Columbia, thus earning the title "Mayor of Washington, D. C." In 1937, she resigned this post to become Chairman of the House Labor Committee, which she still holds.

As Chairman of the Labor Committee, it has been her task to defend New Deal labor legislation against the coalition of Southern Democrats and Republicans. She has done well at it. In 1935, she steered the Wages and Hours Act through the House against the opposition of the reactionaries and the "sweatshop lobby." 9-25-45

A friend of Mayor Frank Hague, boss of Jersey City, Mrs. Norton says Hague never has told her how to vote and never has asked her to do anything against her conscience.

She is the widow of Robert Francis Norton, whom she married in 1909, Mrs. Norton got her start in politics through her child welfare work, which she entered after the death of her only child, in 1913.

She believes women should not be pushed out of the jobs they have held so capably in wartime and that they should apply pressure as a group to retain the industrial gains they have made.

She lives alone with one servant and shuns Washington social life.

NEW YORK, N. Y.
WORLD-TELEGRAM
Circ. D. 389,257 - S. 304,015
OCT 3 - 1945

Negro Appointed To U. S. Bench

Irvin C. Mollison, Chicago Negro lawyer, has been appointed by President Truman to the U. S. Customs Court here, it was announced today in Washington by Attorney General Tom C. Clark.

Mr. Clark said Mr. Mollison will succeed to the vacancy created by the death of Tom Walker, a brother of former Postmaster General Frank C. Walker. The lifetime post pays $10,000 a year.

Mr. Mollison was born in Vicksburg, Miss., and attended Oberlin College and the University of Chicago, where he was graduated in 1920. He completed his law courses in 1923, joining the Illinois bar. He has practiced continuously since that time.

In 1928 he was treasurer of the Cook County Bar Assn. and is a former secretary of the National Bar Assn. He was appointed by Mayor Edward J. Kelly to a three-year term as director of the Public Library. He is a member of the National Lawyers Guild, the Chicago Civil Liberties Commission and the American Library Assn. and for a time headed in Chicago the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People.

61c-1945

Office Holding- Negroes

Negroes in the Government Who *Aren't* "Race Advisers"

Washington Tribune D.C.

(Second of a Series)

O.P.A. Attorney Bernard Jefferson,

Known throughout Washington as one of the most sensibly integrated Government agencies, the Office of Price Administration with 492 Negroes in its national office, has employed some of the most highly qualified Negroes for strictly technical jobs. 5-26-45

In Tough Spot

Among them is Bernard Jefferson, classified as a principal attorney, whose job as chief counsel of the meats section, price legal division, puts him in one of the toughest spots in OPA right now when the meat situation is critical.

Mr. Jefferson, one of the few Negro lawyers holding the degree of Doctor of Jurisdical Science (Harvard, 1943) correlates and supervises the work of two other attorneys, one colored and one white.

He has final responsibility for the determination of legal problems presented by price control on meats at all levels of distribution . . . from livestock to packer to wholesale distributor to retailer to consumer.

When representatives of big packing houses come to OPA to get the latest information on meat price . . . when Congressional mail and other inquiries from Congress have to be answered about the legality of an OPA price action on meats, it is Bernard Jefferson who has the information at his fingertips.

He knows all the ramifications of the meat industry. He knows how the industry operates as well as how every retail cut of meat should go from butcher to consumer. (But he doesn't know where you can get it when your butcher's case is empty.) 5-26-45

Protection for consumers starts right here in Jefferson's office, and he says earnestly that this phase of his war-time job is the one that makes it most worthwhile.

Consumer Protected

How is the consumer protected in an OPA lawyer's office? Aside from the establishment of price ceiling on meats, for which he is partly responsible, consumers are protected by requirements in price regulations limiting the amount of fat that can be left on a cut of pork, for example; and by prohibiting grinding and boning of better grades of meat, outside the customer's presence, so as to prevent substitution of lower grades of meat for higher grades in the grinding process. 5-26-45

Mr. Jefferson sees his job in its proper perspective and says that it cannot be effective unless consumers are interested enough in protecting their own pocketbooks to find out what the ceiling prices are, and TO PAY NO MORE THAN CEILING PRICES.

He points out that nearly all meats are under dollar-and-cent ceilings, according to grade of meat and type of store and are uniform in any one area.

He feels that his relationship with his co-workers is the best, and that OPA's firmly established policy of integration goes a long way toward making his job pleasant, worthwhile, and effective. He wouldn't like to see it changed.—By NNPA.

E. ST. LOUISAN GETS ILLINOIS POSITION

St. Louis Argus — Mo.

EDDIE LEE NELSON

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., Feb. 12—Eddie Lee Nelson of East St. Louis, today became the first colored automobile investigator in the history of Illinois when he was appointed to that office by Secretary of State, Edward J. Barrett. 2-16-45

Mr. Nelson received his appointment through the sponsorship of the East St. Louis Division of the St. Clair county democratic organization. He has always been active in the Democratic party.

Born March 30, 1907, Mr. Nelson is married and is the father of two children, a son, James Edward, 17, in the United States Navy and a daughter, Ruth, 14, who is a freshman in Lincoln high school at East St. Louis.

He is an active member of the Friendship Baptist church and sings in its senior choir, which has been broadcasting every Sunday for the past five years.

In 1937 he was appointed to the East St. Louis Police Department as a juvenile officer serving in this capacity until 1943 when he became a detective. He held this office until his recent assignment as investigator by Secretary Barrett.

Nelson is a past exalted ruler of the East St. Louis Hercules Lodge No. 90 IBPOE of W, and at present is a trustee of this lodge and district treasurer since 1940 of State Associations for Illinois and Wisconsin. 2-16-45

Serving since 1939 as secretary of the downstate colored Democratic organization, Mr. Nelson at present is chairman of colored democratic organizations of East St. Louis and St. Clair County. He is a member of the County Central Committee.

Wallace Names Pinkett

AFRO-AMERICAN 4-28-45

Commerce Dept. Advisor

Balt. Md

WASHINGTON

Making a swift bid for the mantel of the late President Roosevelt, Secretary of Commerce Henry A. Wallace set Capitol Hill agog, Wednesday morning by announcing the appointment of John R. Pinkett, Washington insurance broker, to the Small Business Advisory Committee of the Department of Commerce. In making this appointment, Mr. Wallace makes good his promise to equip himself with advisers who are close to the problems of the common man.

Mr. Pinkett

4-28-45

Mr. Pinkett, who lives in the 100 block of V Street, Northwest, is a gradaute of Amherst College, head of the John R. Pinkett insurance brokeage firm and was a former official ot the National Benefit Life Insurance Company.

Wallace Talks for AFRO

In speaking of the duties of the sixteen-man committee, Mr. Wallace said: 4-28-45

"I hope these men will advise me as to how the problems of the small business man can best be met in the post-war era.

"Particularly am I interested in the availability of adequate finance and long-term loans that small business may survive."

There's hate in the eyes of some,

The appointment has brought reaction from the white press. An editorial in a local daily comments: 4-28-45

"But for his defeat at the Chicago convention, Mr. Wallace would now be in President Truman's shoes. If he had taken such an action (the appointment of a colored man) on his fourth day in office, think what an uproar there would have been."

Praised by Leaders

In the face of this observation by the white press, colored leaders are praising Mr. Wallace for the appointment, pointing to it as a progressive development.

Congressman Dawson of Illinois said: "Our friends are still working for us—there will be opposition, but the cause of right will win." 4-28-45

In addition to being a prominent business man, Mr. Pinkett is active in local civic affairs, being a member of the board of public welfare and of the board of directors of the Urban League.

LESTER WALTON RESIGNS POST

St. Louis Argus, Mo.

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 14—After ten years in service, America's No. 1 Negro Foreign Diplomat, Hon. Lester A. Walton, of St. Louis, will relinquish his post as American Minister to Liberia. The former Republican leader who served most of the administration of the Roosevelt administration with highest credit, tendered his resignation following the death of the late chief executive. 6-15-45

It is not known whether Mr. Walton will return to St. Louis to live or who President Truman will name as his successor.

Negroes In Gov't

Atty. Charles Quick-OPA

First of a Series

Washington, D. C. (NNPA)—The turnover in Government agencies is at times so rapid that anyone who has been on the payroll of one agency for more than a year becomes a veteran. But the Office of Price Administration has managed to keep many off its best people for two and three years. Among these top people is Charles W. Quick, principal attorney and chief counsel in charge of legal drafting for the food rationing division.

To OPA In '42

Mr. Quick came to OPA in 1942 as an attorney and has seen the agency through all its storms. He is another example of OPA's utilization of highly skilled people in technical jobs regardless of race, creed or color.

As chief counsel in food rationing, Charles Quick supervises the drafting of amendments to all food rationing regulations, the preparation of forms and instructions to field personnel on food rationing programs, and decisions on appeals from regulations that come in to the administrative and legal sections of the food rationing branch.

Quick received the LLB degree from Harvard Law Schol in 1938 and in September, 1939, was research assistant to James McLaughlin, professor of law at Harvard for his book "Cases on Creditor's Rights." He was in private practice in Cleveland where he also served as administrative [illegible] to the Cleveland NAACP [illegible] iately before coming to OPA in 1942, he taught law at North Carolina State college in Durham.

He is a part of the policy-making set up in OPA's food rationing division, sitting in on program planning sessions and other policy meetings. He receives and acts upon questions of legal interpretations from the field. When policy decisions are made on legal phases of food rationing, Charlie Quick drafts the amendments which become law. Post auditing legal decisions made in OPA field offices is one of his chief responsibilities which directly affects local communities. Interpretation of the law is his business.

First on State Board

DR. HOWARD D. GREGG, president of Delaware State College, Dover, who recently became the first colored member of the Delaware State Board of Education. His appointment is the result of a bill passed by the State Legislature and approved by Governor Walter W. Bacon, which makes the head of the college a member of the board.

Gets State Appointment

Edward A. Watts, Sr., has been appointed a member of the legal staff of the State of New York Labor Relations Board. Mr. Watts was sworn in on July 2, and was assigned to the office in New York City.

Watts is a product of southern universities, Fisk, Meharry and Central Tennessee College at Nashville, Tenn. He was formerly a resident of Owensboro, Ky., and has practiced law in New York City for the last eighteen years.

Councilman Irvin Better; Home from Hospital

Councilman James H. Irvin, who was reported seriously ill in the Anderson Hospital 1709 Green street, last week, is better and now at home, 743 north 47th street.

The dean of Negro morticians in the city, the Councilman came to Philadelphia at the age of 20 years from Baltimore, Md., and was employed in an undertaking concern. Later he set up his own organization at 3634 Sansom street, where he remained for 39 years until he moved to the present site.

He was elected to City Council in 1935 from the 44th Ward, representing eight districts, and has been returned at two successive elections. He is the first and only Negro to be

JAMES H. IRVIN

elected to the legislative body since it was established in 1920 as a single group.

Among his civic activities are: 33rd degreee Mason, Knights of Pythias, Elks, Oddfellows, National Business Men's Association, treasurer of National Undertaker Association, director of Citizens & Southern Bank and Trust Company, board of Mercy Hospital, board of Christian Street YMCA, and elder of Reeve Memorial Church.

He is married to the former Miss Clara Mildred Lewis, sister of Dr. Charles A. Lewis. He has one son, Henry B. Irvin, a member of the undertaking firm.

Harold Lett In Executive N. J. FEPC Job

Post Pays Annual Salary Of $5100; Body To Fight Employment Discrimination

TRENTON, [illegible]—Harold A. Lett, secretary of the N. J. Urban League for over a decade, was officially appointed last week as an assistant on the executive staff of the Anti-Discrimination Council, which was recently established by the State Legislature to combat race and religious bias in employment. Also named was Mrs. Myra Blakeslee of East Orange, white.

The appointments were announced by State Education Commissioner Bosshart, who stated that Lett and Mrs. Blakeslee will aid Joseph L. Bustard, the assistant education commissioner in charge of the department's Division Against Discrimination. Lett's salary will be $5,100 and that of Mrs. Blakeslee $4,500.

Lett came to the N. J. Urban League from Pittsburgh, Pa., where he was industrial secretary of the agency there. Previously, he was employed as statistician in Michigan State Department of Labor at Lansing, Mich. Mrs. Blakeslee served as executive director of the State Goodwill Commission, which was abolished when the Anti-Discrimination Division was set up. She is a former school teacher and held office in the National and State Federation of Professional Womens Clubs.

Recognizing the importance of educating the public on the anti-discrimination legislation, the council, at its meeting last week decided to prepare a chart of a breakdown of the law, which will be distributed throughout the State. Complaints must be made in writing, and must come from persons who claim discrimination was practiced against them, it was also announced.

The legislation outlawing employment bias was introduced by Dr. J. O. Hill of Newark, lone Negro member of the State Legislature.

Negro Appointed To Job To Which V. I. Governor Was Named

New York October 8:—The appointment of Irving C. Mellison a Negro lawyer from Chicago to the United States Customs Court by the President of the United States leaves Virgin Islanders on the mainland in a state of bewilderment according to a release from headquarters of the American Virgin Islands Civic Association.

It is alleged that Governor Harwood has been feverishly hunting around for a job while on his numerous trips to the mainland supposedly in the interest of the Virgin Islands, Totten asserts.

61c-1945 Office Holding

Apple King Wins Fame As First Negro Legislator In Vermont

Pittsburgh Courier 3-10-45

Ga.

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

MONTPELIER, Vt.—When William J. Anderson, Vermont's first Negro legislator, began his maiden speech on Feb. 13, in support of H. 73, "An Act to Prohibit Coercion in Securing Membership in an Association, Organization or Union," and declared it to be "an emancipation proclamation of labor," one could have heard a feather fall. The 246 members, including forty-five women (largest female contingent in any State Legislature since enactment of woman's suffrage), leaned forward attentively. Growing sentiment for the measure was manifested as he spoke.

"You speak of freedom, gentlemen," he declared. "I am the living example of freedom. You say it cannot happen here, but I say that you have no guarantee that it cannot."

He cited the rise of John L. Lewis, and other labor "demagogues," and said that "where there is organized labor there is surely the possibility of coercion." This in reply to the unionists and industrialists opposing the measure on the ground that Vermont was free of strikes, and other labor troubles, and that there was no proof of any coercion.

KNOWS WHAT IT MEANS

"I have to smile," he continued, "when I hear you people talking about freedom and liberty. I know what it means when I remember what my father, who was a slave, had to endure."

His speech was the turning point in the debate and won widespread attention. After being advanced to the third reading, the measure finally passed the House 150 to 70, after the tumultuous applause had subsided. He is generally credited with having turned the tide. "I'm getting a big kick out of it all," he said with a quiet chuckle after it was all over.

The handsome, distinguished 69-year-old legislator is a native of Shoreham, a township of Addison County hard by historic Lake Champlain. Born there on Feb. 14, 1876, the son of an ex-slave from Virginia and a French-Canadian mother, Mr. Anderson was elected last November by his townspeople for the two-year term with only four dissenting votes, three Republican and one Democrat. Appropriately enough, this king of apple growers is a member of the House Committee on Agriculture. To strangers to Vermont this may seem surprising considering that there are no colored people in Shoreham except the Andersons, only one other colored family in Addison County, and less than 400 Negroes in the entire State. But these green Mountain folk are Yankee liberals, who honor people of ability and integrity, regardless of color or creed, especially those who, like William J. Anderson, have brought honor and prosperity to the State.

MAN OF CULTURE

An affable, cultured man, highly popular, and much in demand as a speaker before Rotary clubs and horticultural conferences throughout New England, New York and Canada, Mr. Anderson is a Congregationalist, a man of substance, and perhaps the only Negro in the country to be a member of a white lodge of Masons. He and Mrs. Anderson have been feted by his fellow legislators, and the prominent people of Montpelier, a beautiful little city of white houses with green shutters nestling in the bosom of Vermont's green hills. Nowhere, he said, has he experienced the sting of discrimination because he is brown.

Interviewed at quaint Miller's Inn, Mr. Anderson told with modest pride of his life and work and the philosophy which has sustained him. A typical Yankee who has worked hard and won his way through his own efforts, he says, "I am honoring Shoreham as much as Shoreham is honoring me." His colleagues feel the same way.

In the beautiful white-domed room with its Ionic columns, where the Representatives sit two to a seat, Mr. Anderson's seat mate (who requested the honor of sitting beside him) is Dr. John M. Thomas of Mendon, a fellow-fruit grower, who has been president of Norwich and Rutgers Universities, Pennsylvania State College, Middlebury (Vt.) College, and chairman of the Vermont State Board of Education. He spoke of Mr. Anderson with pride and affection, as, indeed, did all the others.

But Mr. Anderson is used to honors and shows it in his speech and bearing. In 1935 he was president of the Vermont Horticultural Society. He was featured speaker at Kingston, N. Y., in 1940, before the New York State Horticultural Society, the oldest and largest in the country. In 1939, he was the principal speaker before the conference of the Fruit Growing and Pomological Society of Quebec, where he created a sensation when, after concluding his speech in English, he said, "Now I shall speak in the mother tongue." When he finished his speech in French, there was great applause because of this compliment to the French-speaking delegates. He spoke to this group again in 1941, 1942, 1943 and 1944. On this last occasion his topic was "Marketing Problems of the Post-War World."

FUEL ADMINISTRATOR

He tells with zest of his work during World War I with the Military Intelligence which led to the trapping of several German spies. During that period he was also Fuel Administrator for his district. He was school director in 1922-25, auditor 1926-29, and town agent, 1940-44. He was educated in the public schools of his native town and at Mount Hermon School, Mount Hermon, Mass. From 1902 to 1920 he operated a laundry in Massachusetts, hiring a man to care for his Shoreham farm.

While living in Northfield, Mass., he also engaged in politics, serving as delegate to the Republican State Convention. He was a personal friend of former President Calvin Coolidge. During the present war he has twice subscribed over half the Shoreham bond quota, anonymously.

Mr. Anderson owns a 175-acre farm at Shoreham, of which sixty-five acres are covered by an orchard of approximately 3,500 apple trees. During the period 1923-27 his apples received the highest prices on the New York City market. In 1943 he harvested 10,000 bushels and grossed $125,000. At the height of the harvesting season he employs over 100 helpers, all white, in harvesting and packing. His son, six-foot, jovial, forty-three-year-old George W. Anderson, supervises the orchard, while the legislator manages the packing house. He planted his first apple trees in 1911, and while he is not a college-trained horticulturist, he has introduced many new methods of increasing size and quantity of fruit. Whereas the average Northern Spy tree bears one bushel of fruit at the age of ten or eleven years, Mr. Anderson's trees at the same age yielded eighteen bushels to a tree. No wonder he can say quietly, "I have a nice little nest egg."

ADMIRES FATHER

He speaks affectionately and respectfully of his late father as "a remarkable man." Born a slave in King and Queen County, Va., he came to Vermont in 1866 and settled in Shoreham on the advice of Col. Robert Hunsdon of the Eleventh Vermont Infantry, under whom he served during the Civil War. He worked for a time for a Dr. Hitchcock, then he turned to farming and teaming. Accumulating some capital in this manner, he turned to money lending. "He always had $5,000 or $10,000 around the house," says Mr. Anderson. "He made his own way."

The legislator also speaks fondly of his late sister, Mary Annette, who was valedictorian of her class at Northfield School for Girls, and was the first colored girl to attend Middlebury College, thirteen miles from Shoreham. She won the Phi Beta Kappa key and was the first woman ever to speak at the Corporation dinner. Mr. Anderson chuckles when he tells of the sensation created when his brown-skinned father attended the dinner with his pretty French wife leaning on his arm. His sister later married Walter L. Smith, principal of Dunbar High School, Washington, D. C.

In 1902 the legislator married Mrs. Lillian Jackson of near by Fort Henry, N. Y., who remains his proud and loving helpmate. Five years ago his son, George, who was born and reared in Massachusetts, married Miss Alice Trayah, an attractive brunette Vermonter, and they now have a lovely five-month-old daughter, Myra Annette. Mr. Anderson is immensely proud of his son and partner, who is also a graduate of Mount Hermon School, a noted skier, hockey player and fisherman; and the farm and fortune will go to him.

The Anderson residence in Shoreham, whence the writer motored through the white blanketed landscape, is a modern Vermont country home, canary yellow trimmed with white, and boasting every up-to-date convenience. There live the Andersons, young and old.

The legislator's favorite quotation is: "Get your happiness out of your work or you will never know what true happiness is."

Of the race problem he says: "I feel that there is no such thing as social equality in any race. I feel as any other person feels, equal to my felolw men, superior to some and inferior to some . . . $25-a-week servants cannot offend me. I'm above that."

"I am having a good time," he confessed. "Everyone has been very pleasant to me, and I am finding this experience as a member of the House of Representatives most gratifying."

Journal and Guide Dr. Spaulding stated this week that he felt that the Liberian climate is too rigorous for him, and that his

DR. C. C. SPAULDING

varied business and other interests required his presence in this country.

To the Journal and Guide Dr. Spaulding said that he greatly appreciated the confidence reposed in him by President Truman—and told the President so—but he felt that the post was better suited to a qualified man of less mature years.

The President expressed to Dr. Spaulding a desire to fill the post of Minister to Liberia with the best business man available.

Dr. Spaulding is treasurer of the board of trustees of Shaw University and a member of the executive committee of the board of Howard Universisty, and is devoting much of his time now to the current United Negro College Campaign Fund, of which he is naticnal vice chairman.

Spaulding Declines Liberian Post

Journal & Guide Norfolk, Va.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—President Truman, a few weeks ago, tendered the post of United States Minister to Liberia to Dr. C. C. Spaulding, president of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, Durham, to succeed Lester A. Walton, resigned. Dr. Spaulding, who is also president of the Mechanics and Farmers Bank, the Bankers Fire Insurance Company and other enterprises, declined the appointment.

Three days later the President repeated the offer of the post to Dr. Spaulding, through one of the North Carolina Congressmen, but the veteran Durham business man again declined.

To a representative of the

Investigation Reaches Climax

Williams' Race Relations Views Bring Down Blast From Bilbo

Washington Post 2-20-45

By James E. Chinn

Climax of the Senate Agriculture Committee's prolonged investigation into the qualifications of Aubrey Williams to head the Rural Electrification Administration came yesterday amid a snorting blast by Senator Theodore G. Bilbo (D., Miss.) at slum conditions in Washington and the removal of racial barriers in cafeterias and washrooms of Government departments here. 2-20-45

Attacking Williams for his liberal views on racial relations, Bilbo, who once initiated a move to deport American Negroes to Liberia, thumped a cleanched first on the committee table and growled into the face of nominee:

"You should get on closer terms with Russia."

Bilbo's attack was touched off when Williams, advocating a more abundant life for the Nation's poor, called attention to living conditions among the sharecroppers of the South, particularly in Mississippi, where, he said, the per capita income is about $266 a year.

"We haven't got as many rags and filth in Mississippi as you have in the slums of Washington," retorted Bilbo.

"There's too much in both places," replied the soft-spoken Williams. 2-20-45

"You," shot back Bilbo, "should give as much attention to the slums of Washington as to the per capita income of Mississippi."

Next the Senator wanted to know what Williams thought about the fair employment practices act, and the opening of cafeterias and wash rooms in the government buildings here to Negroes and whites alike.

"I completely subscribe to them," Williams answered.

"You'd better not disband the army after this war, you'll need it," admonished Blibo.

This final scene of the REA nomination drama cost Williams the support of Bilbo, who said: "If I had started out to vote for you I wouldn't do it now."

Williams, however, picked up two votes—those of Senators Scott W. Lucas (D., Ill.), and George D. Aiken (R., Vt.). 2-20-45

Lucas said he was opposed to Williams at the outset of the committee's investigation, solely on what he had heard about him through "rumor, innuendo and conversation," but after listening to the "unfair, prejudicial and incompetent testimony" against him, he was satisfied as to his qualifications to head REA. 2-20-45

"In my 10 years in Congress," he declared, "I have never seen a witness under consideration as head of an important agency so abused and maligned."

Aiken said the evidence had shown him that Williams was a "good" administrator of the National Youth Administration, having handled between 600 and 700 million dollars "efficiently and honestly."

An attempt to inject a religious issue into the scrap over the nmintaion was blocked by Williams himself, who flatly refused to answer a charge of the Rev. Joseph M. Broady of Findlay, Ohio, that the nominee had "denied the divinity of Christ" by failing to enter the ministry for which he had prepared at the expense of the Presbyterian Church. 2-20-45

"That is a quesiton of my own conscience," Williams told the committee. "I frankly do not feel it is a matter of concern of this committee. It is a matter between myself and God. It is a dangerous thing and laden with great potentialities if brought up."

Dr. Brophy, who had been asked to appear before the committee and back up the charges, sent word that another engagement would prevent him from coming to Washington. Two other witnesses summoned by the committee also wired they had found it impossible to come.

Williams, under sharp cross-examination by Senator Harlan J. Bushfield (R., S. Dak.), stoutly defended his activities as head of NYA and denounced his critics who he said had "slandered" the agency by calling it a "rfeuge" for draft dodgers. 2-20-45

Pointing out that 19,831, or 60 per cent, of the NY Amale membership of military age went into the service in 1943, of whom 11,805 were volunteers, Williams declared:

"The slander of these boys out there dying today—to me is unforgivable."

Walter White

Chicago Def.

The New Secretary of State

BYRNES IS Secretary of State. Should anything, God forbid, happen to President Truman between now and the first month of 1949 and should the Senate fail to pass the House-approved bill to change the line of succession to the White House, your next president will be the gentleman from South Carolina. May I with deep respect suggest not one but successive days of prayer for the preservation of the health of Mr. Truman.

There seems to be considerable doubt that the Senate will approve the bill so speedily passed by the House to make the speaker of the House first and president of the Senate second to succeed the President in the event there is no vice president. The venerable issue of constitutionality is certain to be raised by some of the Senate constitutionalists. Any man who can become president by succession instead of election must, under the Constitution, be an "officer" of the government. Neither the speaker of the House nor the presiding officer of the Senate are officers of the government according to previous rulings of the Supreme Court. 7-21-45

Hold National Election

THE ONLY SANE, democratic procedure would seem to be a provision that there must be a national election of a vice president in the event a president dies or becomes incapable of performing his duties. If the present administation is politically wise it will shift speedily from President Truman's plan, however democratically conceived, to one even more sound which would permit the people to choose a new potential president. Chicago.

As long as the South's political backwardness continues and as long as the poll tax, white primary, lynching and other forms of oppression and terrorism are used to elect and re-elect Bilbos and Rankins thereby making virtually certain a Southern Speaker of the House when a Democratic administration is in power, a question is posed as to what the Negro's political strategy shall be. The attitude of the House Republicans, specifically on the signing of the discharge petition for the FEPC bill offers additional and irrefutable proof that the dominant influence in the Republican party today is in no wise different from that towards the Negro of the Southerners. Under the tortuous red tape established to make difficult, if not impossible, the success of a third party, the situation is complicated even further.

Boycott FEP Foes 7-21-45

WHAT IS THE ANSWER? The immediate task is to do what every political skullduggery which could be pulled out of the bag was used to prevent—to get the names of congressmen who refused to sign the discharge petition for the FEPC bill. Whatever reason any one of them may give for failure to sign should be ignored. No congressman who failed to sign the discharge petition or who played any part in the efforts to strangle the bill should receive a single vote from any Negro, Jew, laborer, or any other representative of the minorities. It is unfortunate that this has to be based on such voters being members of a minority. But the deed is not theirs — it is that of the double-crossing congressmen who made such action necessary. 7-21-45

The same must be done for any Senator who fails to vote for cloture either on the appropriation for the temporary FEPC or for the establishment of a permanent FEPC.

The chips are down and we have no choice but to play a tough and realistic game. In the meantime, we must watch the record of Secretary of State James F. Byrnes and other appointments, good or ill, made by President Truman and base our support in 1946 and 1948 on the record and not on anything else.

People, Politics And Places

JAMES F. BYRNES' RECORD IN CONGRESS

Pittsburgh Courier - Pa.

James F. Byrnes, Democrat, of South Carolina, served as a Representative in Congress from the second Congressional district of South Carolina from the Sixty-second to the Sixty-eighth Congress, inclusive. He retired from Congress in 1925. Was elected to the United States Senate on November 4, 1930, and reelected on November 3, 1936.

Feb. 23, 1915: Voted "nay" on appropriating $101,000 for Howard University.

Jan. 26, 1922: Voted "nay" on passage of Dyer anti-lynching bill.

May 10, 1922: Voted "nay" on authorizing loan of $5,000,000 to Liberia.

Jan. 29, 1924: Made points of order against items for Howard University.

Mar. 13, 1924: Voted "nay" on motion to recede and concur in Senate Amendment appropriating funds for How- University.

Feb. 28, 1925: Voted "nay" on increasing appropriation for Howard University.

UNITED STATES SENATE 8-4-45

Apr. 13, 1932: Voted "nay" on motion to increase the item of salaries in the appropriation for Howard University.

Apr. 13, 1932: Voted "nay" on amendment appropriating $460,000 for construction at Howard University.

July 26, 1937: Voted "yea" on motion to table motion offering Wagner-Van Nuys-Gavagan anti-lynching bill as an amendment.

Nov. 16, 1937: Sought to block consideration of anti-lynching bill.

Jan. 27, 1938: Voted "nay" on motion to close debate on anti-lynching bill.

Feb. 16, 1938: Voted "nay" on motion to close debate on anti-lynching bill.

Negro Leader Challenges Seating Carolina Senator

People's Voice N.Y.,N.Y.

COLUMBIA, S. C. (ANP)—Armed with affidavits from citizens declaring they were mistreated during periods of registration and, on general election day in last year's heated political activities, Osceola E. McKaine, candidate for the Pregressive Democratic party from South Carolina, went to Washington early last week to file a contest in the seating of Gov. Olin D. Johnston, candidate for the same office from the South Carolina Democratic party, who was declared elected. 1-13-45

The election completed an authorization of the third state convention of the Progressive party which met here Nov. 17 and which reported election violations in 17 of the state's 46 counties. The convention also voted to undertake court action and Progressive party headquarters announced Tuesday that this action will be undertaken shortly. 1-13-45

The Progressive party convention reported that while every effort was made to prevent Negroes from voting in the state, and participating in elections of the white Democratic party, on election day white party workers, in charge of the general election, inveigled and misled Negro citizens. most of whom voted for the first time, into voting for the white party's candidates, headed by Gov. Johnston, whom Negroes consider more bitter and vicious on Negroes than the late "Cotton Ed" Smith. 1-13-45

In most cases, these workers simply handed the voter the "regular" ticket and if questioned, replied that "this is the ticket you want." A few instances of police participation with approval of election managers are reported as covered in the affidavits and refusal of election managers to display all parties' ballots so that voters might obtain them.

Should Sen.-elect Olin D. Johnston of South Carolina survive the contest Osceola E. McKaine of the Progressive Democratic party initiated for his seat Wednesday and be declared seated by the senate's committee on credentials, he will become perhaps the nation's bitterest foe of Negroes by record, carrying on in a more vicious manner the feeble attempts of the late Ellison D. "Cotton Ed" Smith at haranguing the race, on whose backs he has ridden for a number of years.

Senate Sub Unit Okays Mollison's Appointment

Chicago Defender 1-20-45

WASHINGTON (ANP)—A Senate Judiciary subcommittee last Thursday approved the nomination of Irvin C. Mollison, an attorney of Chicago, to be a judge of the United States Court in New York.

The judgeship, a lifetime appointment, pays $10,000 a year.

Powell Calls Rep. Rankin Leader of US Fascism

People's Voice N.Y.,N.Y. 1-13-45

Sharply scoring leading Negro-baiter John Rankin of Mississippi for stating in an Associated Press release carried in the Herald Tribune on Sunday that he would not sit by Congressman Powell in the House or anywhere else, and that, further, in his opinion, sending Powell to Congress was the worst thing that could happen to members of his race, Congressman Powell issued the following statement Monday: 1-13-45

"As far as Democracy is concerned, Rankin is a degenerate. He is the leader of American fascism. His presence in the House of Representatives is the most serious obstacle to America's part in winning a People's War or establishing a People's Peace. He does not represent the best of the majority even of his own Congressional District. Out of over 300,000 citizens, not as many are allowed to vote as are members of my church. Two hundred ninety housand black and white Americans are politically disinherited by American fascism in Rankin's own County. 1-13-45

"I am happy that Rankin will not sit by me because that makes it mutual. The only people with whom he is qualified to sit are Hitler and Mussolini. His recent precedent-shadowing move in making the former Dies Committee permanent was typical of the methods used by Hitler in the Reichstag. It is too bad that the Republicans have deserted their party and become followers of a Southern fascist. 1-13-45

"It is good that in this Democracy there should be an opposing party, but that party should always have the moral integrity, even if it is in the minority, to stand on its own program and leadership. The recent C. U. A. should investigate Rankin first, for he and his minority lead America in illiteracy and mass-murder lynching."

IF RANKIN IS NOT AFRAID OF ME, I DARE HIM TO SUGGEST MY NAME FOR MEMBERSHIP IN THE "NEW WITCH HUNT COMMITTEE."

Gets Post On Council On World Affairs

Chicago, Ill. Defender 10-21-45

CLEVELAND.—(ANP)—J. Reuben Sheeler is the first Negro to get a part time appointment to the staff of the Council on World Affairs here. He will work with small groups in a new program aimed at arousing interest in the problems of international affairs. He will be available to study group and civic organizations throughout the city, both as a speaker and discussion leader.

So He Gets Up and Rants for an Hour About 'Dangerous Communists'

P.M. N.Y.C. 1-9-45

By MILTON MURRAY
PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, Jan. 9.—Rep. John E. Rankin (D., Miss.) has served notice on the House of Representatives that he will fight against any attempt to liberalize the "Dies Committee," whose life he saved by a parliamentary trick. 1-9-45

For more than an hour yesterday Rankin halted other deliberations of the House while he ranted about "attempts to stack the Committee" by appointment of liberal members, defended his World War I record of 21 days' service and denied that he is anti-Jew, anti-Negro or anti-labor. 1-9-45

Unless drastic measures are taken by his associates on the Democratic side, Rankin may get Republican help in setting up the Committee the way he wants it—in the pattern established by Martin Dies.

It is possible the Democrats may invoke "caucus rule" to force through their selections for the Committee posts—a rule which would theoretically make the selections binding on Democrats in the House. The six Democratic members are to be picked tomorrow but the three Republicans will not be chosen by the Republican Committee on Committees until Thursday or Friday. 1-9-45

Communist Charge

The nine nominations then go to the House for approval. This approval is usually perfunctory but, with Rankin attempting to dictate the Committee membership, he might achieve an overturn of the Democratic nominations by rallying his poll-tax bloc to join Republicans in voting against them.

Rankin took the floor for his oration on the grounds of "personal privilege" by citing newspaper articles referring to him as "reactionary."

"I have no apologies," he challenged. "These people are attempting to stack the Committee."

Rankin complained most bitterly about a release by the Lawyers Guild, which he branded "one of the most dangerous Communist organizations in the country."

He also complained that the CIO Political Action Committee had spent money supporting his opponent. This, he argued, was one of the important things a Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities should look into.

Rankin was vehement in denying he is anti-Negro, citing the fact he had once shaken hands with an old colored man who had been one of his grandfather's slaves.

"My people were slave owners," he said, "but they didn't enslave the Negro, they lifted him from savagery."

Similarly, he said, he is not anti-Jew because he picks on "Communist Jews" and has been approved by Jews "all over the country." 1-9-45

Somebody Hissed

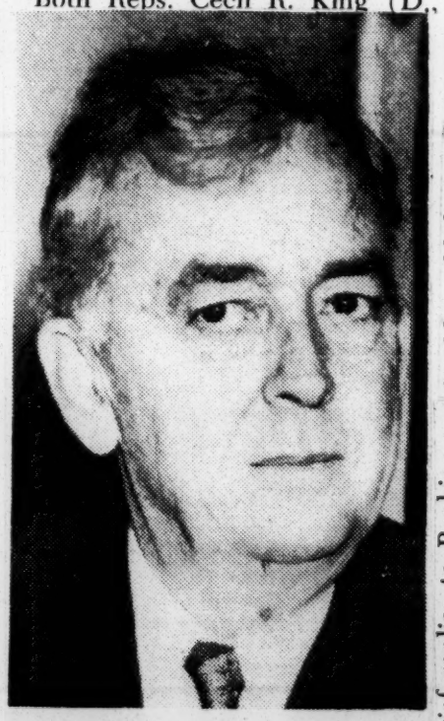
Rankin lumped together Sidney Hillman, head of PAC, Joseph Gaer, author of *The First Round*, a history of PAC, and Martin Popper, secretary of the Lawyers Guild, saying he had done more work his first week in military service than they had done "since they were let out of Russia."

He suggested that Gaer, a former Treasury employe, may have written "that statement by Morgenthau that is costing us lives of our soldiers."

There was a vigorous, solitary hiss. Rankin ruffled his white hair and peered around for his critic.

"Was that a hiss?" he asked. "I dare you to hiss."

Both Reps. Cecil R. King (D., Cal.) and Frank Hook (D., Mich.) made brief replies to Rankin.



Rep. John E. Rankin

King challenged his mention of Robert W. Kenney, president of the Lawyers Guild, saying he had known Kenney as a "responsible and respected" California official.

Hook reminded the House he has introduced a resolution calling for dissolution of the Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities.

"I do not believe Congress should establish a permanent committee to investigate groups and individuals," he said. "That was how the Gestapo started in Germany and I hope it does not start here."

SOAPBOX
In Washington

From the Congressman's desk People's Voice N.Y.N.Y.

POWELL

WHAT HAPPENED IN WASHINGTON this week is unbelievable. It would seem impossible that in the midst of democracy's most trying hour that the forces of domestic fascism could so easily triumph. The reestablishment of the Dies Committee is one of the most serious blows to winning the war and winning the peace that could be dealt during the entire session of the 79th Congress. What was formerly a temporary committee will now become a permanent standing committee.. It will have all the power of the former Dies Committee plus the right to introduce legislation. In order to press through this vicious legislation the unholy alliance of reactionary Republicans and southern Democrats came together again. 1-13-45

A complete disregard of precedent and rules was utilized. The leadership of Congress and of the Democratic party was ignored. Never before in 150 years on the opening day of Congress has new legislation been introduced. Out of it emerges one fact—John Rankin of Mississippi is the boss of Congress. McCormick of Massachusetts is the titular majority leader and Martin the Republican. The combination of Republicans and Democrats makes Rankin the majority leader, Joe Martin the assistant and McCormick the minority leader. People's Voice

More important than Rankin's vilification of Negroes and Jews is his leadership of American fascism. During the last session of Congress it was he who led or played a major role n the defeat of the soldier vote bill, overriding two presidential vetoes, probing the Montgomery Ward seizure, terminating executive order agencies including the FEPC. deteating travel pay for war workers, defeating jobless benefits for federal workers and freezing the social security taxes. He is still in the saddle dispite the fact that many isolationists were defeated in the last election and more Democratic Congressmen elected than in many a year. He is shrewd and clever, and will only be defeated when the people pressure their Congressmen, Republican and Democrat, to stand against him. Freshmen Congressmen, such as myself, do not open their mouths during the first few months. But as he stood to speak, I turned to Marcantonio and said, "If he utters a word against Negroes, Jews or any minority I am going to have to demand to be heard." 1-13-45

Rankin's presentation, however, was strictly parliamentary. He moved to amend the rules of the House. He won. He not only broke all precedent and defied party leadership, he defeated liberalism. But more than that, he defeated the millions of people of this nation who voted for Roosevelt and liberal government. It was a tragic way to begin the 79th Congress. It was more tragic than the news of our increasing defeats in Europe. It meant that even if we win the war, Rankin and company will keep us from winning the peace. People's Voice

Thirty-four Congressmen crossed over from the Republican side and stood with the people. They included Bennett, who defeated Ham Fish, and Claire Luce. We freshman Congressmen were proud of ourselves because 51 out of the 55 voted against Rankin and company. The final vote was 207 to 186. Forty old Congressmen who were reelected were not present. Half of them would have turned the tide. Even though we lost it was the largest vote that liberal Congressmen have amassed in ten years. There will come another test and when it comes it will be up to you, the people, to make sure that your Congressman straightens up and votes right.

John J. Congo Appointed City Building Inspector

St. Louis Argus—Mo.

Building Commissioner A. H. Baum, Monday announced the appointment of John J. Congo as a city building inspector on his staff. The appointment met with much approval by Mayor Aloys P. Kaufmann. 3-2-45

Congo's appointment gives the city an able and efficient building inspector with 35 years' experience as a builder. He is a master carpenter by trade.

Congo was the only colored man in a large field of applicants who took the Civil Service examination for the building inspector post. He attained a percentage rating of 74.76 in the examinations and a place among the leaders on the eligibility list. As a result of that rating his appointment becomes effective March 1. 3-2-45

Inspector Congo is 52 years of age, married, and resides at 3923 Evans avenue. A carpenter and builder by trade, he has been a resident of St. Louis during the last 25 years and for several years has operated as an independent building contractor. He is a Steward of the Scruggs Memorial Methodist Church and a member of Onward Lodge No. 17 of the Masonic Order.

Two Women Get Agriculture Posts

The Afro American Baltimore, Maryland 9-29-45

WASHINGTON

Appointment of Mrs. Lila W Griffin and Miss Lela Y. Smalley as research analysts in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the U.S. Department of Agriculture became effective last week.

Mrs. Griffin, a graduate of Framingham State Teachers' College, and graduate student at Boston University, was transferred from the War Food Administration to her position in BAE.

In the War Food Administration, Mrs. Griffin served as a recreation counselor in the farm labor camp program. Before entering government service, she taught at Bethune-Cookman College and Fisk University, and was a Jeanes supervisor of schools in Florida.

Miss Smalley With FEPC

Miss Smalley, psychology major at Howard University, formerly worked for the FEPC.

In their new positions, Mrs. Griffin and Miss Smalley will make preliminary analyses of interview material received from rural and urban areas to determine attitudes and points of view on programs and policies of the department and other government agencies.

61c-1945

Office Holding

HISTORIC SCENES-2 Congressmen Sit in House for 1st Time Since 1893 (52nd Congress)

The AFRO Magazine Page, January 13, 1945

AFRO-American 1-13-45

William Dawson (D., Ill.), re-elected to serve a second term in Congress, confers with his secretary, Mrs. Christine Hayes, of Chicago.

Mr. Dawson greets Congressman Adam Powell (D., N.Y.), who has just arrived and has taken an adjoining office. They'll be there two years

Congressman Powell poses for AFRO photo in his office. His secretary for fourteen years is Miss Hattie Freeman, also of New York.

Congressman Powell hangs up his hat in the old House Office Building in Washington.

Dawson Escorts Powell To Floor; Sit Together

Hazel Scott Is Present During First Session

Atlanta Daily World 1-4-45

BY HARRY S. McALPIN

WASHINGTON, D. C. The historic 79th Congress of the United States, before a packed gallery which had less than 30 Negro spectators in it, saw two Negroes take the oath of office when Congressmen William L. Dawson (D) of Illinois and Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., (D) of New York were worn in. The oath was taken by the entire body of 374 Congressmen present at the same time.

Powell, newest member of the Congress and the first Negro from the State of New York, was escorted to the Legislative Chambers by Dawson. Their offices are next to each other in the old house office building. The two Negro Congressmen sat together during the preliminary organization of the House during which time Representative Sam Rayburn (D) of Texas was reelected speaker.

MEETS COLLEAGUES

Later, during the session, Powell spent much of his time talking with Representative Vito Marcantonio (ALP) of New York, who will be their colleagues during the 79th Congress.

Rumors that Powell would be seated beside Representative John Rankin (D) of Mississippi, failed to materialize during this first session. Rankin occupied five different seats during the session. No one was assigned to any particular seat. Powell, by choice however, was seated on the Democratic side of the House, though elected on the Democratic, Republican and American Labor Party ticket.

From New York for the swearing in ceremony and to pay their respects to the new Congressmen came Hazel Scott, of movie and night club fame, whose name has been romantically linked with Powell; Joseph B. Ford, Democratic leader of the 12th Assembly District (South); Guy R. Brewer, Democratic leader of the 12th Assembly District (North); Acy Lennon, secretary to Ford; David Lincorice, assistant pastor of the Abyssinian Baptist Church, of which Powell is pastor — and Elizabeth C. Bullock, a Democratic District cap-

Opposition to the measure seemed so strong, however, that Powell made no move on his first day toward carrying out his campaign pledge to answer Rankins whenever the House so as to make the old Dies Committee on un-American activity a regular standard committee of the House with Powell to introduce Legislation.

Mrs. Regina Chandler and Mrs. Venice Spragues.

Powell had an opportunity to make his maiden speech in Congress in answer to Rankin when the Mississippi Congressman made first order of business after organization of the House and other preliminaries were out of the way, ard carrying out his campaign pledge to answer Rankins whenever

MRS. BETHUNE WATCHES

Seen in the galleries were Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, president of the Council of Negro organizations; Mrs. Mamie Mason Higgins, assistant to Mrs. Bethune — a resolu-

he shouted off with his anti-Negro and other reactionary spiels. Rankin's amendment was passed 270 to 186.

LET'S NOT DO IT AGAIN

Los Angeles Tribune Calif. 1-8-45

Few political gains made by the local Negro community are as satisfactory as the realignment of councilmanic districts which has given the Seventh a sufficiently large number of Negro votes to elect a Negro representative. As the district stands now, it takes in the socalled West Jefferson sector, a large Negro residential section between Jefferson and Exposition boulevards, North and South, and between Vermont and Second avenues, East and West. This is in addition to the heavily populated Negro districts on the eastside of town, between Jefferson boulevard and Vermont avenue, North and South, and between Alameda and Main streets, East and West, which were previously a part of the Seventh.

There are several definite advantages to the new alignment of the Seventh insofar as the possibility of electing a Negro councilman is concerned. There is none more important, however, than the type of citizenship contributed to the main stronghold of the Negro's voting forces by the addition of the West Jefferson voters. In their community is to be found a heavier concentration of the solid, serious-minded, intelligent citizenry of the Race, which regards voting as a sacred obligation, than is to be found elsewhere in the city. It had always previously been regretted that such a phalanx of dependable voters had been forced to remain outside the main arena of political contest because of their isolation from the bulk of the Negro population.

Turning from our satisfaction with the potentialities of the Seventh Councilmanic district, it occurs to us that too much cannot be said about the danger of nullifying the gain if the community is not united. An analysis of the Seventh's new complexion shows that some 90 precincts are black as against 107 white. Overcoming the small margin of numerical superiority, there is the fact that the black precincts, due to crowding in the Negro community, are more heavily populated. Add to that the advantage of common and desperate cause and since a contest along racial lines is imminent, by the nature of things, the chances of electing a Negro to a seat on the City Council are excellent.

The chances are excellent, we will append, if there is unity; but only if there is unity. Let there be the slightest division in the ranks and all is lost, for the contenders will be so evenly matched that the margin of victory will be but a wisp. 1-8-45

Apparent though this fact is to anyone acquainted with the foregoing facts, we regret to state that even now there are indications that in our need for unity we will be thwarted. The political grapevine is heavy with the names of the politically ambitious. Rumors fly thick and fast of this one and that one, regarding himself as The Chosen and determined to cast his hat into the ring.

It's the same old story which has ever frustrated the minority. Numbered among it have always been the selfish, the conceited and the vicious, too short-sighted to see the wisdom of merging personal ambitions, when ineffectual, with the greater good. 1-8-45

It will be little short of criminal if we allow this pattern to be repeated and lose out next Spring. A seat on the City Council is to be ours almost for the asking. We must turn our attention immediately to the selection of the proper candidate and must, ruthlessly and determinedly, rule out all but the one agreed upon by the majority. We must tolerate no petty conceit, nor dastardly deception. For once, we must bottle up and render ineffectual those shifty gentlemen whose shady dealings between the opposition to Negro progress and our own indifference has postponed much that was our due.

THE 79TH CONGRESS

Plaindealer Kansas City Kansas

The seventy-ninth session of the United States Congress got under way this week. Although a number of new faces turned up at the opening, indications are that the President will perhaps have more co-operation htan any in four years. This should mean that many startling things will come to pass, especially concerning vital legislation determining the citizenship status and protection of Negroes. Of course, there will be keen opposition to the Fair Employment Practice Bill, the Anti-Poll Tax Bill, the Anti-Lynching Bill and other social and economic measures. . . . But the Roosevelt way is to get things done that he wants. The support given him in the last election by the Negro voters of the land demand his exertion to the fullest extent. 1-12-44

For the first time in the history of the nation, two Negro Democratic members of the House have been seated They are there to protect our interest against the onslaught of the Bilbos, the Rankins and other anti-Negro members who are out to keep the race at the bottom of the ladder. William L. Dawson, of Chicago is holding the spot once held by the firey Oscar DePriest and Arthur Mitchell. Adam Clayton Powell hails from Harlem with his brilliant mind and dynamic personality. Negroes throughout the nation are proud of these black sons and will look to them to do great things.

Negro to contest seating of South Carolina senator

Los Angeles Tribune Calif. 1-8-45

COLUMBUS, S. C.—Osceola E. McKaine, local newspaper editor and runner-up in the recent general election for United States Senator, has announced that he will contest the seating of Olin D. Johnson, former South Carolina governor, on grounds that Johnson spent excessive sums in his campaign.

Negro standard bearer of the Progressive Democratic Party, McKaine said the state chairman, John H. McCray, white, has already filed a statement with the special Senate committee investigating campaign expenditures, asking that it look into the sums allegedly spent by the old line Democratic Party in South Carolina to elect Johnson.

McKaine said the seating of the ex-governor will also be contested on the grounds that thousands were denied the vote in South Carolina. 1-8-45

"We are going to make Johnston's seat so hot that he can't sit in it," McCray said. He emphasized that the contest against Johnson was not being instituted "in any narrow racial spirit but in the interests of all the people of South Carolina."

"McKaine ran second in a field of four candidates," McCray said. "Many of those who voted for him were white people."

Only two Negroes—Blanche K. Bruce and Hiram R. Revels, both of Mississippi—have ever served in the Senate. 1-8-45

A leader in the fight to organize the United Furniture Workers (CIO) in this state, McKaine is associate editor of the Columbia Lighthouse and Informer.

Negro Wins Legislative Seat In W. Va.

Northwest Herald Seattle, Wash. 1-2-45

CHARLESTON, W. Va.—(ANP)—The West Virginia state legislature will have one Negro member, Attorney Fleming A. Jones Jr., when it holds its next session. Attorney Jones, the sole Negro candidate to win a legislative seat, has served five previous terms in the state legislature.

A resident of McDougal county, Attorney Jones ran on the Democratic ticket with Altimont Ganaway, Algoma, W. Va., who was re-elected constable. Both Jones and Ganaway are outstanding Democrats in McDowell county. Attorney Jones will serve in the house of delegates.

Detroit gets two new Negro prosecuting attorneys

Los Angeles Tribune 1-12-45

DETROIT—Two Negro lawyers have been appointed assistant prosecuting attorneys by the newly elected city prosecutor. They are: Elvin L. Davenport and Lebron Simmons.

Voters Expect Action From Two Solons

Big Responsibilities On Shoulders Of Dawson, Powell In New Congress

Pittsburgh Courier 1-27-45

Pittsburgh, Pa.

STAFF CORRESPONDENT

WASHINGTON—What about Dawson and Powell? As these two men took the oath of office in the National House last week—the first two Negroes to occupy seats at the same time since 1889-91 when three gentlemen of the race held forth in the 51st Congress—oldsters and youngsters pondered this question.

In the new line of Negroes in U. S. Congress, starting with the 72nd Congress, 1931, they had seen Oscar DePriest come from Illinois as a Republican. The most vocal of the modern group, DePriest often went to bat for the Negro. A veteran politician and in his early 70's, DePriest later was elected a Chicago alderman on the GOP ticket in 1943.

FIRST DEMOCRAT

Arthur W. Mitchell was the first Negro Democrat to sit in the National House. He defeated DePriest, holding the Congressional post from 1935-41 before retiring. Probably the most misunderstood during his political career, he set a goal for other men to reach for . . . Mitchell is the man who dared uphold Hugo Black, former Klansman, who faced a hectic fight before he was seated on the U. S. Supreme Court bench; he is the man who took jim-crowing railroads to court. He fought for a lynch law, demanded better treatment of Negro citizens and scored the U. S. policy set up for Negro soldiers.

1-27-45

Like DePriest and Mitchell, William L. Dawson, another Democrat, came from Chicago. Now in his second Congressional session, Dawson is more or less a "behind-the-scene" man.. The rugged Bill Dawson withstood terrible tremors of Chicago's political earthquakes before he went to Washington. During his stay in the Nation's Capital, he has put up a strong fight for Negroes in Chicago, and in doing so, believes he is helping every colored person in this country. One of his proposals, which received favorable response, was his plea for issuance of a memorial postage stamp honoring the late scientist, George Washington Carver.

WHAT ABOUT DAWSON?

What about Dawson in the 79th Congress? Will he remain a "behind-the-scene" man? Will he make a notable contribution to the entire Negro race?

For the Chicago Congressman, observers see in this session, a big opportunity for Dawson. They say he can speak out for (1) Better treatment of Negroes in the Armed Services; (2) A responsible position for the Negro in post-war planning; (3) Fuller recognition of the Negro in labor; (4) the end of segregation.

And now, Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., first Negro Congressman from New York. Supported by the Republican, Democratic and American Labor parties, the 36-year-old fireball from Harlem has chosen to sit with the Democrats. Uncontested in the November election, Powell practically walked into Congress.

DIFFERENT APPROACH

In Adam Powell, the Nation expects a different approach. The tall, handsome firebrand has long been recognized as one of the most outspoken champions of race rights. As pastor of Abyssinian

WILLIAM P. DAWSON

1-27-45

Baptist church and editor of The People's Voice, Powell is known throughout the Nation as a brilliant orator who does not believe in "pulling his punches" when speaking on issues concerning racial advancement.

Who is this man Powell? How well is he prepared for his new position? What events are likely to make him the Negro chosen by some destiny to become its man?

Son of Adam Clayton Powell, Sr., pastor-emeritus of Abyssinian Baptist church, young Powell is a product of New York City schools, a graduate of Colgate university and spent a year of study in Paris. Harlem was hungry when young Powell came on the scene as pastor of the largest Negro church in America.

Going farther than his church duties, he led picket lines for jobs and campaigned for most of the things that Harlem now enjoys economically . . . That's why he's called the "man of the people."

His first elective office was Councilman from the Harlem district, New York City The six-footer, 200-pounder already is a man of many accomplishments.

POWELL'S JOB

Congressman Powell's job is to fight for the human dignity of men the same as did his predecessors of another time. He has behind him the active support of an organization which, during the last Presidential election, became

A. CLAYTON POWELL

1-27-45

an important factor . . . a factor to be reckoned with in any future elections. New York is the headquarters of the PAC and the PAC now stretches all over the United States of America.

It is not likely that Congressman Powell will have many more Negroes follow him to Congress unless New York and Chicago send others from districts besides those already represented by Negroes . . . With the PAC becoming active in Philadelphia, and the Philadelphia Negro himself awakening to the unification already established among Negroes in Chicago and New York, there might possibly be a third Negro in Congress during the tenure of Messrs. Dawson and Powell . . . Detroit and Baltimore are other cities that might be heard from. 1-27-45

STUDY CAREERS

Negroes in Congress is a story within itself. In fact, when Dawson and Powell took their seats last week, oldtimers and youngsters called up the records and studied the careers of Negro Congressmen in years gone by.

First Negro to go to the Nation's Capital on the votes of the electorate was Menard of Louisiana, who presented a certificate of election in 1867; argued his case, but was not seated.

Twenty-four Negroes have served in the U. S. Congress and two in the U. S. Senate. Starting the careers of Negroes in Washington were Hiram Rhodes Revels of Mississippi (Senate), and James Hayne Rainey, South Carolina, and Jefferson F. Long, Georgia (Congress) in the 41st Congress, 1869-71.

THEY DID COME BACK

In a line broken only by the 50th Congress, 1887 to 1889, Negroes held Congressional seats from the 41st Congress through the 56th, at which time the outgoing Congressman, George H. White of North Carolina declared: "With my departure from the halls of Congress goes the representation of Negroes, but Phoenix-like, we shall rise again."

In the 51st Congress, 1889-91, John Mercer Langston of Virginia, Thomas Ezekial Miller of South Carolina and Henry Plummer Cheatham of North Carolina, took oath of office. This marked the last time that more than one Negro was to be sworn into office as Congressmen until the historic ceremonies held last week.

Although 24 Negroes have held Congressional seats, few have attempted to originate any type of legislation. During the 42nd and 43rd Congress, 1871 to 1875, the representatives led by Robert Brown Eliott, brilliant South Carolina orator, championed the legislation designed to bring about a national civil rights bill. This legislation was defeated after several bitter Congressional fights. 1-27-45

White was probably the best prepared Negro Congressman during the Reconstruction period. A graduate of Howard university, he served in the State Senate and was a prosecutor for the Second (North Carolina) Judicial District before going to Washington.

George W. Murray of South Carolina was a school teacher and a customs inspector for the port of Charleston. John R. Lynch of Mississippi was another outstanding member of the old line of Negroes in the Nation's Capital.

Many of the early Negroes holding seats in the House were former slaves. In some instances they were better educated than their white colleagues.

A new day is here for the Negro . . . The road to victory already has been paved and it will be extended through the efforts of Negroes in Congress.

"Insults" Rankin; Flees for Life

Afro-American 3-31-45

THOMASVILLE, Ala. — Abraham Harris, prominent local cleaning plant operator, was forced to flee for his life, it has been reported, because of an alleged insulting letter to Congressman John E. Rankin, deploring his biased attitude.

Local residents says Harris wrote the Mississippi solon several weeks ago condemning his conduct towards Congressman Adam C. Powell (D., N.Y.), and Mr. Rankin sent the letter to someone here. 3-31-45

Informed that his attitude could not be tolerated in this section, the report said Harris left the community, admitting writing the letter but denying it was insulting. His nephew continues to operate the plant, and rumors of mob violence were found to be untrue by an interracial committee.

RUNS FOR S. C. HOUSE SEAT

Savannah Tribune 3-29-45

COLUMBIA, S. C. (ANP)—For the first time since reconstruction the probability of having a Negro representative in the South Carolina General assembly appeared Tuesday as Republicans rallied around the candidacy of he veteran politician and business man, I. S. Leevy.

Mr. Levy was unanimously chosen for the post by associates and the choice has created a considerable stir in Democratic ranks. Leevy supporters hope to corral all Republican votes in Richland county where the race is being made for the vacated seat of County Judge Legare Bates, and besides capture a sizeable tally from Democrats.

There is one vacancy at present in each of these positions and the Chief Executive said he would fill the board post as soon as State Superintendent of Public Instruction John Fred Williams recommended that Attorney Dummit appoint woman available."

Dummit said he had had in mind for a considerable time appointment of a Negro lawyer on

Two Negroes On School Board

Louisville, Ky.

Willis Says He'll Appoint

5-7-45

Frankfort, Ky., April 30 (AP)— a qualified Negro as attorney general.

his staff.

The Governor explained he already had named a commission t study needs of the Negro race.

Southern Possibilities

The case of Associate Justice Hugo Black of the Supreme Court of the United States is a good illustration of the possibilities among white men of the South. Speaking in acceptance of the Thomas Jefferson award by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare not so long ago, he said: "It will not be enough to stamp out anti-democratic practices in the lands of our enemies. The conditions which created fascism there must not pass unnoticed here." These and even stronger words in some of his opinions on the Supreme Court from a man from Alabama show Southern possibilities.

Here we have a man who was once a member of the Ku Klux Klan and who was in such favor with his people of Alabama that they elected him successively as police judge, prosecuting attorney, and for two terms as United States Senator from Alabama, where he was serving when appointed to the Supreme Court. This points very clearly to the fact that in many cases it is the system and not the man which largely shapes his life and course. There are many Hugo Blacks in the South who do not put forth their inner sentiments any more than Justice Black did when he was police judge and prosecutor in Birmingham. It is wisdom on our part as Negroes to cultivate these finer and more democratic sentiments, so that, when they get a fair chance, they may assert themselves as Associate Justice Black is now asserting himself.

'We Must Wipe Out Fascist Conditions in America,' Declares Justice Hugo Black

WASHINGTON. — (ANP) — In meeting the test of our democratic faith, declared Supreme Court Associate Justice Hugo Black last week, "it will not be enough to stamp out anti-democratic practices in the lands of our enemies. The conditions which created fascism there," he continued, "must not pass unnoticed here."

He was speaking on the occasion of the presentation to him for the second time of the Thomas Jefferson award by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare at a testimonial dinner in his honor given at the Statler hotel. Some 800 leaders from many walks, among whom were many Negroes, joined in the tribute to the Alabamian.

Continuing his brief acceptance message, Justice Black said that fascism's first "and most dangerous symptom is always the same everywhere—an abandonment of equal justice to all, the placing of some groups in a preferred class of citizenship at the expense of other groups. True democracy must continue the war on all such beliefs."

He recognized that "constant struggle" is necessary for the maintenance of peace and the democratic ideal, and that fascism must be obliterated and destroyed. To accomplish this, he concluded, "there must be an emphatic reassertion of democratic values and a resurgence of democratic faith at home and throughout the world. And there will be."

Speaking on the program was Charles H. Houston, vice-president of the American Council on Race Relations. He characterized the jurist as "A great stabilizing force" in the Negro's struggle for equal rights and democracy in America. Out of his own experience in the handling of cases before the U. S. Supreme court, Houston lauded the record of Justice Black.

"The symbolism of Mr. Justice Black for me," Houston said, "is that as a southerner, he has freed himself from the shackles of the political system which nurtured him, and the dead rot of racial discrimination which has kept the South divided against itself. The greatest compliment I can pay to Mr. Black is to say that he is a southerner who is sufficiently sure of himself and sure of democracy to be willing to give the future its chance."

Sitting on the dais of distinguished guests, which numbered many of Mr. Black's colleagues and members of the cabinet, was for colored work of the National Y.M.C.A.

The Howard University chorus, under the direction of Dean Warner Lawson of the school of music, honored with several musical selections.

Congressman Dawson On Five Committees, Powell On Three

WASHINGTON—(ANP)— Tuesday, when Rep. Doughton of North Carolina finished reading nominations for standing committees in the new house of the 79th Congress, William Dawson of Chicago, had been named on five committees and Adam C. Powell, Jr., of New York, had been named to three with both men serving together only on one committee.

Dawson's assignments are coinage, weights and measures; expenditures in the executive departments; insular affairs; invalid pensions; irrigation and reclamation.

Powell's assignments include: Indian Affairs, invalid pensions and labor. They are serving jointly on invalid pensions. Mr. Dawson's most important appointment is to the insular affairs committee which covers Puerto Rico and Virgin Islands.

Mr. Powell's position on the Indian affairs committee is less important than his assignment to the labor committee, although on the former, he will be in a position to assist the various Indian tribes of New York, especially Long Island who for years have been seeking redress from the government on account of title to lands. Many Long Island Indians have intermarried with Negroes. Strange to say, the first shot at Mr. Powell did not come from his race's arch enemy, John Rankin, it came from Walter E. Brehm of Ohio, who introduced in the Congressional Record on the same day of Powell's election to the three committees in the form of an article by Willard Edwards entitled "Vital Committee Posts in House Go to Pac Men."

"In a closed caucus session marked by heated bickering, house democrats, Monday, gave officials recongition to the invasion of their party by Sidney Hillman's Political Action Committee. Speaking of the strong labor committee, he wrote Chairman of the committee is Rep. Norton of New Jersey, a bloc member. The new members are Rep. Hook of Michigan, Patterson of California; Grelan, Connecticut, Green of Pennsylvania and Powell of New York. The last-named is the new Negro representative whose leftist leanings are well known."

Powell Takes Negroes Into House Restaurant

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) — Shades of Oscar DePriest, first Negro congressman after the Reconstruction days, hung over the Capitol Dome last week. DePriest won national fame for his fight against jimcrow in the house restaurant in the Capitol during his term as congressman from Illinois in the early 30's.

Last week, Rep. Adam Powell, New York's first Negro congressman, took a delegation of 15 Negroes from Indiana into the House restaurant as his guests.

The travesty on democracy still exists at the capitol. Signs are posted at the entrances to the House and Senate restaurants "Members Only" and "Employees and Press Only". The "press" referred to means members of the Congressional Press Galleries to which no Negroes have yet been accredited. The intent of the signs is enforced only against Negroes. The white public eats in the restaurants regularly, unaccompanied by members of Congress.

The discrimination against Negroes is relaxed, however, when they are accompanied by a member.

Congressman Powell's Debut

The presence of Congressman Adam Clayton Powell in the new Congress was viewed with considerable apprehension and curious expectation. Knowing him to be a self-confessed radical, but a man of extraordinary ability and one possessed with a keen zest for a good fight, we were pleasantly surprised when he refrained from an attack upon the insufferable Rankin of Mississippi, who, in a letter to a constituent, bemoaned the presence of Congressman Powell in the national legislative body. Powell very wisely heeded the sane counsel of others, who urged the conservation of his energies for more worthwhile effort.

The opportunity for a more statesmanlike display of Powell's marvelous ability as an orator was not long in presenting itself. The May bill, which has been termed the "work or fight measure," came up for debate and enemies of the bill offered an amendment prohibiting racial discrimination in its operation, if and when it should become law. Obviously it was the purpose of this amendment to array Southern Congressmen against the main bill, and it must have come as a distinct surprise to the Republican, sponsor of the amendment, when Congressman Powell made a thrilling speech, which brought rounds of applause from his fellow Democrats, in which he assailed the amendment as a hypocritical gesture involving racial equality.

But neither Congressman Powell, nor his fellow legislator, Congressman Dawson, was fooled by the trick, and following Powell's effective denunciation of the amendment, the two Negro representatives voted with their party to kill it. Mr. Powell explained that the bill, which was later passed by the House, should stand or fall on its own merit without any superficial involvement of the racial issue. The fact that a permanent and effective FEPC will quite adequately protect the rights of Negro citizens was probably in the mind of Congressman Powell when he took this forthright position.

The Louisville Courier-Journal editorially paid a very high tribute to Mr. Powell, calling his broad stand an extraordinary fine display of commendable statesmanship. Thus we add our humble voice to those who feel proud of our new Congressman from New York.

61c-1945

Office Holing

Big Responsibilities On Shoulders Of Dawson, Powell In New Congress

Pittsburgh Courier p2.

STAFF CORRESPONDENT

WASHINGTON—What about Dawson and Powell? As these two men took the oath of office in the National House last week—the first two Negroes to occupy seats at the same time since 1889-91 when three gentlemen of the race held forth in the 51st Congress—oldsters and youngsters pondered this question.

In the new line of Negroes in U. S. Congress, starting with the 72nd Congress, 1931, they had seen Oscar DePriest come from Illinois as a Republican. The most vocal of the modern group, DePriest often went to bat for the Negro. A veteran politician and in his early 70's, DePriest later was elected a Chicago alderman on the GOP ticket in 1943. 1-13-45

FIRST DEMOCRAT

Arthur W. Mitchell was the first Negro Democrat to sit in the National House. He defeated DePriest, holding the Congressional post from 1935-41 before retiring. Probably the most misunderstood during his political career, he set a goal for other men to reach for . . . Mitchell is the man who dared uphold Hugo Black, former Klansman, who faced a hectic fight before he was seated on the U. S. Supreme Court bench; he is the man who took jim-crowing railroads to court. He fought for a lynch law, demanded better treatment of Negro citizens and scored the U. S. policy set up for Negro soldiers. 1-13-45

Like DePriest and Mitchell, William L. Dawson, another Democrat, came from Chicago. Now in his second Congressional session, Dawson is more or less a "behind-the-scene" man.. The rugged Bill Dawson withstood terrible tremors of Chicago's political earthquakes before he went to Washington. During his stay in the Nation's Capital, he has put up a strong fight for Negroes in Chicago, and in doing so, believes he is helping every colored person in this country. One of his proposals, which received favorable response, was his plea for issuance of a memorial postage stamp honoring the late scientist, George Washington Carver. 1-13-45

WHAT ABOUT DAWSON?

What about Dawson in the 79th Congress? Will he remain a "behind-the-scene" man? Will he make a notable contribution to the entire Negro race?

For the Chicago Congressman, observers see in this session, a big opportunity for Dawson. They say he can speak out for (1) Better treatment of Negroes in the Armed Services; (2) A responsible position for the Negro in post-war planning; (3) Fuller recognition of the Negro in labor; (4) the end of segregation.

And now, Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., first Negro Congressman from New York. Supported by the Republican, Democratic and American Labor parties, the 36-year-old fireball from Harlem has chosen to sit with the Democrats. Uncontested in the November election, Powell practically walked into Congress.

DIFFERENT APPROACH

WILLIAM P. DAWSON

A. CLAYTON POWELL

In Adam Powell, the Nation expects a different approach. The tall, handsome firebrand has long been recognized as one of the most outspoken champions of race rights. As pastor of Abyssinian Baptist church and editor of The People's Voice, Powell is known throughout the Nation as a brilliant orator who does not believe in "pulling his punches" when speaking on issues concerning racial advancement. 1-13-45

Who is this man Powell? How well is he prepared for his new position? What events are likely to make him the Negro chosen by some destiny to become its man?

Son of Adam Clayton Powell, Sr., pastor-emeritus of Abyssinian Baptist church, young Powell is a product of New York City schools, a graduate of Colgate university and spent a year of study in Paris. Harlem was hungry when young Powell came on the scene as pastor of the largest Negro church in America.

Going farther than his church duties, he led picket lines for jobs and campaigned for most of the things that Harlem now enjoys economically . . . That's why he's called the "man of the people." His first elective office was Councilman from the Harlem district, New York City. The six-footer, 200-pounder already is a man of many accomplishments.

POWELL'S JOB 1-13-45

Congressman Powell's job is to fight for the human dignity of men the same as did his predecessors of another time. He has behind him the active support of an organization which, during the last Presidential election, became an important factor . . . a factor to be reckoned with in any future elections. New York is the headquarters of the PAC and the PAC now stretches all over the United States of America.

It is not likely that Congressman Powell will have many more Negroes follow him to Congress unless New York and Chicago send others from districts besides those already represented by Negroes . . . With the PAC becoming active in Philadelphia, and the Philadelphia Negro himself awakening to the unification already established among Negroes in Chicago and New York, there might possibly be a third Negro in Congress during the tenure of Messrs. Dawson and Powell . . . Detroit and Baltimore are other cities that might be heard from. 1-13-45

STUDY CAREERS

Negroes in Congress is a story within itself. In fact, when Dawson and Powell took their seats last week, oldtimers and youngsters called up the records and studied the careers of Negro Congressmen in years gone by.

First Negro to go to the Nation's Capital on the votes of the electorate was Menard of Louisiana, who presented a certificate of election in 1867; argued his case, but was not seated.

Twenty-four Negroes have served in the U. S. Congress and two in the U. S. Senate. Starting the careers of Negroes in Washington were Hiram Rhodes Revels of Mississippi (Senate), and James Hayne Rainey, South Carolina, and Jefferson F. Long, Georgia (Congress) in the 41st Congress, 1869-71.

THEY DID COME BACK

In a line broken only by the 50th Congress, 1887 to 1889, Negroes held Congressional seats from the 41st Congress through the 56th, at which time the outgoing Congressman, George H. White of North Carolina declared: "With my departure from the halls of Congress goes the representation of Negroes, but Phoenix-like, we shall rise again." 1-13-45

In the 51st Congress, 1889-91, John Mercer Langston of Virginia, Thomas Ezekial Miller of South Carolina and Henry Plummer Cheatham of North Carolina, took oath of office. This marked the last time that more than one Negro was to be sworn into office as Congressmen until the historic ceremonies held last week.

Although 24 Negroes have held Congressional seats, few have attempted to originate any type of legislation. During the 42nd and 43rd Congress, 1871 to 1875, the representatives led by Robert Brown Eliott, brilliant South Carolina orator, championed the legislation designed to bring about a national civil rights bill. This legislation was defeated after several bitter Congressional fights.

White was probably the best prepared Negro Congressman during the Reconstruction period. A graduate of Howard university, he served in the State Senate and was a prosecutor for the Second (North Carolina) Judicial District before going to Washington.

George W. Murray of South Carolina was a school teacher and a customs inspector for the port of Charleston. John R. Lynch of Mississippi was another outstanding member of the old line of Negroes in the Nation's Capital. 1-13-45

Many of the early Negroes holding seats in the House were former slaves. In some instances they were better educated than their white colleagues.

A new day is here for the Negro . . . The road to victory already has been paved and it will be extended through the efforts of Negroes in Congress.

NEGRO REPRESENTATIVE ATTACKS RANKIN, COX

Commercial Appeal

Condemns Southerners For 'Dictatorial Rule'

Memphis, Tenn.

From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Feb. 21.—The South is on its way to full place in the life of the Nation and in the life of the world and the negro must stand ready to co-operate with all groups aiming at a better society, Representative Powell (D., N. Y.), one of two negro congressmen, declared in a speech before the Howard University student body Tuesday night. 2-22-45

Representative Powell, a preacher before he entered politics, used the occasion to slap at Representative Rankin (D., Miss.) and Representative Cox (D., Ga.) for what he called their "dictatorial rule."

"The most noteworthy event in contemporary political history was the revolt of the vast majority of the Southern congressmen against the dictatorial rule of Rankin, Cox and Co.," Representative Powell declared. "It is interesting to note that only 16 remained with the former solid South in last week's test on the George Bill. Eighty congressmen came out from under the antiDemocratic, unAmerican influence of their outmoded leadership." 2-22-45

The negro representative said there "is rising in the South a new white man who is breaking from the rut of blind hatred for the negro. This new white man can be found not only in the fields, farms and mines, but also in the privileged, educated and professional groups."

Cited as typical of these new "white men" were Senator Hill (D., Ala.), Governor Arnall of Georgia; Mark Ethridge, Louisville; Virginius Dabney, Richmond; Homer Rainey, Texas University, and Chancellor Frank Graham of North Carolina University.

"There is no such thing left as a Solid South, sectionalism is vanishing in America," Representative Powell declared. "The hour has arrived for negro people to no longer condemn their enemies wholesale; nor can their enemies be confined to one section or segment of the population. Hatred will result in poisoning those who hate."

Listen Here, Mr. Editor

They've No Right In Congress

Audubon, N. J.

Editor, The Worker:

Can't something be done to curb those two most notorious bigots, Rankin of the House and Bilbo of the Senate? They should be expelled! They are a stench in decent men's nostrils. Such action would not be a suppression of the right to express an opinion. They do not express an opinion, but a wicked prejudice, a horrible fascist racism. Their actions and irresponsible mouthings are not only divisive, but give outright aid and comfort to our enemies. Even the sovereign State of Mississippi has no right to representatives whose actions hold up the whole country to ridicule and aid our enemies.

I have written to Senator Hawkes of New Jersey to this effect.

Vermont Has First Colored Legislator

AFRO Interviews Rep. William J. Anderson

By A. RITCHIE LOW

JOHNSON, Vt. — While some States are still bickering over whether colored persons should vote, the citizens of the little State of Vermont went to the polls and elected their colored neighbor and friend, William J. Anderson, to the State Legislature. It was all in a day's work. They thought nothing of it.

They didn't elect him because he was colored. They don't do things that way up in our hill country. They thought Anderson would ably represent them; they'd known him for years; he was one of them and a regular fellow.

That's the way democracy works up in Northern New England. Black, brown, white or red, "a man's a man for 'a that."

I wasn't the first to interview him, he laughingly told me, nor did he presume I'd be the last. But Bill Anderson was cordial, candid, ready to talk. I liked his refreshing frankness.

Opponent Was White

One of the first to extend congratulations was our U.S. Senator Warren R. Austin, a fellow Republican. "Your being a member of the House," he told him, "represents a chapter of political and social progress."

It was the first time in the history of Vermont that a colored person had been chosen as town representative. He was elected over a white opponent!

While Bill Anderson's regular business is that of an apple grower, he has found time to take part in community activities. He has been guest speaker at the banquet of the N.Y. Horticultural Society, three times a guest of the Quebec organization, in the latter city speaking both French and English.

He was a friend of Calvin Coolidge and was once, in his younger years, a doorkeeper for President McKinley.

Another unique distinction has come his way. He is the only colored member of a white Masonic Lodge. He is affiliated in Whitehall, N.Y.

Just Another Job

Anderson is modest. He told me, "I just happen to be one of the Vermont House of Representatives chosen by their fellow townsmen. I pay taxes like the rest of you and this, serving as legislator, is just another job.

"I'm getting along just dandy," he added. "I've been here, there, everywhere talking. Never did more of it in my life. I've been to the Congregational Church, to the Kiwanis Club, the Rotary Club and am booked up weeks ahead.

"When my wife was here for Ladies' Week the Andersons had more dinner engagements than we could accept. Vermonters are tops."

Father Was Slave

Anderson is a native Vermonter, one of 300 colored in the Green Mountains. He was born in Shoreham, February 14, 1876. His father, who was a slave, was born in King and Queen County, Va. His mother was born in St. Thomas, Quebec, Canada.

His dad came here with Col. Charles Hunsdon following the Civil War. His mother came to Northern New England with her parents about the same time.

Mrs. Anderson, a native of Washingtonian, and the new legislator have one son.

Anderson has been fortunate in living in a part of the nation that accepts a person because of his personal worth. Vermont gives a man an even break.

I asked him how race relations could be improved throughout the nation.

Less Talk, More Action

In his opinion we all need to stop talking and begin acting. There is no color problem, as he sees it. What we have on our hands in the United States is really a white problem!

"For over twenty years," Anderson said, "my associates were white professors and other white people who had had more educational advantages than I. We were accepted and we belonged.

REP. ANDERSON

"For twenty-five years our family were members of the community and Northfield schools in Northfield, Mass. I did the day's work then and I hope I am still doing it.

When to Part Company

"I am willing to go along with a white man so long as he is right. When he goes wrong, we part company. And when he is wrong I don't hesitate to tell him where to get off."

I asked him how he thought colored people would get along if they moved to Vermont from the South. Could they stand the climate? The weather of 35 degrees below zero?

Representative Anderson said that if they had adequate clothing and provided themselves enough fuel, they would fare as well as the rest of the population.

As to whether they would get along here, he wouldn't commit himself too much. He was certain that they would not feel at home in Vermont until they had established themselves.

"Vermonters are pretty damn conservative," he reminded me. Once they established themselves, however, they'd be sitting pretty.

Liked Children's Project

Since I headed up the Vermont plan to increase friendly race relations by bringing about eighty colored children up to our hills last summer, I asked Anderson what he thought of the project. He like it. It appealed to him.

It pleased him to know that this summer we expect to entertain 125 children. "There's nothing like getting together to break down barriers," he said, "and I wish you success in what you're trying to do."

PASSAIC, N. J.
HERALD-NEWS
Circ. D. 40,948

JUN 13 1945

Case Batters At Rankin's Intolerance

Rahway Republican Makes Reply To Mississippi Democrat

By Newman Wright
Washington Correspondent
Of The Herald-News

WASHINGTON — Young Clifford P. Case of Rahway picked a formidable target yesterday for his first oratorical spot in the House of Representatives, and his New Jersey colleagues agreed that he acquitted himself well.

Rep. Case, serving his first term as Republican Representative of New Jersey's Sixth District, made Rep. John E. Rankin, the Mississippi firebrand, the object of his maiden speech on the floor of the House.

He took Rankin to task for having inferred, in a speech made the previous day, that the Supreme Court had not the proper respect for the Constitution. Rankin spoke at that time in protest against a measure. Later passed by the House, eliminating payment of the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting for Federal officials. The Mississippian mentioned Communism in that speech, and went on to say that about 90 per cent. of the war casualties in his State, which has a huge Negro population, were white gentiles.

"I am native born, white, a gentile—a Protestant, Rep. Case said yesterday. "That I am these things entitles me to no special status or distinction. Indeed, I had no choice as to any of them, except the last. But because I am these things, and thus a member of the comfortable majority in this Country, I find myself under compelling obligation to express my disagreement with certain remarks made yesterday by Mr. Rankin."

Rep. Case said he was convinced that at least one Supreme Court Justice, Felix Frankfurter, was not a Communist, had no sympathy with the Communist philosophy, and was "utterly devoted to our American democratic system and the great principles of liberty, equality and justice under law."

"His devotion, I suggest," Rep. Case added "is but the deeper because he springs from a race which has known little but persecution since its history has been recorded; because, alien born. He does not regard the great blessing of American citizenship so casually as his natural right, as do many of us to whom it has come by birth. . . . I am satisfied . . . that our American system . . . will come to no evil at his hands."

Rep. Case said Rep. Rankin's figures on war casualties in Mississippi might be attributable to the fact that "because of poverty and lack of equal educational and economic opportunity for generations, the percentage of Negro draft rejections on medical and mental grounds is far above the average for other groups."

To some extent, he said, they may have been given non-combat service of one kind or another more often than most other groups.

"Obviously," he said, "both of these factors have been quite beyond the control of the Negroes themselves. I am sure the records of this war will indicate fully the heroism of the Negro combat soldier.

"I suppose there are not many Jews in the State of Mississippi, but I am convinced that their casualties are in proportion to their numbers, as they are over the Country as a whole. No group in this Country has a monopoly on patriotism."

Rep. Case concluded by declaring he had spoken because ". . . I could not, by remaining silent, permit any inference that I acquiesced in the sentiments to which I have taken exception. And more important by far, because of my deep conviction that whenever we of the majority in this Country permit such sentiments to go unchallenged, not only are we guilty of a wrong to the minority groups concerned, but we risk the greater danger of brutalizing ourselves."

Native made secretary of Dutch embassy

Los Angeles Tribune
2-19-45

WASHINGTON, D. C. — The appointment of Prince Mohammed Moesa Soeria Nata Djoemena as first secretary of the Netherlands Embassy in Washington was announced last week.

Prince Moesa has been serving as second secretary of the embassy in Washington since 1941, on loan from the Netherlands Indies civil service. He has now resigned his civil service post to enter the diplomatic service of the Netherlands. He was one of the Netherlands delegates to the Institute of Pacific Relations conference at Hot Springs, Va., this month. 2-19-45

His wife and three children are still in Japanese-occupied Java. He was born in Garoet, West Java, in 1908; studied law at Batavia and later entered the Netherlands Indies civil service. From 1937 to 1941, he was stationed in Jidda, Arabia, where he served in the capacity of vice-counsul and cared for the interests of the numerous Indonesian pilgrims to the Moslem holy places in Arabia.

NEW YORK, N. Y.
SUN
Circ. D. 277,172

SEP 1 - 1945

Negro Appointed To Caribbean Board

Washington, Sept. 1 (A. P.).—Ralph Bunche, Detroit Negro was appointed by President Truman today as a member of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission. He succeeds Coert du Bois, resigned.

Bunche has been with the State Department since January, 1944, his present position being associate chief of the Division of Dependent Area Affairs. He studied at the University of California and at Harvard, and did graduate work at Northwestern University, the London School of Economics, and the University of Capetown, South Africa.

President Names Bunche To Caribbean Commission

Chicago Defender Chicago, Ill.
9-8-45

By VENICE T. SPRAGGS

(Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON— Dr. Ralph Bunche has been appointed United States Commissioner of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission, President Harry S. Truman announced this week.

Now serving in the State Department as acting chief of the division of dependent area affairs, Dr. Bunche will continue in this position. The responsibilities of his new office will be added to all of the present responsibilities of his State Department post.

The appointment marks the first major post to be given a Negro under the Truman administration. Moreover it puts to an end speculations that Secretary of State James Byrres might in his reorganization seek to shift Bunche to Liberia as United States minister. 9-8-45

The Anglo-American Caribbean Commission is comprised of two sections, the United States and the British. Dr. Charles Taussig is chairman of the United States section, and Sir John McPherson of the British. Together they serve as co-chairmen of the commission.

Effective Board

Both sections are each administered by a three-man commission

In addition to Dr. Taussig, other commissioners attached to the United States section are Rex Tugwell, governor of Porta Rico, and the new appointee, Dr. Bunche.

The commission has served as an effective means of promoting the well being of the people throughout the Caribbean region.

Dr. Bunche told the Defender, "I feel very grateful over the appointment. In my present position I have been working very closely with the commission all along. This formalizes my relationship."

As one of the U. S. commissioners, Bunche is vested with power to participate in inter-governmental negotiations with respect to areas in the Caribbean. He will attend all meetings of the commission, and assistance heretofore given on an informal basis will be formalized. Such assistance will have in addition the backing of the strength of his office.

Long Training 9-8-45

The 41-year-old former head of the political science department of Howard university has a lengthy record of training and experience which eminently qualify him for his new post.

He has chalked up a highly creditable record in the State Department where he was appointed in January, 1941 because of his superior qualifications in the field of international affairs with respect to dependent areas, a field in which he has had 15 years experience.

Prior to coming to the State Department, Dr. Bunche was chief of the African section of the Office of Strategic Services.

During the past three years he has served as member of the U. S. delegation to five major international conferences. In 1942 he was a member of the U. S. delegation to the Institute on Pacific Relations which met in Mont-Tremblant, Canada; in 1944 he was adviser to the U. S. delegation to the 26th session of the International Labor Conference at Philadelphia and in the same year served as assistant secretary of the U. S. delegation at the famed Dumbarton Oaks conference. During the present year he has served as a member of the U. S. delegation on Pacific Relations meeting in Hot Springs, Va. His most recent service was as technical expert with the U. S. delegation to the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco. 9-8-45

He holds a masters degree from the University of Southern California, and a doctor of philosophy degree from Harvard university. He has done post-doctoral work in anthropology at the London School of Economics and at the University of Capetown, South Africa. He has made two field trips to Africa and one to the Far East.

Dr. Bunche is married, and is the father of three children, two daughters and a son.

Ralph Bunche Off To London

The Atlanta Post
Atlanta, Georgia 9-22-45

WASHINGTON— (ANP)— Ralph S. Bunche is in London, at the request of Edward R. Stettinius Jr., as the top representative of the United States on the trusteeship sub-committee of the United Nations Organization Preparatory commission, the state department said Friday. Bunche is associate director of the department's division of the dependent areas.

Chief of the division, Benjamin Gerig, has been in London since August as the alternate to Stettinius, the American delegate to the UNO. Because the general work of the commission has since become burdensome, preventing Gerig from serving in the dual capacity, Stettinius asked that Bunche be sent over.

The commission is at work arranging for the convocation of the first meeting of the general assembly of the UNO, presently expected to meet early in December. Bunche, however, may return shortly before this date. His expert knowledge of colonial matters, it was explained, will make him useful and available also to secretary of state Byrnes in connection with discussion of the council of foreign ministers on the Italian peace treaty now under way.

Birmingham News

PRESIDENT TRUMAN has appointed Ralph J. Bunche, former professor of political science at Howard University, as a member of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission. The commission was formed by Great Britain and the United States in 1942 as the result of the exchange of notes between the two governments. 9-7-45

The purpose of the commission is to strengthen social and economic cooperation between the United States and its possessions, and bases in the Caribbean and the United Kingdom and British colonies. It will express itself on matters of labor, agriculture, housing, health, education, social welfare, finance, economics and related subjects. Alabama

W. VA. PROFESSOR NAMED TO HAITIAN POST

9-8-45 Pittsburgh Courier - Pittsburgh Pa.

INSTITUTE, W. Va.—John F. Matheus, head of the Department of Romance Languages at West Virginia State College, has been appointed as supervisor of English-teaching in the Republic of Haiti, with headquarters in Port-au-Prince. Mr. Matheus was appointed by the U. S. Office of Inter-American Affairs, as the concluding phase of the three-year program of the Inter-American Education Foundation.

10-6-45

New Yorker named counsel to Virgin Islands governor

Los Angeles Tribune
10-23-45

NEW YORK—Edward R. Dudley, assistant special counsel for the NAACP, has been appointed as legal counsel to Governor Charles Harwood of the Virgin Islands. Dudley, 34, has been on the NAACP legal staff for two years. He is chief assistant to Thurgood Marshall, head counsel. Prior to that time he was assistant attorney general of the State of New York under John J. Bennett. It is expected that he will take the oath of office sometime the latter part of November.

The post carries a salary of $7,800 a year.

Gets Virgin Island Post

Chicago Defender-Ill

NEW YORK.—Edward R. Dudley, assistant special counsel for the N.A.A.C.P., was appointed October 10 as legal counsel to Governor Charles Harwood of the Virgin Islands. 10-20-45

~~Edward R.~~ Dudley, Colored New York Atty., New Aide To Governor

St. Croix Avis St. Croix Virgin Islands

Was Assistant Chief Council For NAACP

10-16-45

Edward R. Dudley, noted colored attorney in New York, has been appointed by Governor Charles Harwood as his legal aide. The announcement was made by the Governor in St. Thomas yesterday.

Mr. Dudley is at present assistant to the chief counsel of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In making the announcement the Governor revealed that Walter White, Secretary of the NAACP, was reluctant to release Mr. Dudley, who he said, had been doing brilliant work in fightiug racial discrimination in the United States.

Mr. Dudley is a native of Virginia, the son of a school teacher and dentist. He studied law at Howard University and completed at the St. John Law School. He was Assistant District Attorney for New York in 1942. His uncle was the first colored Alderman in New York City.

As legal aide to the Governor salary will be $7,750. He will not be permitted to engage in private practice. His duti s will be to advise tha Chief Executiue and give advice to Federal and local departments. Attorney Bough, who, according to the Organic Act, may be called upon to advise the Governor on any legal question will not be required to render opinions to the administration as in the past, Governor Harwood said. 10-16-45

61c-1945

Ohio Gets 1st Negro Judge

The Chicago Defender

Chicago, Illinois

Perry Jackson Is 5,000-Vote Victor

11-17-45

By GEORGE A. MOORE

CLEVELAND, Ohio — (ANP)— For the first time in the history of Ohio, a Negro, Perry B. Jackson, has been elected municipal judge in Cleveland by popular vote.

In a hotly contested struggle, he whipped Joseph L. Sweeney by tallying a vote of 48,616 in contrast to Sweeney's 43,696.

In 1942 Judge Jackson was appointed to complete the unexpired term of Judge David Moylan who died. Gov. John W. Bricker made the appointment. Previous to this assignment he had been assistant utilities director and formerly an assistant city law director.

Judge Jackson started law practice here in 1922 after graduating magna cum laude from Adelbert college and received his law degree from Western Reserve university. He is a member of Phi Beta Kappa.

Six years later he became a member of the house of representatives in Columbus. Other civic and political positions held by him were: editor of the Call and Post, a member of the city council, trustee of Cuyagoga County Bar Association, and a member of Masons and Knights Templars.

In April, 1942, Judge Jackson gave up his post as secretary to the city's utilities director. He had remained in that post even after the election of Mayor Lausche, a Democrat, although he is the Republic leader in Ward 16. Since this time he has been engaged in the private practice of law.

Notified of his victory Judge Jackson pledged himself to discharge his obligations "so honestly and fairly and impartially as to merit the confidence placed in me.

"I regard this office as a public trust and I am fully cognizant of the great responsibility which ordinarily attends this office," he said. "I also fully appreciate the broader significance of this particular appointment."

Walker Beaten

An upset was the defeat of William O. Walker, editor of the Cleveland Call and Post, who was beaten by Charles V. Carr, the first colored Democrat ever elected to the Cleveland City Council. Carr won by 95 votes.

Walker was a veteran Republican councilman in Ward 17, and his defeat was the most startling in a wave of upsets which unseated six councilmen and gave the Democrats a 19-14 majority.

The defeat of Mr. Walker was attributed to the apathetic campaign waged by Representative George A. Bender's Republican organization. A member of the Racial Amity board, Walker had been a councilman for the past ten years. His victorious opponent, previously twice unsuccessfully sought a councilmanic seat.

A split in Republican ranks in the ward also was responsible for the defeat of Walker, who carried every precinct in the ward but did not pile up a large enough majority to overcome the big totals Carr received in the so-called "policy playing" precincts.

In other councilmanic races, Augustus G. Parker defeated Jean Murrell Capers in Ward 11, and Harold T. Gassaway defeated John H. Morgan in Ward 18. Both Parker and Gassaway were incumbents.

Ted Williams, assistant police prosecutor, was defeated in Ward 12 by Herman H. Finkle, a veteran councilman, by a scant 930 votes. Mr. Finkle has been accustomed to large majorities during his 25 years in the City Council.

Other Ohio Results

Other election returns from Ohio indicated the following:

On an incomplete count, Jesse Locker was running third in the election of a nine-man council in Cincinnati.

In Alliance, the Rev. Mr. Burrus, a candidate for the city council, was defeated.

In Columbus, William Brooks also was defeated for the city council.

In Dayton, Granville W. Reid, running for the Board of Education, was defeated by 1,500 votes.

In Xenia, both Omar K. Ward, a candidate for the School board, and William C. Dungy, a candidate for the City Commission, were defeated.

Normally Republican, Philadelphia elected on the Republican ticket, William A. Byrd, Sr., as a magistrate. A deputy coroner since 1942, he also served in the District Attorney's office in 1940.

Defeated was David H. Edwards, Democrat. A Howard Law school graduate, he is employed in the City Controller's office. He polled 253,352 votes, while Byrd received 323.957.

Ohio

Ohio Elects First Negro To Judgeship

The Atlanta Daily World

Atlanta, Georgia

By GEORGE ANTHONY MOORE

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UTILITIES SECRETARY

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61c-1945

Oklahoma

Black Versus White

The Black Dispatch, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Oklahomans should not get greatly excited because a Chicago Negro, Irvin Mollison, accepted the judicial plum refused by Congressman Jed Johnson. An annual stipend of $10,000 is by no means chicken feed, and since our rich Oklahoma white folk disdained to accept a little petty job, such as the judge of the customs court in New York, a capable son of a black mother, born in the canebrakes of Mississippi, was exalted to the post.

It is interesting to know some of the things that have happened in Oklahoma in connection with elective positions. Governor Trapp, who is today one of the most substantial citizens of the commonwealth, was once defeated by a Negro in Logan county for the position of county clerk. That Negro was N. J. C. Johnson. 11-10-45

Born in Vicksburg, Miss., but unwilling to accept the restraints of his environment, Irvin Mollison went North and became an eminent barrister. He will perhaps make good on the job despite the fact that Bilbo and Rankin would have retained Mollison in jeans pants for the span of his natural life had he chose to "let down his bucket" where he found himself. We have an idea Judge Irvin Mollison will make as good a magistrate as Judge Jed Johnson.

We pass quite often a little Oklahoma town, Perkins, just east of Langston. It is officered completely by white officials, although back in Territorial days the town was originally named for Judge J. N. Perkins, a pioneer Negro justice of the peace, and the first black man to publish a newspaper in Oklahoma Territory. Another one was published earlier at Wagoner, in the Indian Territory, but Judge J. N. Perkins, who brought justice to Guthrie more than half a century ago, has written his name indelibly upon the cornerstone of this state. We are sure that none of the white officials at Perkins are shorter in political stature by reason of relationship a black man has to the town over which they preside.

No one need develope the shivers by reason of Irvin Mollison's elevation to the New York court of customs. Barely will there ever be an Oklahoman who has any business there. On the other hand, while Senator Bilbo is today rated as the mayor of Washington, D. C., his police court judge for many years has been a Negro. For many years a black man has sat in judgment on law violators in the nation's capital, and quite evidently his judicial "smut" has been entirely acceptable.

61c-1945

Pennsylvania

Philly's Newest Magistrate and Family

The Afro American Baltimore, Md.

Philadelphia's new magistrate-elect William A. Byrd Sr. is shown with his family after reading the election returns in the Philadelphia AFRO. Obviously happy about it all are Mr. Byrd, his wife, Elizabeth; William Jr., and the family pet, Lassie. Byrd was formerly employed in the coroner's office and will assume his new $5,000 post in January. He replaces Edward W. Henry. Joseph H. Rainey and Hobson Reynolds are other magistrates.—(Peace Photo.)

11-17-45

61c

Attorney To Speak In Tuskegee, Montgomery

Montgomery, Ala. Advertiser

TUSKEGEE, ALA., Dec. 1.—Homer S. Brown, negro, of Pittsburgh, will begin a series of two lectures in Alabama tonight at 6:30 p.m., in the Tuskegee Institute chapel with the subject, "Citizenship Responsibilities."

Using the same subject, Brown will address students of the Alabama State Teachers College in Montgomery tomorrow night. He is also scheduled to speak in Atlanta Monday.

12-2-45

In addition to the lecture in Tuskegee, Brown will also conduct a series of seminars with members of the Institute's social science department tomorrow before coming here. He is a member of the Pennsylvania state legislature and an attorney.

Designated as the Jay Wilson Carahan lectures, the talks are financed by funds donated by Ella Carahan, of Pittsburgh, in memory of her father.

61c-1945

South

THOMAS L. STOKES

Atlanta, Ga. Constitution

Southern Politicians Get Away With Murder

11-28-45

WASHINGTON.—A clue to the question why President Truman's legislative program is bottled up in congress may be found in an interesting pamphlet that is timely now.

It contains some source material.

As a preliminary, it might be pointed out that the blame for holding up the Truman program can be traced to sonthern conservative members of the President's own party who occupy key positions in congress. They find help among Republicans.

THE PAMPHLET is a published report of a conference of 32 southern newspaper editors and writers some months ago dealing with voting restrictions in 13 southern states.

It is because of these restrictions that elections in the south, including those for members of congress, do not represent a majority of the people of that section. As a result, many southern congressmen—though not all, by any means—do not really represent the views of the people of the south.

Some of these "minority" congressmen hold powerful positions, including chairmanships of committees, thanks to the seniority rule. Among these are some who are blocking the President's program, even though it is safe to say that a majority of the southern people are for it, just as they were for President Roosevelt's program, of which this is just a continuation. But their voice is stifled here through these "minority" representatives. 11-28-45

THE RESTRICTIONS about which the editors reported, with an analysis of how they work, are the commonly known ones, the "white primary" that disfranchises Negroes and the poll tax laws in effect in seven southern states, and a third one not always noted, but potent. This is the arbitrary interpretation of complicated registration laws to exclude great numbers of the population.

This last is a favorite device of southern political machines, often personal machines, which help perpetuate in office some of the "minority" congressmen.

STATISTICS compiled by the writers and newspaper editors show that only 27.9 per cent of potential voters in the area embraced in these 13 southern states participated in the last national election, as compared with 61.9 per cent in the other 35 states. This was an over-all percentage. In South Carolina, the percentage was only 10 per cent; in Mississippi and Alabama, 15; in Georgia, 17. These were offset by higher percentages elsewhere—Oklahoma, for example, with 55 per cent and Kentucky with 54.

This interesting conclusion was suggested as a result of reports from editors, based on their knowledge of the people of their communities: It is the politicians, rather than the pople, who want to keep the restrictions. The politicians don't want a large vote. This is significant and should be more generally recognized.

THE EXPERIENCE related by Bryan Collier, editor of The Ledger, at Columbus, Ga., is revealing:

"I wrote an editorial suggesting that the Negro be admitted to the Georgia primary. I am frank to say I didn't know what would happen. I was pretty sure that my phone would ring all night and I thought I might be ridden out of town. The phone did ring all night, but from that day to this there has not been one single word of protest. 11-28-45

"On the contrary, the most surprising people in the world, knowing Columbus as I know it, called up to say they were so glad the suggestion had been made, that they were not afraid of the Negro in politics in Georgia or in Columbus, but that they were quite sure the whole business of poll tax and limited suffrage in Georgia was purely a matter of political chicanery, that the people we have got in office don't want a big vote."

GEORGIA subsequently repealed her poll tax under the leadership of Gov. Ellis Arnall. But that state and others still have the "white primary."

It looks as though the people, in the south as elsewhere, are ahead of the politicians.

How long are the politicians going to get away with it?

Truman Program Gets Negroes Cautious Okay

The Worker
The Worker New York, New York 9-16-45

Negro commentators and editorial writers have reacted to President Truman's message with cautious approval. It is the general opinion, except in some of the smaller papers, that the Presidential message lacks the verve and drive so characteristic of Roosevelt's addresses.

Almost all comment emphasizes the need for a permanent FEPC, and greets the proposal for such legislation in the message. The militant, pro-labor New York **People's Voice** contrasts the usual fighting tone of Roosevelt to the less emphatic Truman opus, although it points out that the Truman message "reiterates the administration's New Deal policies." The paper calls on its readers to demand vigorous support by Congressmen and Senators for Full Employment, Unemployment Compensation and FEPC Bills. 9-16-45

One or two of the more cautious commentators are worried about the "continuing the war emergency." While they agree with most of the Truman program they see in the continuation of the emergency a threat to democratic progress. Here is reflected the fear of a too strong military which has up to now been none too democratic in its handling of Negro personnel.

"AGE" GOES ALL OUT

The **New York Age**, a traditional Republican paper, goes all-out for the Truman program. In commenting on the section of the message dealing with the FEPC, **The Age** places Truman over all others in the emphasis placed.

In every case where a paper commented there was fear that the poll-tax bloc united with the reactionary Republicans represented the main danger. All agree that the heat will have to be put on Congress. And there are a variety of sources for this "heat" given. The more militant believe that it should come from workers' and people's organization. Others think that it should come from the President and his congressional whips.

It is safe to say, though, that among Negroes the Truman message is seen as containing correct proposals for advancing their economic and social betterment. But there is also the hard-to-down conviction that it is going to take a lot of fighting to get the proposals developed into laws.

Every Citizen Should Have Right To Vote, Says President Truman

The Call Kansas City, Missouri.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA)—While replying to a question concerning voting in the District of Columbia, President Truman last Tuesday told his press and radio news conference that he believes every citizen in the United States should have the right to vote. 11-30-45

Asked to comment on Mr. Truman's statement, Mrs. Katherine Shryver, executive secretary of the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, said she believes the question of suffrage in the District of Columbia and abolition of the poll tax in southern states "are inseparable."

She pointed out that the poll tax directly affects the District of Columbia because the chairman of the Senate District Committee, Senator Theodore G. (The Man) Bilbo, Democrat, of Mississippi, comes from a poll-tax state.

Bilbo has said he is unalterably opposed to suffrage in the District of Columbia because if the people here are given the right to vote, colored people will seize the District government. 11-30-45

Mrs. Shryver said Bilbo's election to the Senate was made possible by the poll tax. "It is inconceivable," she stated, "that any state with a free vote would elect a man like him to the Senate."

Representative Helen Cahagan Douglas, Democrat, of California, said she does not believe the District can get suffrage so long as there is a poll tax in the southern states. 11-30-45

61c-1945 Pres. Truman- Office Holding

Evolution of a New President, I:

Truman Gives Wallace Wider Duties

Upsets Forecasts By Failing to Exile Convention Rival

By JAMES A. WECHSLER
PM's National Editor

WASHINGTON, Apr. 19.—For seven days Harry S. Truman has faced the glare of kleig-lights, sitting for history's picture-book. This capital, watching the evolution of a new President, has followed all his public footsteps and groped for hidden meanings in all his formal pronouncements.

But in this city only a fraction of the business of government is conducted in public places. Back stage glimpses often throw the clearest light on Government officials. So Washington has searched for inside stories about Truman—both before and after FDR's death—that offer clues to the future role of the new executive. These are behind-the-scenes stories that seem prophetic:

Truman And Wallace

Not many hours after FDR's death, conservative correspondents here wrote off Henry Wallace as the lost soul of the Truman Administration. He had been Truman's last-ditch rival at Chicago; the cry of "Wallace in '48" could not have been pretty music to Truman's ears. Wallace would not be fired, the prophets said; he would just be exiled to a small corner of the Commerce Building, deprived of any serious work.

Late yesterday the Office of Surplus Property of the Treasury Procurement Division was transferred to the Department of Commerce by executive order of President Truman. The announcement was made by Director Fred Vinson of the OWM (Office of War Mobilization).

Behind that announcement was this story. The transfer initiated while FDR was still alive; it was in the works at the time of his death. But with Truman's advent officials directing the transfer paused. They put it up to Truman. Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau had approved the action; did Truman want it delayed until he had a chance to study it?

Secretary of Commerce Wallace is shown here with President Truman when Wallace was Vice President and Truman was Senator from Missouri and candidate for Vice President.

He could have stalled, asked for time to consider the proposal, pointed out that his desk was jammed with unfinished business. He didn't. He approved the shift without hesitation.

So one of Harry Truman's first acts was to broaden the functions of the Department run by the man he had defeated at Chicago—the man widely regarded as the leader of the Liberal bloc in the Democratic Party. The long-range relationship between the two men who buried Wallace seem to have spoken prematurely.

Truman And the Machine

The new President has frequently proclaimed his loyalty to the politicians and political machines that paved the way for his rise to high office. With his entry into the White House he did not suddenly bar the door to the politicos. Among his earliest callers were Democratic Chairman Bob Hannegan and Democratic Treasurer Pauley.

With the post of Federal Loan Administrator open, there were strong and well-founded reports that Pauley was being boomed for the post. To many Democrats the proposal made sense; Pauley had given his all in the 1944 campaign and was due for quick reward.

Whether Hannegan and Pauley themselves sponsored the idea is not known to this reporter; but plenty of other people were pushing for it as a demonstration of Truman's "regularity," as an inspiration to other loyal servants of the Democratic Party.

Truman turned aside the suggestion, acting with unexpected speed to name John W. Snyder of St. Louis as Federal Loan Administrator. Some observers attributed his haste to a desire to stop the pressure campaign being waged in Pauley's behalf.

This doesn't mean Pauley may not land some Government post. It is regarded as a sign that Truman, aware of the machine label he bears, may lean over backward to avoid strict patronage appointments in high policy-making positions. And hard-working Bob Hannegan, who knows how people will talk, may be equally reticent to press for favors. One Democratic official put it this way:

"Hannegan might have had more influence if FDR were alive. Roosevelt could accede to Hannegan's wishes in a lot of political matters without causing any raised eyebrows. Now everybody is waiting to see Hannegan's hand in every Truman appointment."

Truman And Reconversion

The fateful issue confronting the U. S. A. as the Axis approaches collapse is the reconstruction of the U. S. economy. On this issue, perhaps more than any other, conservatives will weigh Harry Truman to determine whether he is one of their own or a New Dealer in disguise.

The problem will involve basic decisions in which the interests of powerful monopolies will frequently clash with the welfare of the people. Neither Truman nor anybody else will be able to resolve these controversies without taking a stand.

A tip-off to Truman's attitude on this point is a brief, blunt comment he made to a high Government official here shortly after he became Vice President. They were discussing demobilization legislation—especially the Murray-Kilgore Bill which emphasized the protection of human beings in the reconversion period.

"The only thing that matters in this program," Truman said, "is what provisions we make for taking care of the people. The big corporations will take care of themselves. If I were a Senator, that bill would be called the Murray-Kilgore-Truman bill."

The measure was sidetracked by the Senate; but the issues it raised will face the Truman Administration.

Truman And Negroes

When a correspondent for a Negro newspaper asked Truman where he stood on the creation of a permanent FEPC the President urged his questioner to look at the record. This incident is part of the record.

Early in March a delegation from Michigan came to town to put pressure on Congress in support of a permanent FEPC armed with full enforcement powers. The delegation met jointly with Truman and Senator Joseph Ball (R., Minn.). The meeting was important because Senator Robert A. Taft (R., Ohio) was pushing his own version of anti-discrimination legislation which would have put the whole program on a voluntary basis.

A leader of the delegation first asked Truman to state his position.

"Of course I'm for a permanent FEPC," he responded.

"With enforcement powers?" he was asked.

"Definitely. Otherwise the whole set-up would be meaningless."

Then Truman took over the delegation's work. He turned to Ball and asked:

"Don't you agree, Joe?"

Ball agreed.

No single story proves that Harry Truman's course is fixed, with all imponderables removed. But every story adds an item to the composite picture of the new President moving into action. No reporter in this Capital can do more today than set down the evidence as he finds it, recognizing that a new Administration is slowly emerging and that dogmatic judgments may be refuted overnight.

TRUMAN'S SENATE RECORD BRANDS HIM AS TRUE LIBERAL

Black Dispatch 4-28-45

WASHING, D.C.—When President Harry S. Truman told the Black Dispatch White House representative last week, that so far as minority groups are concerned, he stands upon his congressional record, many Negroes assumed the newly elevated Missourian was dodging an issue. The facts are just the opposite. The president was in actuality calling attention, and exposing to the world, his fine liberal-progressive record, as exposed by his ten-year voting chart in the Congress of the United States.

As the president shook hands with Harry McAlpin, he said "Be sure to look up my record. I'm sure you will be pleased with what you find."

Here's what Harry McAlpin found when he checked Truman's vote in congress from 1935 to 1944: 4-28-45

HARRY S. TRUMAN
33rd PRESIDENT OF U. S.

1. In 1935, Truman voted for the Social Security Act, and for the creation of the Tennessee Vally authority.

2. In 1936, Truman voted against returning administration of relief to the states, which has been a detriment to Negroes in the South.

3. In 1937, Truman voted for the creation of the Civilian Conservation corps which at one time made it possible for Negroes to send one million dollars per month back to their destitute mothers and fathers, and for the Wagner-Steagall, low cost housing bill, from which Negroes have benefitted greatly, and for the Far Labor Standards Act.

4. In 1939, Truman voted for cloture, to stop filibuster against the anti-lynching bill, and for appropriations for WPA. He also voted for a civil liberties bill.

5. In 1942, Truman voted for the Soldiers-Right Bill, which suspended poll-tax payment for members of the armed forces.

6. In 1943, Truman voted fo for cloture to stop filibuster on the anti-poll tax bill. He also voted against the amendment to end the National Youth Administration which gave Negro youth, particularly in the south, their first opportunity for industrial training in skilled occupations. During the same year he voted against an amendment which would have killed the Farm Security Administration, which has meant so much to Negroes and the saml small farmers of America.

7. In 1944, Truman was paire as voting again for cloture to stop filibuster on the anti-poll tax bill, and was paired against the Russell amemdment that would have liquidated the Fair Employment Practice Committee.

Common Man Gets Pledge in Truman's First Speech

AFRO-AMERICAN 4-21-45

Tells Congress He Will Defend Ideals Cherished by F. D.; Asks Help of All Groups

WASHINGTON

In his first message to Congress, Monday, President Harry S. Truman promised the people of America continued all-out prosecution of the war as well as close adherence to the ideals of his predecessor.

Opening his speech with a tribute to the late Franklin D. Roosevelt, he said:

"No man could possibly fill the tremendous void left by the passing of that noble soul. No words can ease the aching heart of untold millions of every race, creed and color.

"The world knows it has lost a heroic champion of justice and freedom.

"So much blood has already been shed for the ideals which we cherish and for which Franklin D. Roosevelt lived and died that we dare not permit even a momentary pause in the hard fight for victory.

"Today the entire world is looking to America for enlighten leadership to peace and progress. Such leadership requires vision, courage and power. It can be provided only by a united nations vided only by a united nation deeply devoted to the highest ideals.."

Then calling upon all Americans for help in keeping the nation united in defense of those ideals, he continued:

Will Not Shirk Duty

"I want, in turn, to assure my fellow Americans and all those that love ueace and liberty ..j- that love peace and liberty throughout the world that I will support and defend those ideals with all my strength and all my heart. That is my duty and I shall not shirk it."

After promising unrelenting prosecution of the world until "no vestage of resistance remains," he warned of the futility of seeking safety behind geographical barrirs, declaring that real security could be found only in law and in justice.

"Here in America," he said, "we have labored long and hard to achieve a social order worthy of our great heritage.

Improvement Promised

"In our time, tremendous progress has been made toward a really democratic way of life. Let me assure the forward looking people of America that there will be no relaxation in our efforts to improve the lot of the common people."

Then calling upon all Americans for aid in the fight ahead, he said, "Even the most experienced pilot cannot bring a ship safely into the harbor unless he has the full co-operation of the crew. For the benefit of all, every individual must do his duty."

Support of All Requested

"I appeal to every American regardless of party, race, creed, or color to support our effort to bring a strong and lasting united nations' organization."

Then, citing the futility of attempting to settle difficulties throughout the world, by war, the President declared, "In the name of human decency and civilization, a more rational method of deciding national differences must be and will be found.

He concluded with a prayer for divine guidance and aid

Truman's race views set forth

Los Angeles Tribune 4-30-45

WASHINGTON—What President Harry S. Truman resented more than anything else during the last presidential campaign were the attempts to link him with the Missouri Ku Klux Klan, his supporters claimed here this week in reviewing the attitude of the new chief executive on minority races.

With a record of favoring anti-lynching bill cloture in 1938; the Civil Liberties Bill of the same year; the Soldier Vote bill, and of voting against liquidating the Fair Employment Practices committee in 1944, President Truman is quoted as saying publicly that racial prejudice imperils all the classes and races which might ever find themselves in the minority.

The following is said to be an actual quote of his opinion on the matter:

"I believe in the brotherhood of man; not merely the brotherhood of white men, but the brotherhood of all men before law. I believe in the constitution. In giving to the Negroes the rights that are theirs, we are only acting in accord with our ideals of a true democracy. 4-30-45

"If any class or race can be permanently set apart from, or pushed down below the rest, in political and civil rights, so may any other class or race when it shall incur the displeasure of its more powerful associates, and we may say farewell to the principles on which we count for our safety."

President Truman In Address To Congress Urges Unified Support Of All Races, Creeds And Colors

New York Age 4-25-45

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Solemn, but confident, President Harry S. Truman rallied Congress and the United States Monday to carry on to total victory in the war and to the achievements of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's ideals of world peace and social progress. 4-21-45

Making his first appearance before a joint session of Congress, the new Chief Executive, received a thrilling ovation as he called on America to move forward on the path charted by his beloved and recently buried predecessor.

Calling on all Americans, of every party, race, creed or color, to "support our efforts to build a strong and lasting United Nations organization," President Truman urged unity of all the peoples of the United States to go forward to victory.

"No m[illegible]" he said, "could possibly fill the void left by the [p]assing of that noble soul. No words can ease the aching [h]earts of untold millions of every race, creed and color.

"Tragic fate has thrust upon us grave responsibilities. [W]e must carry on. Our departed leader never looked backward. He looked forward and moved forward. That is what America will do."

Pledging to follow the course charted by his predecessor, President Truman said, "I call upon all Americans to help me keep our nation united in defense of those ideals which have been so eloquently proclaimed by Farnklin Roosevelt. I want in turn to assure my fellow Americans and all of those who love peace and liberty throughout the world that I will support and defend those ideals with all my strength and with all my heart. That is my duty and I shall not shirk it."

Turning to the war, the President pledged that "our demand has been, and it remains, unconditional surrender! . . . Real security will be found only in law and in justice.

"Here in America," he said, "we have labored long and hard to achieve a social order worthy of our great heritage. In our time, tremendous progress has been made toward a really democratic way of life. Let me assure the forward-looking people of America that there will be no relaxation in our efforts to improve the lot of the common people."

"Our forefathers," the Chief Executive said, "came to our rugged shores in search of religious tolerance, political freedom and economic opportunity. For those fundamental rights they risked their lives. We well know today that such rights can be preserved only by constant vigilance, the eternal price of liberty!"

4-21-45

Pleading for the united support of all the peoples of the country, President Truman said that "even the most experienced pilot cannot bring a ship safely into harbor unless he has the full cooperation of the crew. For the benefit of all, every individual must do his duty.

"I appeal to every American, regardless of party, race, creed or color, to support our efforts to build a strong and lasting United Nations organization.

"You, the members of Congress, surely know how I feel. Only with your help can I hope to complete one of the greatest tasks ever assigned to a public servant. With Divine guidance and your help, we will find the new passage to a far better world, a kindly and friendly world, with just and lasting peace."

The President's concluding words were: "At this moment, I have in my heart a prayer. As I assume my heavy duties, I humbly pray to Almighty God, in the words of Solomon:

"'Give therefore Thy servant an understanding heart to judge Thy people, that I may discern between good and bad: for who is able to judge this Thy so great a people?'

"I ask only to be a good and faithful servant of my Lord and my people."

Truman Cites Record on Race

AFRO-American 4-28-45

"You'll Be Pleased," NNPA Writer Told

RECORD SCANNED

Shows He Backed All Progressive Policies

By HARRY McALPIN

WASHINGTON (NNPA) — President Harry S. Truman told the world Tuesday that he stands on his Congressional record as an indication of his attitude toward the colored American and specific problems affecting America's largest minority group

His voting record is a complete endorsement of all the progressive Roosevelt policies directly and indirectly affecting the welfare of colored citizens.

He was answering this correspondent's question concerning FEPC, antilynching and anti-poll tax bills at his first news and radio conference since assuming the duties of President of the United States. 4-28-45

As the conference ended, he shook hands wtih me and said he was sure that by looking up his record I would find how he stood and that I would be pleased with what I found.

Here is his record as a Senator from Missouri:

In 1935, he voted for the Wagner Labor Act, the Social Security Act, and for the creation of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

In 1936, he voted against returning the administration of relief to the States, which would have been a detriment to colored citizens in the South. 4-28-45

In 1937, he voted for creation of the Civilian Conservation Corps, for the Wagner-Steagall Low-cost Housing Bill, from which colored people have benefited so greatly, and for the Fair Labor Standards Act.

In 1939, he voted for cloture to stop the filibuster against the antilynching bill, and for the appropriations for WPA. In 1939, he also voted for a Civil Liberties Bill. 4-28-45

Voted for Cloture on Poll Tax Bill

In 1942, he voted for the Soldier-Vote Bill which suspended poll tax payments for members of the armed forces, and voted for cloture to stop a filibuster on the Anti-Poll Tax Bill.

In 1943, he voted against the amendement to end the National Youth Administration, which gave colored youth, particularly in the South, their first chance for industrial training in skilled occupations. During the same year, he voted against an admendment which would have killed the Farm Security Administration, which has been the small farmers' protection.

In 1944, he was paired as voting again for cloture to stop a filibuster on the Anti-Poll Tax Bill, and was paired against the Russell Amendment that would have liquidated the Fair Employment Practice Committee.

YAKIMA, WASH.
REPUBLIC
Cir. D. 8,061
JUN 7-1945

President Truman will not find an easy job his attempt to force from the house rules committee the bill giving Negroes equality in employment status, and he probably knows it. The issue has been in the forefront at the national capital for several years and it served to give the late President Roosevelt the backing of large elements of the nation's Negro population. But the congressmen representing the southern oligarchy have opposed the bill consistently. Really the issue has been political because it drew votes to the Democratic party without endangering the political fortunes of the southern congressmen. But after a number of years the Negroes still lack equal economic status with white workers. And they will as long as they continue the Democratic party in power. Electing the president is not enough.

NEW YORK, N. Y.
WORLD-TELEGRAM
Cir. D. 389,257 - Sat. 304,015

JUN 7 - 1945

Act of Courage

WASHINGTON, June 7.—Nothing President Truman has done has stirred so much fuss within his party, or in Congress, as his forthright advocacy of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Act to keep down discrimination in industry on the basis of race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry.

It took political courage.

It was an open challenge to the Southern wing of his party, still powerful in Congress—a challenge immediately accepted by the Southerners. The Southern Democratic bloc not only has fought federal antidiscrimination legislation, but also has led the movement to kill off the wartime Federal Employment Practices Committee, created by executive order of the late President Roosevelt, by depriving it of funds. The FEPC was left without funds in the War Agencies Appropriation Bill now pending.

The President's demand for a federal FEPC act was his second challenge to the Southern conservative branch of the party within a few days. The first was his request for a federal unemployment compensation law for reconversion to supplement inadequate benefits of state laws. This is being resisted again, as it was last year, by conservatives, both Southerners and Republicans.

* * *

It begins to look as though the orange blossoms and magnolias which symbolize the honeymoon of the new President and his Southern political leaders are about to wither. At the same time Mr. Truman has solidified himself with the New Deal wing of the party by his championship of minority rights, and undoubtedly has strengthened his position with minorities which are potent politically in big urban centers of the East and Midwest.

Political effects of Presidential acts are always analyzed and weighed here. But is must be remembered that the President is making no new departure. He was a champion of FEPC when he was in the Senate. He has carried his convictions with him to the White House.

The President went directly to the issue. Not only did he call attention to failure of the House Appropriations Committee to provide funds for the current FEPC, but he revealed that the bill to create a permanent five-member Federal Employment Practices Commission was being bottled up by the House Rules Committee.

He thus disclosed the blockading tactics of the Southerners on that powerful committee, which has had the bill since February, as well as the lip service by many Republicans, though their party platform advocated a permanent commission.

* * *

Besides challenging the Republicans, his plea for a permanent law also is a challenge to Southern liberals outside Congress. They have followed the general theory that the way to improve racial relations in the South is to raise the status of the Negro—and the white—by better paid jobs.

This law would apply only to industry in interstate commerce and to labor unions in interstate commerce and to workers employed by those with government contracts. Its object is to protect Negroes, as well as other racial groups, in their right to jobs and thus the right to better wages. It has nothing to do with social equality, Jim Crow laws, housing, education, voting privileges, or with domestic servants or help on small farms. It only affects employers of six or more persons.

The primary purpose of the proposed commission is mandiatory, to remove discrimination if possible by the conference method. If such is not possible, it may issue cease and desist orders which, however, are enforceable only by a court order, and thus subject to judicial review, like orders of other federal commissions.

The present FEPC is entirely advisory. It has no powers of enforcement. It may cite cases to the President for his action through regular government agencies. Thus far only one case has been cited, the Southern Railway firemen's case.

FEPC is a wartime agency, with jurisdiction only in cases involving government contracts, directly or indirectly. It loses its jurisdiction immediately when plants become reconverted.

Reorganization Of Truman Setup Is Speculated

Atlanta (Ga.) Daily World

Roosevelt Had Committed Himself To 8-8-45 Appointment

By HARRY McALPIN

WASHINGTON—(N N PA)—Reliably reported plans of Pres Truman to reorganize the whole White House administrative setup after his return from Potsdam have revived speculation among Negroes whether he will name a Negro to be one of his administrative assistants.

President Roosevelt, before his death, had committed himself to make such an appointment. The names of Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune. Dr. Channing Tobias and Theodore (Ted) Poston were prominently mentioned as possibilities. The transfere of Jonathan Daniels, Southern liberal, from the position of administrative assistant where he handled matters affecting Negroes, to the job of Press Secretary in the Roosevelt administration was viewed as a preliminary step toward the appointment of a Negro. Death cut short the President's plans.

COLOR SHOWN

Because of the unmanageable Southern wing of the Democratic Party in Congress, which showed its colors so gaudily in the FEPC appropriation fight in both Houses of Congress, and in the House of Representatives on the permanent FEPC legislation in the Rules Committee. political observers are saying Truman needs to do something dramatic to hold on to the Negro vote for 1948. They are saying that he could make a master move by adding to his personal and forth right stand on the FEPC the appointment of William Hastie as a judge of the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia and the appointment of a Negro as one of his administrative assistants.

President Hailed as Liberal

The Call

Permanent FEPC Bill Included In 21 Points

9-14-45 Kansas City, Missouri

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) — Doubts concerning the trend of the Truman administration—whether toward the conservative or liberal in policy—were dispelled in his 18,000-word message to Congress last week. Observers here have conceded that the President, despite the nature of some of his appointments to high government and cabinet positions, has aligned himself with the liberal.

Setting forth a 21-point program, the President gave prominent place to the FEPC. It marks the first time since the agency was created that mention of it has been included in a message from the President to the Congress. Its inclusion put it in the catagory of "must" legislation.

For Liberal Jobless Pay

Elsewhere in his message, President Truman went on record favoring liberalized unemployment compensation, increased minimum wages, government participation to insure full employment, steps to prevent "short-sighted management" reducing wages and injuring labor unions in the reconversion period, retention of federal control of the United States Employment Service until the major problem of placing war veterans and war workers in jobs is accomplished, federal aid to farmers in their reconversion problems, board and conprehensive housing legislation, protection and encouragement to small business.

Concerning the FEPC, the President declared: "During the years of war production we made substantial progress in overcoming many of the prejudices which resulted in discrimination against minority groups.

"Many of the injustices based upon considerations of race, religion, and color were removed. Many were prevented. Perfection was not reached, of course, but substantial progress was made.

"In the reconversion period and thereafter, we should make every effort to continue this American ideal. It is one of the fundamentals of our political philosophy, and it should be an integral part of our economy.

Repeats FEPC Request

"The Fair Employment Practice Committee is continuing during the transition period. I have already requested that legislation be enacted placing the Fair Employment Practice Committee on a permanent basis. I repeat that recommendation."

The President's statement that the FEPC "is continuing during the transition period" is the first official indicaton of his intention not to permt the agency to die as result of the end of the fighting phase of the war.

Twice before since he assumed the Presidency upon Franklin D. Roosevelt's death in April, President Truman has spoken out publicly in favor of FEPC.

The President's views on this subject were originally set forth last spring in a letter to Chairman Sabath of the house rules committee, urging that group to report the Norton bill to the floor.

President Truman's message to Congress, his first, was a record breaker in volume. It contained 16,000 words, the longest message in history.

Besides full employment legislation and the FEPC, President Truman urged "limited" tax cuts, unemployment compensation up to a minimun of $25 a week, an increase in the minimum wage level of 40 cents an hour, legislation strengthening the labor department, continuation of the employment service, a vast public works program, additional aid to veterans, continued inductions of men from 18 to 25, a broad housing bill, the establishment of a federal research agency, and a suggestion that congressmen increase their salaries from $10,000 to $20,000 a year.

President Truman did not deliver his message in person but it was read by congressional clerks.

Missourian To U. S. Presidency

Kansas City Call 4-20-45

Harry S. Truman First of His State To Occupy White House; Nation Behind Him as He Begins Giant Task Before Him

Harry Shippe Truman, the Missourian who is now President of the United States, in his first speech to Congress at noon Monday asked for the support of every American, regardless of political party, race, color or creed, in the grave responsibility which faces him.

From the long and warm ovation he received from representatives and senators, assembled in joint session, and from the expressions of support which have reached him from all parts of the country, it was evident that the people of America, are united behind he man whom Franklin D. Roosevelt left behind to continue his work of leading the nation and Allies to victory and the world to lasting peace.

4-20-45

President From Missouri

Truman, the first Missourian ever to occupy the White House, was given the oath of office on Thursday, April 12, at 6:09 p.m. (central time) by Chief Justice Harlan Stone. The Independence, Mo., farm boy who rose to be Senator and then Vice-President, ascended to the greatest office in this democracy upon the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt at Warm Springs, Go.

Harry Truman was virtually unknown except in his home of Jackson county, Mo., until he was sent to the United States Senate in 1934, a nominee of the late T. J. Pendergast. In Washington, he grew in stature, made a good record as a senator. He gained national prominence as chairman of the Senate Investigating committee bearing his name.

He reluctantly accepted the vice-presidential nomination at the Democratic convention in Chicago last summer but he was the only Democrat all factions of the party would agree upon. Roosevelt insisted. Truman obeyed his chief.

4-20-45

Praised By Earl Beck

The new President is not known to many Americans outside of his home county and Washington. Missourians who have known him for years say that he will make a good President. He will work hard and he will be fair.

On a nation-wide broadcast over he CBS network Sunday night, citizens of Independence, Mo., where President Truman has lived most of his life, gave their appraisals of the new chief executve.

Among the speakers was Earl W. Beck, one of the two Negroes in Jackson county who know the new President best. Beck, now director of the Douglass USO club in Manhattan, Kas., for 15 years was superintendent of the Jackson County Parental Home in Little Blue. Mo.

During the eight years that Beck headed the county home, President Truman was presiding judge of the Jackson county court which administers the affairs of the county. Beck and Truman became warm friends and that friendship still exists.

4-20-45

On the broadcast, Beck, who came 200 miles from Manhattan to appear on the radio program, said:

"As judge of the county court, Mr. Truman's dealings overstepped the bounds of race and he gave to my people the same consideration accorded his own. He extended a helping hand to me, a Negro, when I was trying to operate successfully a school and home for underprivileged Negro boys and girls. He was fair and unprejudiced. As he rose, as men of worth are bound to rise, he remained the same straight-forward type of man that he was when he was a county official."

PRESIDENT'S FRIEND. — Earl W. Beck, director of the Douglass USO club in Manhattan, Kas., a personal friend of President Harry S. Truman, spoke on a nation-wide CBS program Sunday night evaluating Truman as a man capable of the Presidency. Beck got to know the President well when he was head of the Jackson County Parental Home in Jackson county, Mo., at the time when President Truman was presiding judge of the county court. Beck knows Truman better than any other Negro in Missouri knows the President.

As a senator, President Truman always voted "right" on questions of interest to Negroes, such as the anti-lynching and anti-poll tax bills. He was a supporter of the bill to make the FEPC permanent. Last year when Kansas Citians sent a delegation to Washington in support of the FEPC bill, Senator Truman was found to be already working for the bill behind the scenes.

President Truman is a descendant of Kentuckians, but both his mother, Mrs. Martha E. Young, who still lives in Independence, and his father, John A. Truman, who died in 1915, were born in Jackson county, Mo. His grandparents came from Shelby county, Ky.

4-20-45

Senator Truman was born in LaMar, Mo., May 8, 1884. He was a year old when his parents moved from LaMar to Grandview, a suburb of Kansas City. When he was 6, his family moved to Independence, 8 miles from Kansas City, and there he has lived ever since.

He studied grade school in Independence, graduating in may, 1899. In his grade school days he worked in a drug store dusting bottles at $3 a week.

After finishing high school in 1901, President Truman's first job was in the Clinton Drug Store in Independence. Later he worked in the mailing room of the Kansas City Star. He worked in the summer of 1902 for a railroad contractor and in 1903 went to work for the National Bank of Commerce, working there until 1905. He got a better job with the Union National Bank and worked there for a short time. He went back to his parents' farm in 1906 and stayed there until 1917 as a partner of his father. From the farm, he went to war.

He entered the Army as a private and advanced to major. He served at the front in France as commander of battery D of the 129th field artillery. Returning to Missouri, he entered the haberdashery business with Edward Jacobson in 1919, failed and liquidated the business in 1922.

He married his childhood sweetheart, Bess Walace, in June, 1919. They have one child, Mary Margaret.

Truman was elected judge of the Jackson County court in November, 1922 and served two years. He was defeated for reelection in 1924 but in 1926 was elected presiding judge of the court. He was reelected in 1930.

Truman was first elected to political office through T. J. Pendergast of whose organization he was a member.

Truman was elected to the U. S. Senate in November, 1934. He was reelected in November, 1940, for the term ending January 3, 1947.

4-20-45

He was elected to the vice-Presidency last November, going into office as Roosevelt was elected for the fourth term.

Truman was greatly disturbed at the death of President Roosevelt—the man who chose him, Truman, at the Democratic convention in Chicago last summer to be his running mate in the fourth term election.

Truman was reported late yesterday as saying that he would carry on the office of President of the United States as Mr. Roosevelt would have wanted it conducted.

President Truman becomes the first Missourian to occupy the White House. Other states whose native sons have been U. S. presidents and the numbers of presidents from those states are: Virginia, 8; Ohio, 7; New York, 4;

THE NEW PRESIDENT

Savannah Tribune 4/19/45

What will be the effect on the war, on the foreign policy of the country, on the aspirations of Negroes to become more thoroughly integrated into American democracy, of Mr. Roosevelt's passing? These are natural questions. Even school children are asking them. Considering the importance given to knowledge of and experience in domestic and foreign issues during the hectic days of the last presidential campaign, and Mr. Truman's unheralded participation in them, and his passive adherence to liberalism, it is natural to be uncertain about the things which are of immediate concern to the world and the country. Expressions attributed to Mr. Truman during the recent political campaign, on questions related to the race problem, are not reassuring, but since he has promised to carry out Mr. Roosevelt's policies, it is but fair to rest on his promises. His administration of the investigation into war production expenditures was a job well done, and his persuading of Molotoff to attend the San Francisco Conference, are signs that Mr. Truman possesses the ability to deal with weighty matters with quiet efficiency. At any rate, along with other Americans, we shall look forward with faith in the wisdom of Him who guides the destinies of men and nations. We pray that he will give the new President the will and courage to carry on as we believe Mr. Roosevelt would have carried on.

Says Pres. Truman's Action Toward Negro Will Determine Party's Life

Atlanta World Ga. 4-15-45

Important Issues Of FEPC, Service Maltreatment Must Be Faced Soon

By ERNEST E. JOHNSON

WASHINGTON— (ANP)— President Harry S. Truman is faced with the alternative of unequivocally supporting the issues in which Negroes have placed their hopes for the attainment of a full share in America's democracy or of seeing his party's star drop, almost precipitously, from the political firmament while that of the opposition ascends. 4-15-45

That a summary of the views held by observers here of the political arena and the pivotal position of the Negro vote. The concensus of opinion seems to be that unlike the late Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the new chief executive had not been as straightforward in his commitments during the 1944 presidential campaign as he might have in the years since the first Roosevelt election in 1932.

PLAYED VITAL ROLE

4-15-45

Negroes have played a salutary role in the fortunes of the Democratic party's vote strength, it was pointed out. This was never more evident, they say, than last year when the late President won sufficient electoral votes for re-election without counting these from the south.

Three personalities are credited with being largely responsible for the situation in those northern states where the Negro vote represents the balance. They were Roosevelt, his wife, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, and Henry A. Wallace. The faith Negroes have been able to place in them, the direct commitments of the President on issues vital to Negroes, strengthened the party's vote-getting position and defeated the strong bid the Republicans made.

These observers say Negroes are mourning the loss of a 'trusted friend and benefactor." They see Mrs. Roosevelt their 'beloved champion,' making her exit from the place where she has been able to fight their fight from a vantage point. They note with hurt the 'isolation and subordination' of Wallace in government and party councils.

Atlanta World Ga 4-15-45

MUST MEET ISSUES

President Truman will now have to face the permanent FEPC and anti-poll tax issues. According to current opinion, the new President successfully evaded such matters as a permanent FEPC, anti-poll tax bill and the maltreatment of Negroes in the armed forces during the last campaign. A provocative news story, which did him little good, forced him to discontinue his silence after persuasion from the Democratic National committee.

Truman will now have to stand on his own feet and meet these issues directly, some local leaders believe. 4-15-45

He has inherited a great opportunity, they say, if he will insist upon passage of this needed legislation just as his predecessor had publicly stated. He can meet the needs of Negroes in at least one appointment to his staff, a thing which President Roosevelt is understood to have had in mind. He must avoid 'catering to the southern bloc.' 4-15-45

Unless he does these things, or a sufficient number of them to establish his own personal integrity, it is agreed neither President Truman nor his political mentor Robert Hannegan, Democratic Party chairman, will be able to stem the wholesale desertion of Negro voters from their party. Such a trend had begun a year ago.

Truman Stands On His Record On Negro Issue

Atlanta World 4-18-45

Harry McAlpin Queries New Chief Executive

BY HARRY S. McALPIN

(White House Correspondent, Atlanta Daily World.

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA)—President Harry S. Truman told the world today that he stands on his Congressional record as indication of his attitude toward the Negro and specific problems affecting America's largest minority group. His voting record is a complete endorsement of all the progressive Roosevelt policies directly and indirectly affecting Negro welfare.

He was answering this correspondent's question concerning the F. E. P. C., anti-lynching and anti-poll tax bills at his first news and radio conference since assuming the duties of President of the United Sttaes.

SHAKES HIS HAND

4-18-45

As the conference ended, he shook hands with me and said he was sure that by looking up his record, I would find how he stood and that I would be pleased with what I found.

Here is his record as a senator from Missouri:

In 1935, he voted for the Wagner Labor Act, the Social Security Act and for the creation of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

In 1936, he voted against returning administration of relief to the states which would have been a detriment to Negroes in the South.

In 1937, he voted for creation of the Civilian Conservation Corps, for the Wagner-Steagall low cost housing bill from which Negroes have benefited so greatly, and for the Fair Labor Standards Act.

VOTED FOR CLOTURE

4-18-45

In 1939, he voted for cloture to stop the filibuster against the anti-lynching and for the appropriations for WPA and for a civil liberties bill. 4-18-45

In 1942, he voted for the soldier vote bill which suspended poll tax for members of the armed forces, and voted for cloture to stop a filibuster on the anti-poll tax bill.

In 1943, he voted against the amendment to end the National Youth Administration, which gave Negro youth, particularly in the South, their first chance for industrial training in skilled occupations. During the same year, he voted against an amendment which would have killed the Farm Security Administration, which has been the small farmer's protection.

In 1944, he was paired as voting again for cloture to stop a filibuster on the anti-poll tax bill, and was paired against the Russell amendment that would have liquidated the Fair Employment Practice Committee.

President Truman On Race

Atlanta World — Ga. 5-18-45

I believe in the brotherhood of men; not merely the brotherhood of white men, but the brotherhood of all men before the law. I believe in the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. In giving to the Negroes the rights that are theirs, we are only acting in accord with our ideals of a true democracy. If any class or race can be permanently set apart from or pushed down below, the rest in political and civil rights, so may any other class or race when it shall incur the displeasure of its more powerful associates, and we may say farewell to the principles on which we count our safety. 5-18-45

(Address, Sedalia, Mo. June 15, 1940-Courtesy U. S. News)

In supporting the President in these broad programs for human liberty and tolerance, no man in the Senate of the U. S. has a more consistent voting record than myself.

More than six years ago, President Roosevelt advocated a federal antilynching law.

More than six years ago, I cast my vote in the Senate for a federal antilynching law.

More than five years ago, Mr. Roosevelt went on record in favor of federal legislation to outlaw the poll tax—and, on numerous occasions, I have cast my vote in favor of such legislation. 5-18-45

President Roosevelt established the Fair Employment Practice Committee to prevent job discrimination.

The President now proposes permanent legislation to maintain the open door in industry. I have always voted in favor of appropriations for the Fair Employment Practice Committee.

(Address: Madison Square Gardens, N. Y. Oct. 31, 1944-Courtesy U. S. News)

OUR NEW PRESIDENT

St. Louis Argus - 4-20-45

Upon being informed of the death of President Roosevelt. we, for a while felt like the disciples of the Christ, who seeing their leader hanging on the cross, thought that His work among the sons of men had been a failure; that the Shepherd had been smitten and the sheep had been scattered. But upon second thought we remembered that His death was not in vain, because He had set in motion a new doctrine which has revolutionized the thinking of people of the world.

The beauty of this little story is seen in the spirit in which others took up the cudgel, as it were, and carried on. Our new President, Harry S. Truman, upon being informed of the death of his predecessor, said to newspaper men "Pray for me." He seemed to realize the great responsibility which had fallen upon his shoulders. We imagine that he prayed as did Elisha of old, when the mantel of Elijah fell upon him. He prayed for "a double portion" of the spirit of his leader, that he might carry on. 4-20-45

In his address before the Congress of the United States, he showed many signs of leadership. The most promising sign that he will make a great leader we think, was expressed in his words when he said:

Today the entire world is looking to America for enlightened leadership to peace and progress. Such a leadership requires vision, courage and tolerance. It can be provided only by a united nation deeply devoted to the highest ideals.

I call upon all Americans to help me keep our nation united in defense of those ideals which have been so eloquently proclaimed by Franklin Roosevelt.

I want in turn to assure my fellow Americans and all those who love peace and liberty throughout the world that I will support and defend those ideals with all my strength and with all my heart. That is my duty and I shall not shirk it.

Here he recognizes the leadership which Franklin D. Roosevelt had given the nation and the world, and pledges himself to follow that leadership as a duty which he will not "shirk." 4-20-45

In accepting the new responsibilities and carrying out the new duties which fall upon him, the new president has asked the people's support as was noted in his message to congress when he said:

I appeal to every American, regardless of party, race, creed or color, to support our efforts to build a strong and lasting United Nations organization.

You, the members of congress, surely know how I feel. Only with your help can I hope to complete one of the greatest tasks ever assigned to a public servant. With Divine guidance, and your help, we will find the new passage to a far better world, a kindly and friendly world, with just and lasting peace.

With confidence, I am depending upon all of you.

At this moment I have in my heart a prayer. As I assume my heavy duties, I humbly pray to Almighty God, in the words of Solomon:

"Give therefore Thy servant an understanding heart to judge Thy people, that I may discern between good and bad: for who is able to judge this Thy so great a people?" 4-20-45

I ask only to be a good and faithful servant of my Lord and my people.

We, like many, many others have already said that we do not know what President Truman will do in the high and lofty position in which fate or fortune has placed him but if his words mean anything (and he most assuredly is regarded as a man of his word) he has said enough to indicate very definitely the direction in which he is going. He has indicated the company he desires, and the council he craves in the discharge of his duties to his fellowman. An understanding heart is worth more than gold, yes, an understanding heart is worth more than a diploma from ten leading colleges of this country.

If President Truman purposes in his heart to be a great man, no power on earth can stop him, because the impending peace and postwar program with all of their ramifications will undoubtedly try men's souls.

Therefore, since President Truman has made reference to the wise choice of Solomon as guide in administering of the affairs of State, we herewith offer another Biblical reference which we think is appropriate at this time:

"He has shown thee O man,
What is good; and what does the Lord
Require of thee, but to deal justly, and to love
Mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God."

Truman Election Pledges On Negro Issue Recalled

Chicago Defender

4-21-45

(Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON. — What manner of man is President Harry S. Truman?

On the record he is one of the foremost liberals who has sat in U.S. Senate during the New Deal administration. On the Negro question he spoke forthrightly and frankly for full equality for Negroes during the campaign.

However, his background and the advisors whom he has gathered about him in the first days of his new administration are known as representing the conservative wing of the Democratic Party and in many cases are openly anti-Negro.

Truman's pledges to the Negro during the 1944 presidential campaign were recalled here this week and all his commitments seem to assure the Negro a strong champion if the new President keeps his promises.

Makes Commitments

It was a day after the Democratic convention that Truman assured Harry McAlpin, White House correspondent, that, "Of course, Negroes will lose nothing by my nomination as Vice-President." The comment came in the face of reports that Negro voters would bolt the Roosevelt slate because Henry Wallace had been turned down. 4-26-45

Later in the campaign Truman followed up with the pledge: "It is our aim and goal that Negroes will share equally in the opportunities offered during the post-war period of reconversion and I feel they will."

Speaking on Roosevelt, the Missourian declared: "Negroes have never had a better friend in the White House and I know that they are going to continue him there. I feel the improved conditions of Negroes are going to improve still more as we swing into the peace-time era."

Perhaps Truman's strongest statement of the campaign came after the Hearst press charged that he had once been a Ku Klux Klan member and several Negro newspapers ran stories claiming Truman was anti-Negro and used the epithet, "Nigger."

Angrily, Truman replied in a wire to the NAACP: "Although the record shows that the Klan has fought me and I fought the Klan, I have been falsely accused of Klan membership by irresponsible newspapers which actively support the Republican ticket.

"The Klan is repugnant to every policy and every principle I have advocated and struggled for all my life. 4-21-45

"Whether anyone calls an issue one of state or national rights, you can turn to the Congressional Record and see exactly how I voted and what I have supported You will find that I have fought for fair treatment of every minority, every labor group, every interest that has been underprivileged.

Backed FEPC

"Especially I believe that on issues affecting fair treatment for Negroes there is no legislation which has not had my support. I supported the FEPC. I voted for cloture on the anti-lynching bill. I voted for cloture on the anti-poll tax bill. I voted for the Murray-Kilgore bill, the soldier's vote, the NYA and every bill to give a fair deal to racial and economic minorities on all subjects, whether economic or political.

"I cannot control the opinions of other people as to whether they think my voting record favors state's rights or national rights or should be given some other theoretical classification. All I ask is that I be judged by my record."

Since becoming Vice-President, Truman has spoken out against racial intolerance. In a speech in Chicago on March 27, he assailed the forces of bigotry and discrimination and declared:

"Propaganda poison is extremely difficult to remove from our national blood stream," said Mr. Truman. "The after effects of this poison may be felt for years to come, especially if we do not recognize its danger and actively combat its spread. . . .

Mother a "Rebel"

"Despite all our shortcomings, we in this country truly present an inspiring example to struggling humanity. We prove conclusively that the people of every race and every creed can dwell together in harmony." 4-21-45

At the time of Truman's nomination, many Negroes expressed doubts about his background. He comes from the Jim-Crow state of Missouri and in the town of Independence, where he was raised, there is still a strong backwash from Civil War days.

His mother, Mrs. Martha Young Truman, is still known until this day as the "Old Rebel" because of her refusal to forget or forgive the Union Army which during the Civil War moved her family off their farm and sent them to Kansas because they were Southern sympathizers.

At the time of Truman's nomination, some Southerners who were worried about Truman, were assured by Gov. Chauncey Sparks of Alabama that the new Vice-President was "safe on state's rights." Sparks added: "In the matter of race relations, Senator Truman told me he is the son of an unreconstructed rebel mother."

Called a "Southerner"

Another notable who concurred in this view was Roy Roberts, managing editor of the Kansas City Star, who has known Truman for 20 years. Roberts wrote this week following the swearing in of Truman: "The country thinks of Truman as a Kansas Citian. He isn't. He's a rural Jackson countyite—down where they really fought the Civil War.

"The offspring of a Confederate veteran, he is really more southern in viewpoint than midwestern."

Most alarming to Negro people was Truman's first moves in public office to bring back into the administration a number of outstanding reactionaries who had fallen out with President Roosevelt before his death.

Truman has already made it clear that he will lean heavily for support upon former Supreme Court Justice James F. Byrnes, who resigned as director of war mobilization a short time before the President's death. There were reports current that Byrnes will replace Secretary of State Edward Stettinius and will succeed Truman as President in case of the latter's death. 4-21-45

Byrnes has a bad record as a man from South Carolina, after Byrnes was the leader the last war, he once demanded filibuster against the anti-an investigation of Negro fraterbill in the Senate some nal lodges in the South whom, he ck. At that time he was claimed, were driving for an in- President Roosevelt how surrection with the aid of "Red filibuster would continue. Russia." At the last Democratic replied: "Until the year convention the NAACP had pick- necessary." ets outside the Chicago Stadium When Byrnes was a congress- warning the delegates that Ne-

Byrnes' Record

groes would not vote for the Democrats if Byrnes was named vice-presidential candidate.

Another name looming up as a figure in the new Truman administration is Jesse Jones, who was ousted as Secretary of Commerce by Roosevelt and replaced by Henry Wallace. Jones has offered his services to Truman and it is believed that Truman will give him a government position.

It is also felt that leading liberals from the New Deal era may be ousted, precipitating a widespread split in Democratic ranks.

TRUMAN BACKS FDR IDEALS IN FIRST TALK

Chicago Defender

4-21-45

Negro America Mourns Passing Of President At Warm Springs

(Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON — A grief-stricken, tearful Negro America, still mourning the death of President Roosevelt, took heart this week in the initial pledge of President Harry S. Truman to carry out the ideals of the late Chief Executive.

Speaking to the nation in his first address to the joint session of Congress, President Truman appealed "to every American, regardless of party, race, creed or of color, to support our efforts to build a strong and lasting United Nations organization."

The new President took cognizance of the loss suffered by the nation in the passing of Mr. Roosevelt and declared: "No words can ease the aching hearts of untold millions of every race, creed and color. The world knows it has lost a heroic champion of justice and freedom."

4-21-45

Support FDR Ideals

Congressmen joined in cheering his declaration of faith in the ideals of Roosevelt. "I will support and defend those ideals with all my strength and all my heart. That is my duty and I shall not shirk it," Truman stated.

Later in his address, he declared: "Let me assure the forward-looking people of America that there will be no relaxation in our efforts to improve the lot of the common people."

Truman's speech came after the last President had been laid to rest at his Hyde Park, N.Y., home. Mr. Roosevelt died Thursday afternoon at Warm Springs, Ga., from a sudden cerebral hemorrhage.

His death shocked and stunned Negroes across the nation who felt in his passing the loss of their greatest champion since Abraham Lincoln.

4-21-45

In Roosevelt's death, the Negro has lost the man whose presidential term saw the biggest advances made by the Negro in American life since emancipation.

Breaks Precedents

The late President came into office in 1933 in the middle of the depression when millions of Negroes were jobless. In the setting up of the Works Progress Administration and other relief agencies, racial discrimination was discarded.

For the first time in the history of government, Negro leaders were given positions of responsibility in seeing that there was no prejudice against colored peoples. A number of Negro advisers in high places in the New Deal came to be known as an unofficial Black Cabinet in advising the President on racial matters.

Among the noted Negroes who were close to the President were Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, who was unofficial adviser to Mr. Roosevelt on all matters affecting Negroes; Walter White of the NAACP who conferred regularly with the President; and Channing Tobias, YMCA secretary, who served on various boards for the President.

Mr. Roosevelt broke all historic precedents in 1941 when he set up the Committee on Fair Employment Practices by executive order. For the first time by federal regulation discrimination in war plants and factories was barred.

Another precedent which Mr. Roosevelt broke was in his visits to two Negro republics, Liberia and Haiti.

TRUMAN MEETS WITH PUBLISHER

Defender—Chicago

5-5-45 pm.

(Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON — President Harry S. Truman has received his first Negro visitor at the White House. He was J. E. Mitchell, publisher of the St. Louis Argus, St. Louis, Mo.

Emerging from the White House, Mitchell said he had called to pay his respects to the new President. However, it is understood that they discussed many of the problems affecting Negroes in America at this time, and that the President assured Mr. Mitchell that he would stand by his record regarding these problems.

President Truman told Mr. Mitchell that the Negro has nothing to fear so far as he is concerned in the Presidency. The statement was made when Mr. Mitchell reminded the President near close of the interview that the Chief Executive has an opportunity to do big things for Negroes.

Talk About Missouri

There was some exchange of conversation about matters back home in Missouri, Mr. Mitchell said. The Argus was a staunch supporter of the Roosevelt-Truman ticket last November.

5-5-45

The editor was in Washington for a meeting of a committee of the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association. He had wired the White House for an appointment with President Truman and had been advised by wire to contact the President's secretary upon his arrival in the city.

"I came here only to extend my greetings," he told reporters. "We did not talk about legislation—just what a good President he is."

The newspaper man described himself as "an original New Dealer" and said that he and Truman had been together in politics for some time. Maj. R. R. Wright of Philadelphia was to have accompanied Mitchell on the visit but did not arrive in time.

Truman Stand On Negro Told To Defender Scribe

By RICHARD DURHAM

(Defender Staff Correspondent)

LOS ANGELES. — President Harry S. Truman's views on the vital Negro issue were revealed exclusively to the Chicago Defender six months ago.

Virtually unknown and skeptically regarded by 13,000,000 Negro citizens, the Missouri-born Truman frankly outlined his attitudes on the hot question of democracy for Negroes in an interview with this reporter.

"I'm in favor of wiping out race segregation from the armed forces as rapidly as it can be done, commensurate with the winning of the war," was Truman's answer to a jim crow army.

The man then destined to become Commander-in-Chief of the American army had paused on the 14th floor of Chicago's Bismark Hotel between campaign tours.

Truman had met me at the door, shook hands, said: "I just called the Defender to see what happened to you."

"Thanks," I said. "That'll put me in solid with my editors."

He laughed. We sat down at a small desk and began what was his last private interview with a Negro newspaper before becoming President.

Neatly dressed, vigorous despite his 61 years Truman was as curious about what Negroes thought of him as they were of what he thought of them.

He already knew that to most Negroes he as an unknown entity and that his Dixie background was not exactly an asset.

"I know that," he said with grim sincerity. "But if any one wants to find where I stand on the Negro issue let hem look at my record."

Truman sharply hit rumors that he "once belonged" to the Ku Klux Klan. He pointed out that these were the type of rumors spread against Dixie's Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black who has since proven to be the most liberal member of the high court.

"I fought the Klan when I was running for office in my home state. The Klan always opposed me," he said bluntly.

He again referred to his record, said sharply, "Does this look like the record of a Klansman?" And this senator from Missouri had a record on legislations directly effecting Negroes which was more liberal than those held by many Northern congressmen.

Truman has constantly fought against the poll-tax and maintained that he will do so until it is wiped out.

4-21-45

He has voted repeatedly for an anti-lynch bill. He reaffirmed his stand in favor of establishing a strong federal permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee.

His record on labor is regarded as one of the best in the senate.

I asked Truman what he thought of Eleanor Roosevelt, whose militant stand against discrimination has made her the target of the bitterest attacks by anti-Negro agitators.

"She is the greatest First Lady ever to enter the White House," he answered. "I have nothing but admiration for Mrs. Roosevelt and I approve whole-heartedly of her stand on the Negro question."

Truman, who had recently introduced a bill in congress to establish a national park in honor of the late George Washington Carver, was asked to name whom he considered the most outstanding colored American.

He promptly said: "Ex-Congressman Arthur Mitchell of Chicago." I told him that Mitchell was generally rated as an Uncle Tom.

"An Uncle Tom?" Truman was puzzled.

"Yes," I tried to explain "A handkerchief-head." But still he did not understand until I said, "A Quisling . . . an appeaser . . . a Chamberlain."

He said he admired Paul Robeson and Marian Anderson, liked Rev. Adam Clayton Powell and a number of other militant Negroes.

A veteran of World War I, Truman appeared to be keenly aware of the discrimination suffered by Negroes in the armed forces. When first asked if he favored the end of jim crow in the army, he demurred.

Reminded that President Roosevelt, as reported by Congressman William L. Dawson, had gone on record favoring a non-jim crow army as soon as possible, Truman said: "If President Roosevelt said that, I'm in favor of it. I'm one hundred per cent behind Roosevelt's program."

Stands On 'Militancy'

By now we had talked the greater part of an hour. The Missourian had relaxed and was speaking without restraint about the people over whom he would soon have the power to determine the course and speed of their progress.

He spoke of the CIO's fight for Negro rights, of how he had accepted the vice presidency nomination only to prevent a split in the Democratic party and said that the Golden Rule and the Sermon on the Mount were the principles he liked best to be guided by.

Truman as saying he was the "son of an 'unreconstructed rebel' mother" and that the South "had to fear" from his nomination. I asked Truman if he had been correctly quoted.

Supports Wallace

His face reddened considerably. He shook his head without looking at the clippings.

"Then is it okay for me to quote you back as saying Governor Lincoln to achieve full equality by not supporting the administration, Senator?" I asked.

"I cannot see why any Negro would want to jeopardize his greatest chance since Roosevelt is the greatest friend the Negroes have in this country."

I unfolded two clippings from a national magazine in which Governor Sparks of Alabama quoted said:

"What would you use?"

"I'm in favor of doing everything possible to bring about a better understanding between the two races," he said after a pause.

"They've got what some call 'understanding' in the South," I said. "Is that the kind of understanding you're referring to."

Truman shook his head, said simply, "I'm in favor of equal opportunities for Negroes as well as whites. They don't have that in the South."

Asked why Negroes should support Roosevelt-Truman team, he said:

"Are you in favor of a militant program to eliminate race discrimination, Senator?" I asked, reading from a question I had noted before the interview.

A slight shadow of uneasiness came over his face. A political wariness came into his eyes and he cautiously asked me to reread the question. I did. "I wouldn't use the word 'militant'," Truman said.

61c-1945

Virginia

Election Of Dr. Penn To Democratic Group Termed 'Genuinely Historic'

Journal & Guide

ROANOKE, Va.—The election of Dr. H. T. Penn to a ward committee by Democrats here last week, was termed "genuinely historic" by the Roanoke World News in an editorial published Dec. 5.

The full text of its comment follows: Norfolk, Va.

"Not to be overlooked is an action genuinely historic in its implication. We refer to the election of Dr. H. T. Penn as the first Negro ever to hold membership on the Democratic City Committee. His election followed a personal appeal to the mass meeting that it recognize the devotion and work being done by colored members of the Democratic party. He took occasion to commend Judge Almond for his impartiality and above all for his "Christian character," and pledged him the support of Roanoke's Negro population. 12-15-45

Dr. Penn lost his motion to have the meeting endorse the principle of having Negro members on the city committee, but carried his point when Chairman James F. MacTier authorized him to present his motion to the nominating committee. The committee, which was in session at that time, acted promptly, and after considering several outstanding Negro Democrats, selected Dr. Penn himself to represent Melrose Ward.

Recognition of the Negro's part in the Democratic party climaxed a long struggle on the part of leading colored citizens—a struggle that has been characterized at all times with dignity and understanding. It was inevitable as a step in the direction of right and justice in giving colored people of the city a voice in political affairs. Dr. Penn and those of his race who have worked with him to this end are to be congratulated on their patient petition now answered successfully. He long has been active in Democratic affairs and has been a candidate for City Council. We venture to predict an era of better feeling and racial cooperation as a result of this just action.

Commoner Party- Georgia- (Fascists)

National Fascist Party Formed in Georgia

People's Voice N.Y.

2-3-45

The glorious news that the Red Army moves rapidly to crush Hitler and all his works in Berlin was marred this week by news that Hitlerism aspires to rise again in the heart of America's Dixie. Way down in Conyers, Rockdale County, Georgia, there has just been announced the formation of a National Commoner Party which seeks to preserve "this White Man's Democracy" by destroying the civil (and, no doubt, the economic) rights of Negroes and Jews.

The It-Can't-Happen-Here school of American thought may be inclined to laugh at this proposal from the Deep South, but PV thinks otherwise. The deep walls of racial and religious bigotry which our country has allowed to poison its culture do, indeed, provide "fertile soils" for a movement which would threaten the freedom of us all. We laughed at Hitler—14 YEARS AGO. Let the power of our government be used quickly to destroy this evil virus—NOW.—Editors.

Organization Plan of THE COMMONER PARTY of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The Commoner Party Proposes the Formation of a Gentile Political Party Block to Combat the Jew and Negro Racial Blocks now active in the Political Affairs of the Nation.

2-3-45

The 32-page "Organization Plan" of the fascist-like organization was sent through the mails to a friend of PV who posed as a prospective member.

Declaring that "the Negro and the Jew have walked together through the ages," Chairman James L. Shipp and Secretary-Treasurer Charles H. Emmons, of the new "party," call for an anti-Negro, anti-Semitic "crusade" by "American Gentiles who are white and want to remain white, and who are free and want to remain free."

The Commoner Party platform says the new organization "believes that the powers of Government are being directed by organized groups and by Racial Blocks. It sees the Jew Racial Block in control of government activities far beyond its numerical strength. It has positive evidence that the Jew Block is active in the formation of a Negro Block which it expects to control. This combination of two Alien Blocks can be contested and defeated only by the formation of a White Gentile Block, the rightful rulers of this White man's Nation."

Its program includes:

2-3-45

- "repeal of the 15th Amendment to the Federal Constitution and the reduction of the Negro race to citizenship without the right of franchise";
- congressional investigation (presumably by the new "Dies Committee") "of International Jew penetration into American business and politics";
- formation of "Continental Leagues of Nations to include only the nations existing on the several Continents (a world league is declared "too cumbersome" and having too "widely diversified and conflicting interests"); and
- Georgia State alcoholic beverage control to straighten out "the present liquor traffic (which) from top to bottom has been taken over by Jew racketeers who have no conscience as to quality and no limit as to price."

The Commoner Party also proposes to "overhaul" the election laws of the 48 states, increase congressmen's tenure in office, and enact national legislation to insure that business, labor and other groups are "properly balanced one against the other," looking toward "a closely knit National Unity." (Remember Hitler's "corporate state?")

2-3-45

Founders of the Commoner Party project their new organization with confidence that "this movement is rooted in fertile soil and the fields reach from sea to sea. The rule for action was proclaimed 2000 years ago when an angel in the vision of John called to the Reaper: 'Thrust in thy sickle and reap for the harvest is ripe.'"

NEW HATE PARTY FORMED IN GEORGIA

Detroit Tribune

3-3-45

CONYERS, Ga.,—(ANP)—A new hate group, called the Commoner party, has come into existence here with the avowed purpose of "maintaining white supremacy, restricting the advancement of Negroes and protecting white Gentiles from the abuses of Jews.

The organization, which apparently has access to large sums of money, has been flooding the mails with "hate" literature, warning white Georgians to "get ready" for the day when Negro soldiers start returning from the world's battlefront demanding "social and racial equality."

3-3-45

Thus far the group differs from the old Ku Klux Klan, revived for the last war, only in the fact that it seems to have no quarrel with the Catholics.

The Conyers News, white weekly, in a front page editorial Fri. blasted the Commoner party as "wholly unnecessary in Georgia" but softened its attack by hastily adding that "The News stands unequivicably opposed to racial equality."

Ga. 'Commoner Party' Spouts Nazi Hatred at Negroes, Jews

The Worker 3-18-45

By LOUIS F. BUDENZ

Lynching and lynchers of Jews and Negroes are praised to high heaven by the Commoner Party, fascist gang in Georgia, in the pages of their Organization Plan.

This published appeal to anti-Semitism and Negro-hating in its most violent and virulent form has just come into my possession. It is being distributed through the Southland, in a strained effort to combat the New South, by James L. Shipp of Conyers, Ga., who poses as its president. Its alleged secretary is Charles E. Emmons, formerly of Atlanta.

Since both Shipp and Emmons state in the Organization Plan that they are "fronting" for other and more powerful people, it is pretty clear that hidden fascist forces are pushing this new anti-American development. The Department of Justice has been too slow, to all appearances, in taking into custody the officers of this gang.

"The Commoner Party proposes the formation of a Gentile Political Party Block to combat the Jew and Negro Racial Blocks now active in the political affairs of the nation," declares the published Plan on its front cover. Then, through 32 closely printed pages, it proceeds to spew out low attacks upon the minority groups in our nation.

"The white people of the South will not forget that this is a White Man's Nation and that they intend to continue to be the ruling class in any racial contest," declares the Commoner Party Platform on Page 4 of the Plan. 3-18-45

HITLER'S LANGUAGE

The party then commits itself to disfranchisement of the Negro and to combating "International Jew penetration into American business and politics." As to its Hitlerite creed on the former point, to which it devotes a number of pages, this quotation may be made just to show that it is actually being proposed: "If Negroes were (originally) granted the right to franchise, a 'war crime' against the white people of the nation, by a Constitutional amendment, the white people of the nation can demote them to their former non-voting status by the same Constitutional process."

This "Constitutional" talk is supposed to be a slick way to hide the violent fascist methods they really propose. But their fascist hatred has to break through and disclose their full goal as they warm up to their anti-American work. On Page 27 a long and lurid account is given of the frame-up case against Leo Frank, the young Jew in Atlanta who was lynched a number of years ago. The Plan winds up with this eulogy to Frank's lynchers: "They kept the record straight and protected the proud name of Georgia from the humiliation of a miscarriage of justice." This fascist booklet has the Hitlerite effrontery to declare further that the lynchers were not a "mob," but "orderly citizens."

DEMAGOGIC LINE 3-18-45

The Plan calls on the ghost of the late Thomas Watson, who diverted thousands of Populists into anti-Semitic channels in the Nineties, and seeks to blend its crass racial hatreds with talk about government of liquor business, railroads also to advance old age pensions. But its anti-labor aim is given away by its advocacy of an organization like the Associated Farmers of California, though it specifically recommends only "the Citrus Growers organization." 3-18-45

As to the animus with which this gang carry on their work, I will quote a letter from Secretary Emmons which has recently come into my hands: "Our Booklet is commencing to go places. This week we received an order right out of the heart of New York City. Eric Johnston, president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, took a nasty shot at anti-Semitism and I feel quite sure he was looking straight at this movement when he aimed his gun. . . . While Mr. Shipp and I fronted for this movement, it has behind it the best men in Georgia."

It's up to the Department of Justice to catch up with Shipp and Emmons and compel them to reveal "the best men" who back them. This is particularly to the point since there are well-authenticated rumors that the Plan was published in Indianapolis, Ind., where the gang are said to have strong friends.

61d-1945

New Times

by Benjamin J. Davis, Jr.

BY HIS slurring remarks upon the discussions of policy now taking place within the Communist Political Association, Frank R. Crosswaith is fishing in what he conceives to be troubled waters. His comment, in the form of a canned letter to several newspapers, followed the usual red-baiting line, and revealed again Mr. Crosswaith's now familiar ignorance of what's taking place in the modern world. What he had to say about the Communists' attitude toward President Truman, about the Polish situation, about Stalin and about CPA policy demonstrated that he has lost none of the art of plain lying.

It would be a gross underestimation of the intelligence of progressives to bedevil them with a detailed characterization of Mr. Crosswaith. Certainly most of Harlem knows he is bankrupt, and that his career ran its course long ago when the mass of Negro workers began to catch on to him. The only thing left in him seems to be an unprincipled blind hatred of the Communists. If, in the years past, he had gotten over this infantile fear of ghosts he might have amounted to something worthwhile when—and if—he grew up.

His anti-Communist obsession is, however, very profitable inasmuch as he is the paid hireling of David Dubinsky, one of the most sinister forces in the labor movement and whose philosophy of operation is "get the Reds!" This is, of course, a vain hope on the part of Mr. Dubinsky because he'll never be able to "get the Reds," so to speak, although he is attempting to wreck every united movement of labor and the people under the guise of getting the Reds. Crosswaith is primarily a beachhead for Dubinsky's disruption in Harlem. The unity and achievements of Harlem and its labor-progressive allies—irrespective of race, creed or political affiliation—will reduce that beachhead to complete impotence.

* * *

ONE of Crosswaith's assertions, however, I would like to deal with, that is, his claim that American Communists are agents of the Soviet Union's foreign policy. Pardon the personal reference, but I think I'm pretty widely known as a Communist.

Since I've been in the City Council, favorable action has been secured on many bills and resolutions I have introduced—including measures against Jimcrow in baseball, discrimination in employment, and Jimcrow in housing, the last co-sponsored with Councilman Isaacs barring discrimination in tax-exempt semi-private projects. Mr. Crosswaith did not give one bit of assistance to the passage of any of these measures—even though he is a member of the City Housing Authority, (where apparently he has slept comfortably ever since he was hand-picked for the job). Evidently, he and Boss Dubinsky would rather howl against Communists than cooperate in furthering the cause of Negro rights.

* * *

DOES this record seem as though I've acted as an agent of Russia's foreign policy And if in thus serving my constituents, I have been acting for Russian foreign policy, it must be a mighty good foreign policy, and Mr. Crosswaith could use some of it. In any event, it is infinitely better than serving as Mr. Crosswaith does the "foreign and domestic policy" of Dubinsky, who has now sold out the Roosevelt program for Dewey.

Yes, the Communists are taking public inventory of their policies, and are not afraid of—but wholly welcome the public searchlight. That is a strength of the Communists. Incidentally a little self-criticism wouldn't hurt Mr. Crosswaith, to put it mildly.

A few years ago when the Communists adjusted their tactics to meet a new situation, Crosswaith was one of the political soothsayers who predicted the immediate death of the Communist organization. But unfortunately for him, we were unable to accommodate him by going out of existence. He was wrong then; he is wrong now. For when the Communists conclude their discussions, they'll be much stronger and in a far better condition to make even greater contributions to the Negro cause, to labor and to the nation. Perhaps Mr. Crosswaith anticipates this and is a little shaky, which is, of course understandable.

Revisionist Theory and Negro Question

By WILLIAM HARRISON
Vice-President, Mass. CPA

A vivid illustration of the "false concepts of social evolution" (to which paragraph 6 of Part II in the revised Resolution refers) is the opportunist deviation from Marxist-Leninist theory on the Negro question, projected by Comrade Browder on Nov. 19, 1943, in his remarks to the final session of the two-weeks school on the Negro People and the War organized by the Workers School, New York. Entitled "On the Negroes and the Right of Self Determination," in its subsequent publication in the **Communist** for January, 1944, Comrade Browder's projection was offered, without previous discussion among even leading cadres, and accepted as the formulation of basic policy in the approach of Marxists to the solution of the Negro question. Leading Negro comrades share responsibility for the acceptance of this revisionism, since nobody challenged its basic assumptions and work was undertaken in executing them, even though the facts of life belied their validity.

Comrade Browder did not reject the fundamental right of the Negro people to self-determination. He traced the historical course of their exercise of that right, and came to the conclusion: "The crisis of history has taken a turn of such character that the Negro people in the United States have found it possible to make their decision once and for all. Their decision is for their complete integration into the American nation as a whole, and not for separation." Here was not where revisionism reposed. It lurked in Comrade Browder's estimate of the possibility of the Negro people's achieving, during the epoch of monopoly capitalism, their desired integration into the American nation on the basis of complete equality with all other Americans. He declared: "The immediate achievement in this period, under the present American system, of complete equality for the Negroes, has been made possible by the war crisis, and by the character of this war as a people's war of national liberation." The fallacy of this declaration is not removed by Comrade Borwder's concession: "Perhaps that complete and unconditional achievement (the solution of the national minorities problem—W. H.) is possible only under socialism." Since revisionism has the effect of minimizing the role of the working class and making monopoly capital all-decisive, Comrade Browder contradicted himself when he concluded: "All the decisive forces of history are now working for Negro equality, and we Communists must strengthen our collaboration with those progressive forces of which we are a vital part."

The revisionist theory which the American Communist movement accepted had bad effects in its practical activities. In the first place, this theory, as outlined by Comrade Browder, sought to invest the struggle of the Negro people for national liberation with a certain automatic character, creating the expectation that deep changes in the status of the Negro people were an inevitable concomitant of the war. This led to unscientific analysis of the democratic wartime gains made by the Negro people, manifested in a marked tendency in our press to magnify small, temporary reforms into qualitative changes in the system of Jimcrowism. In the active work of some Communists, though never the characteristic of the majority, this verbal exorcism of monopoly capitalist-feudalist exploitation of one-tenth of the nation wore the semblance of apologies for reactionary oppression of the Negro people at worst and of Pollyanna hopes for their liberation at best. If this is not a "false concept of social evolution," I do not know what is.

The defeat of legislation for state FEPC's, in various states, brought about by various groupings of big industrialists like the utilities magnates, as in Massachusetts, to say nothing of the malignant growth elsewhere of anti-Negro strikes fomented by backward elements among white workers in the organized labor movement in opposition to the upgrading of Negro workers in certain war industries, rudely exposed the fallacy inherent in a view of the Negro question which ignores the basic reality of relentless struggle to achieve its solution. Where is the progressive role of monopoly capital? It surely made no pretense of accepting Comrade Browder's "program of compromise to last for many generations," to which Comrade Edna Lewis called attention in the June 29 issue of the Daily Worker, in her discussion of revisionism of the Negro question.

Remorseless is the logic of a theoretical position. It is a special merit of the article by Comrade Duclos to have illustrated this truth with Marxist directness. Orienting ourselves to the bourgeoisie in the camp of national unity, we inevitably shifted the center of gravity within the movement of the Negro people for national liberation from its working class core (shown by failure to develop sufficient numbers of Negro Marxists in the trade unions) to the petty bourgeoisie, with all its vacillations, with its inherent unreliability to struggle with consistent, undeviating militancy.

Our understanding of the colonial problem was blunted by revisionist attitudes, which led us to assume that the liberation of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples would be effected as a "gift" from the enlightened imperialists since they were waging a war of liberation against fascist imperialism. Obscured was Comrade Dimitrov's classic analysis of fascism as "the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic, and most militaristic sections of monopoly capitalism." We forget the correct inference from this analysis that fascism is a form of rule of monopoly capitalism, which loses none of its essentially reactionary character through the association of some of its sections in a coalition for the preservation of the national independence of various capitalist states and of the socialist Soviet Union.

Re-examination of our position on the Negro question is always in order, but it should not lead, as in the recent period, to virtual elimination of the class struggle content of the Negro people's efforts for national liberation, carrying in its train such an indefensible act as liquidation of the Communist movement in the South, where the struggle is most intense.

Look Who's Calling Names

The Chicago Tribune, leading isolationist and anti-Communist daily newspaper, recently listed the book, "What the Negro Wants," as one of the many Communistic books now in the Congressional Library.

It charged that of the 14 contributors, "12 are cited in the records of the House Committee on un-American Activities no less than 216 times for pro-Communistic affiliations."

The charge is amusing to say the least.

If it is Communistic for colored people to demand the identical treatment for themselves as that given to any other citizens, then we are all Communists and proud of it.

When the average white man is beaten in an argument, he begins calling names, and the first name he usually thinks of is "Communist."

As to the trustworthiness of the House committees in determining who are followers of the Communistic cause—House committees long ago made themselves ridiculous by including Mrs. Roosevelt, Mrs. Bethune and William Pickens as "Reds."

We note from the Tribune that Frederick D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee, is also cited as a "Red." Gentle, modest Dr. Patterson a Communist? When the Tribune and House committee talk like this, we can expect C. C. Spaulding, Dr. J. E. Shepard and the Rev. Gordon B. Hancock and many other Southern leaders to be next on their list.

Struggle for Negro Liberation

Dear Comrades:

When Comrade Browder, in his speech before the Workers' School on Nov. 19, 1943, declared that the Negro people had exercised their right to self-determination by deciding to integrate themselves in the American nation a programmatic change was made by our party.

I assumed that a question of such magnitude was thoroughly discussed by the National Committee, and that this statement on the part of Browder would be supplemented by further information and data to show why the change has been made. I felt that this change could be made only if fundamental changes had taken place in the Black Belt. I thought that perhaps the Southern Bourbons had succeeded in dispersing the Negro people of the Black Belt in such a manner that the characteristic of a common territory had been lost and, therefore, the Negro people of the Black Belt no longer constituted an oppressed nation. Such articles and explanations never came and, on the basis of some remarks in Comrade Ford's article, it would seem such changes did not take place in the Black Belt and the Negro people continue to constitute an oppressed nation in the South.

This being so, our position that the Negro people have exercised their right of self-determination by deciding "to choose the path of integration of the Negroes into the whole American nation as one united nation" is wrong. This would mean that the Negro nation decided, of its own accord, to disperse itself and become completely assimilated with the American nation. **This assertion runs counter to all other national liberation struggles of** problems of the Negro people as a nation. We mistook the adoption of democratic reforms for the solution of the national question. And even these democratic reforms were of a limited and temporary character as shown by the great struggle now taking place for the continuation of the FEPC. But jimcrowism was not abolished, nor the polltax, nor the semi-feudal system of the South. Our reliance on the bourgeoisie to solve the national question certainly weakened our struggle for these democratic reforms, as Comrade Ford pointed out. But had all these measures been carried out, we yet would not have solved the Negro question as a national question.

If we had remembered this lesson we could not have dissolved our party in the South, which was the only effective force to lead and build the national liberation struggle of the Negro people in the South. **We have not yet been told how the National Board and the National Committee arrived at the decision to dissolve the party in the South.** However, if we are to learn anything from the experience of the European parties, we must conclude that by dissolving the party in the South we did incredible harm to the national liberation struggle of the Negro nation.

Within the movement for the liberation of the Czechoslovak Republic there was also a vigorous movement on the part of the Slovak and Carpatho-Ukrainian peoples to achieve complete freedom and self-government within the new liberated Czechoslovak Republic. **The liberation struggle of the Slovak and Carpatho-Ukrainian people, in which the Communists were the most active workers, fought to** establish the guarantees that the Czech bourgeoisie would not again use its dominant position in the state to oppress these two peoples.

The Communists of Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia and other countries conducted themselves in a similar way. It was only in this way that the oppressed nations of Europe—who were oppressed before Hitler's invasion as well as after Hitler conquered their countries—were fully mobilized for the fight against Hitler fascism.

By our revision of Marxism as it pertains to the national question, we weakened the whole struggle for emancipation of the Negro people. And yet there has not been a single article or statement on the part of the members of the National Board or the National Committee which would in a self-critical way explain how it was possible to make this mistake. The amended resolution does not mention this aspect of our revisionism. We cannot overcome the mistake we made if we fail to examine every facet of our past policies—including the national question.

H. V. SAUNDERS.

Pittsburgh.

NEW YORK, N. Y.
HERALD TRIBUNE
Cir. D. 356,512 — S. 539,023

JUL 26 1945

Negroes Fear Davis Case Will Split Their Vote

See Sole Seat in Council Lost; Tammany Negroes Assail Role of the Hall

The fear that Negroes will lose their only seat on the City Council was voiced in Harlem yesterday in the wake of the announcement that the New York County Democratic organization had withdrawn its support of City Councilman Benjamin J. Davis jr., Negro Communist.

There was little disposition among Harlem leaders to rejoice over the statement on Tuesday night of Edward V. Loughlin, leader of Tammany Hall, that he would replace Mr. Davis with a bona-fide Negro Democrat as demanded by District Attorney William O'Dwyer, of Brooklyn, the party's mayoralty candidate.

Mr. Davis said through his campaign manager, Miss Audley Moore, that he is "in the race to stay." At his Harlem campaign headquarters, the Citizen's Non-Partisan Committee, at 2286 Seventh Avenue, preparations were under way to circulate petitions for his re-election as an independent candidate, but opinion was pretty general that, if he is to face opposition from one or more Negroes, the campaign would result in a badly divided Negro vote with the strong possibility that none of the candidates would poll the 75,000 votes necessary for election.

Deal Is Attacked

The deal which brought Mr. Davis into the picture as a Tammany candidate was bitterly attacked yesterday by two Tammany Negro leaders, Herbert L. Bruce and Fred D Dickens, leaders, respectively, of the 12th and 11th Assembly Districts. Both men denied that they had ever been consulted by Mr. Loughlin in the designation of Mr. Davis. Mr. Dickens adding that he was "quite humiliated" when his name appeared in a statement attributed to Mr. Loughlin as one of those who had indorsed the Davis candidacy.

Mr. Bruce said that the Democratic party in general, and Negro Democrats in particular were paying the price "of a stupid Tammany policy" which has "consistently discouraged" Negro leaders in their efforts to build up strong party candidates.

"Every time we have made this an issue," Mr. Bruce added, "we have been told down at the hall that the time isn't ripe." He said: "The only decent job I have been able to get for a Negro was handed to me through the Roosevelt administration, without Tammany's indorsement."

Mr. Bruce recalled that in last year's Presidential campaign the American Labor party and the Liberal party had made impressive inroads in the Harlem vote. "It frightened Tammany," said Mr. Bruce. "They decided they would have to do something to hold the Negro vote in the Democratic column, but they did such a good job of keeping down the Negro Democrats that they now find themselves at the mercy of the radicals," he said.

Harlem Democrats, said Mr. Bruce, "have been rendering faithful service to the Democratic party for about thirty years." He said: "Practically all we have to show for this service is a lot of promises." Mr. Bruce added that the Negro vote constitutes one-fifth of the Manhattan total, and that "it unquestionably entitles Negroes to at least one seat on the City Council."

In his campaign for re-election, Councilman Davis has the backing of an impressive list of prominent Negroes, as well as the support of the leading Harlem weeklies.

61d-1945

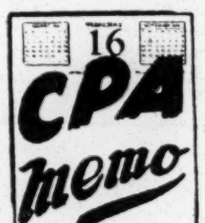
Communists

Fluctuating Negro Membership in CPA

The Worker, N.Y. 1-21-45

By JOHN WILLIAMSON

WHILE the Communists proportionately have a greater influence and support among the Negro people than in other strata of the population, nevertheless we must face the fact that during the July Roll Call into the CPA fluctuation was greatest in the ranks of our Negro members. The solution to this is a burning problem that merits systematic attention of the CPA.



The fluctuation in the ranks of our Negro membership does not reflect a lack of political support to the CPA. The work of our clubs in Negro communities throughout the nation bears testimony to the fact that the Communist movement has enormous prestige among the Negro population. But it would be much too simple to reduce the answer to this problem by stating that it is merely a reflection of our organizational inadequacy. Although, an improvement in our organizational methods would substantially reduce the fluctuation. We must recognize that in the Negro communities as well as the nation as a whole we live and function under very different conditions than in the past and therefore our role as a Communist organization in the Negro communities must express itself differently. 1-21-45

THEY ARE ORGANIZED

The Negro masses today are in labor unions and other people's organizations. Through these media the Negro people are taking an active part in the democratic coalition. It is no accident that in the nine large cities of the nation the Negro vote ranged from 60 to 80 percent for FDR in the recent elections. As a result of these developments, to which we greatly contributed, we are no longer the only force fighting for Negro rights as was the case in the past. As a result we must now function differently. We must go beyond the simple answers of the past. We must get rid of the idea that we can live on our past reputation among the Negro people. The Negro people respect us for our many years of consistent struggle for Negro rights. They express confidence in us today even when they do not fully understand our policy. But we must answer the burning problems of today to hold and merit the continued support of the Negro people. That means we must define clearly our position on such burning questions as: 1-21-45

1—Helping to solve the urgent manpower problem in "critical and essential wartime industries and trades" by removing all restrictive policies of industry or unions that result in the exclusion of Negro workers.

2—Postwar jobs for the Negro who came into war industry, and the need of the trade unions to defend the right to work of the Negro industrial workers, by applying the principle of seniority with any necessary modifications in order to defend the principle itself and the unity of the labor movement.

3—The winning of full democratic rights for the Negro, especially the abolition of the poll tax in the South, in order to release the great democratic forces of the Southland to reinforce the democratic struggle nationally.

4—The removal of remaining Jim-crow practices in the armed forces, the full participation of the Negro servicemen in line of battle and a program that will answer the burning problems confronting the demobilized Negro servicemen and women. 1-21-45

The defending and popularizing of our own position on these questions is relatively simple, although very necessary. What is new in the situation is our responsibility to help win the coalition for full acceptance of the Negro people, to convince the entire coalition of the urgent need to champion such issues as indicated above, which are in the interest of the entire nation. The key to this is the labor movement, and that emphasizes the role and importance of developing Negro labor leaders and deepening our influence and ties among them.

DANGER OF "RUPTURE" 1-21-45

While the growing alliance between the Negro people and the labor movement is most significant, we must also recognize that in many cases the trade unions (because they are mass organizations comprising all types of people with varied ideologies) are not yet as firm and consistent champions of equality and Negro rights. In the strains of the postwar period there is always the danger of a rupture of the present unity of the Negro people as part of the coalition. Reaction will strive to weaken and break up the coalition by utilizing every prejudice and backward tendency. The CPA and the white and Negro Communists must guarantee that there will be no rupture in the coalition as far as the Negro people are concerned. This can and must be one of our special contributions during the coming period. Here we see clearly the indispensable role of the CPA.

A discussion in all CPA Clubs in Negro territories of such type of problems, the working out of specific answers to them and the development of a plan of action as to how to establish clarity in the ranks of labor and the democratic coalition followed by initiative and action on its part, will result in greater participation and interest of all Negro members. This will immediately increase club attendance and enliven activities. 1-21-45

REDUCTION POSSIBLE

Fluctuation can also be cut down to the extent that we do not view the enthusiastic support of the Negro people for the correct fighting anti-discrimination policies and actions of the CPA as a substitute for full integration of our Negro membership into the life and activities of the CPA. We welcome and desire the enthusiastic support of the Negro people, but to those ever larger numbers of enlightened Negro men and women joining our ranks, we have a responsibility to teach them the fundamentals of our policies, so that they will not just be supporters and "joiners" but that these thousands of Negro members become an integral and understanding part of the CPA as an organization, contributing to its every activity and enriching its life and policies, in the same way that such national CPA leaders as Ben J. Davis, James Ford, Doxey Wilkerson, Ray Hansbrough, William Patterson, Henry Winston, Audley Moore, Rose Gaulden and Pettis Perry and others are now doing.

We have a special responsibility of training Negro Marxist leaders who can provide that vital leadership in every Negro community around the key problems of the day, welding the unity of the Negro people with the other democratic forces of the nation. The development and training of such leadership will help cut down the problem of fluctuation. 1-21-45

The fundamental question that must be solved in approaching the work of our clubs in Negro communities is therefore a political question—providing the answer and leadership to the key questions of the day. Once the clubs functioning in Negro communities seriously tackle this question we will be a long way on the road to solving such problems as fluctuation. At the same time it becomes essential that careful attention is given to the many serious organizational problems we face—leadership in every club in the Negro community; improving our methods of servicing the non-attending members; developing supplementary meetings of Negro members living in concentrated areas and projects, or working in important unions and mass organizations; enlivening and improving our club meetings with political discussions of prime importance to our Negro members and introducing richer social and cultural features; as well as creating a spirit of fellowship and warmth in the meetings and activities of the club.

SCHOOL FOR REVOLUTIONISTS 6-24-45

Chicago, June 5—Sunday's Communist Worker announces the opening of the Abraham Lincoln "summer school" at Madison, Wis.—with preparations for more than 2,000 people to be indoctrinated with Marxism this summer. They have taken over several of the fraternity houses that once were the beautiful homes of wealthy residents on Lake Mendota. 6-24-45

Dr. Philip Foner of the Communist "Jefferson school" in New York is being brought on as a member of this summer school "faculty." To get this picture, it is only necessary to explain that the "Jefferson school" was created in New York to take the place of the old Communist Workers school and at the same time to absorb what was known as the "School for Democracy" which, in turn, was started about two years ago to make jobs for the Communists who were thrown out of the New York school system after the Rapp-Coudert legislative investigating committee exposed them as Reds.

Among others who will be on the faculty at this summer school is the Communist Negro leader, William L. Patterson, who received three years' training in the soviet union, was Communist candidate for mayor of New York City in 1932, and Communist candidate for congress in the 1st district of Chicago in 1940. Another member of the faculty will be Alphaeus Hunton, a Negro who has been associated with various "fronts" and is one of the writers for the Communist Daily Worker. Chicago Sunday Tribune

Still another member of the faculty will be the "Reverend" Claude Williams, who heads a militant pro-Communist propaganda agency which he calls the "Institute of Applied Religion," with headquarters in Detroit. He apparently has shifted headquarters several times, as he was originally bounced out of Arkansas under pressure when documentary proof was presented to show that he was attempting to manipulate Communist control for the Southern Tenant Farmers union, which at the time was a Socialist organization. In 1938 Williams was a director of the Communist "Commonwealth college," at Mena, Ark. It was finally closed up by the county authorities. One of the sponsors of Williams' "Institute of Applied Religion" has been the "Reverend" Leon M. Birkhead, who operates a smear agency known as the "Friends of Democracy" and who sponsored the notorious rabble rousing book called, "Under Cover."

Another member of the faculty for this Abraham Lincoln "summer school" as announced in the Communist Worker of June 3 is Ernest De Maio, vice president and local head of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America. He spoke at a banquet in honor of the Communist leader, William Z. Foster, at the Ashland auditorium in 1941. De Maio was one of the sponsors listed by the American Peace Mobilization, which had pickets around the White House, calling this an "imperialistic war," but the day that Hitler attacked Stalin the Communist party line changed. De Maio and all the rest of the Communists and pro-Communists became the loudest in calling for help for soviet Russia.

The announcement states that six different unions have signed up to provide "students" for this summer school. De Maio's union is sending 100 or more. the Indiana branch of the same union is sending 125, two sections of the International Workers Order, which is a Communist fraternal organization, are sending students and individual reservations are "pouring in from people as far west as Colorado and east to the Atlantic." 6-24-45

The interesting thing about this Abraham Lincoln school is that it was set up to take the place of the old Communist Workers school here, apparently in accord with the Tehran or Moscow conference. After the Abraham Lincoln school was exposed in THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE in five documented articles, Sen. James E. Murray of Montana was sent out by the New Dealers from Washington to lend his prestige as a speaker at an affair sponsored by the school to help it recover from the shock of that expose.

Strange as it may seem, a vice president of one of our Chicago banks also lent his prestige to this school by joining in a forum here in Chicago on the same platform with Earl Browder. This banker was told exactly what kind of an institution it was, but he persisted in helping to build up an institution that is trying to destroy the free enterprise system, including the banks.

GEORGE W. ROBNETT

The Cavalier

Richmond Times Disp.

THE Hon. Mr. Marcantonio, the New York Communist, whose bill aimed at the election laws of seven Southern States has just passed the lower house of Congress, is intent on making what he and his school of thought call the "New South." What they are actually animated by is their animosity toward the current one, the one with its Anglo-Saxon customs and traditions and natural jealousy of the encroachment of government.

The Hon. Mr. Marcantonio has some active supporters in our midst. What they have against the Old South is that it will not give them and their kind office and has a distaste for birds that befoul their own nest.

If only they can destroy the Old South, they do not care what sort of New South arises on its ruins. They want a South turned upside down with complete submergence of all that is superior in it. They would delight to deliver the Old South into the hands of such as comprise the constituency of the Hon. Mr. Marcantonio.

6-17-45

THE Old South has gone along with many fantastic things which have been done in the name of democracy in recent years, but it has made a wry face at it and its foreign ideologies. The Old South is still dominated by its Anglo-Saxon strain. It is a strain which is rightly jealous of government, knowing it to be always intent on greater power over the people. This foreign-inspired democracy is used to czars and dictators, and the notion that all good things, including freedom, come down to us from government. The new freedoms are government-given benefactions like doles and bonuses.

Under this inspiration freedom in America has changed its quality and its character. We are not now an independent people, holding government at arm's length, such as Mr. Jefferson desired, but a kept and coddled peop inviting government to come into ou homes and take care of us. If this crew of New Southerners can get charge of the election laws of Virginia, their hope is that they will be able to run things their own way. They are not so anxious to put the bottom rail on top as they are to put the top rail on the bottom.

IT IS hard to believe that they desire votes for people unable to pay a poll tax of $1.50 a year, or that they imagine addition of such poor creeters to the voting lists will bring wisdom to the polls. It is fairer to think that they desire votes for paupers so that they can have the benefit of the pauper vote in the subversion of our present social and economic order.

I observe that some evangels of this Virginia-upside-down are saying that 10,000,000 people are robbed of the right to vote by the poll tax, hoping, I imagine, that their hearers are too ignorant to know that there are not that many voters in the region to be affected by their so called reform.

The election laws of Virginia are Virginia's affair, and this was never questioned till in very recent years. The idea of invading Virginia in this fashion is one embraced with eagerness by the Marcantonio type of democracy, the democracy which believes that the cure for all our evils, social and economic, is more government.

If Virginia wishes to change her election laws, that is a matter entirely within her rights. I am in favor of giving Virginians a prompt opportunity to say at the polls whether or not they wish the abolition of the poll tax as a part of our election law. I resent the effort to have this done against the will of Virginia by the Marcantonios and the Red recruits of democracy, the recruits who think that the true well-springs of democracy are in Moscow rather than in America.

By Thomas Lomax Hunt

Where Does The Governor Stand?

Atlanta Daily World

The action of Governor Arnall in calling on the Attorney General of Georgia to give whatever assistance possible to tax Collector Suttles in defending the suit against him by Wallace Van Jackson, seeking for himself and other qualified Negroes the right to vote in the Democratic primary, is very interesting to us.

First of all, it raises the question of where does he stand on the question of Negroes voting in the Democratic primary So far, he has not committed himself personally to us. Previously where we attempted to get his position on the question of Negroes voting in primary elections, he ducked the issue and passed it to the state Democratic executive committee and all readers of this paper know the answer was "No."

6-22-45

On the surface the request made of the Attorney General might be considered as indicating that the Governor was personally opposed to Negroes participating in the primary. But on the other hand, the Governor's action if followed would have knocked the main prop from under the only half-reasonable argument those who would preserve the white primary system could make.

The main contention of those who oppose Negroes voting in the primary election is that it is a private organization; say, like a church, lodge, etc. But these later organizations only attempt to influence and control people who are members where on the other hand, the Democratic party primary nominates and selects in the case of our state, where it is and has been the dominating party for more than a half century, the men and women who hold the public office in our city and state governments. These men and women make laws by which everybody, white and black, is required to live and die.

In reply to the Governor's request for aid to Mr. Suttles, Attorney General Head stated that "the parties really at interest are the officials and members of the Fulton County Democratic executive committee" rather than Tax Collector Suttles, and adding that "it does not appear at this time that the state has any interest in such litigation or any cause to intervene."

Last September a similar suit was filed in Columbus, Georgia except in this case, the action was by Negroes against the County Democratic executive committee officials as suggested by Attorney General Head should be done here. Somehow the Columbus suit seems to have gotten no where.

In the Jackson suit Attorneys who represent him have spent considerable time in studying the primary case. So we feel confident they have taken action against the right party.

As we see it the Governor has the right to call upon the Attorney General to aid any public official in the defense of any reasonable act in connection with his official duty. So in calling in Mr. Head does not necessarily mean the Governor is for or against Negroes voting in the primary. However, we believe the participation of the Attorney General would make clearer and easier to win the Jackson suit. It would show the state's connection and responsibility for the denial of the franchise right in the primary.

Apparently the shrewd Mr. Head takes this same view and hence his decline to intervene in the defense of the Tax Collector and Registrar. 6-22-45

This being the situation. now what will the Governor do relative to the primary case?

NEW YORK, N. Y.
DAILY WORKER
Circ. D. 22,000 - S. 70,000
AUG 29 1945

Ben Davis, People's Champion

ANY OBJECTIVE estimate of the work of Councilman Ben Davis in his first term establishes him as one of the city's outstanding Councilmen. A national leader of the Negro people, he was elected by the combined votes of the Harlem citizens, the progressive forces of labor and the white citizens generally.

Davis has not only fought for the rights of his people —the Negro people—in whose behalf he was able to secure the support of the majority of the Council on many vital issues. He has also championed the interests of labor and the entire community. For the Negro people he was indeed a worthy successor to Congressman Powell, who was the first Negro Councilman elected. And to both the white and Negro citizens he demonstrated that the firm alliance of the white and Negro people, on the basis of full equality to the latter, is in the best interests of all the people.

This splendid record of a great champion of the people is now being challenged by all the reactionary forces in our city who are out to defeat Councilman Davis in November.

'Liberal' Spearhead

Spearheading the fight against Davis is the so-called "Liberal" Party headed by David Dubinsky, an anti-Soviet Social Democrat. Dubinsky's open desertion of the forces representing the policies of the late President Roosevelt and his alliance with the Dewey Republicans in support of the Tammany Judge Goldstein, are part of the campaign against Davis. These forces have chosen a co-worker of the Negro Social Democrat Philip Randolph, one Benjamin McLaurin, as their candidate. The elements in the Democratic Party who are openly or secretly supporting Goldstein, took the lead against Davis. They brought about the Manhattan Democrats' withdrawal of their designation of Davis. This action was in opposition to the Negro Democratic leaders and the Democratic voters of Harlem who favored Davis and who opposed the subsequent nomination of another Negro candidate by the Democrats.

Neither the Negro Democrat, a Harlem woman, nor McLaurin stand a chance of actually being elected. The sole object of their backers is to divide the vote of the Negro people to defeat Davis.

It does not bother these people that if Davis is defeated not a single Negro will be elected from Manhattan. This is exactly what they wish to accomplish.

The unprincipled nature of the attack on Davis is perhaps best seen in the slanderous campaign directed against him in the columns of the World-Telegram. Taking a preconvention article written by Davis in the recent discussion in the Communist movement, the World-Telegram tried to frighten and split the voters with the false charge that Davis was advocating setting up a Negro Republic in the South, separate and apart from the United States. With this lying and distortion, the World-Telegram only made clear its own opposition to full equality for the Negro people in both North and South. Pegler may be writing now for Hearst, but Roy Howard's World-Telegram still carries the poison now being spread by Pegler and his political blood-brother, the Senator from Mississippi.

United Action

But the Negro people are showing a remarkable understanding of the issues. More and more they are expressing themselves in politics unitedly and in a progressive direction. It is evident they will not be easily divided. Outstanding Negro leaders of all political parties are supporting the reelection of Davis. And the progressive forces in the labor and people's movement are also rallying to the reelection of their champion. The New York CIO Council has endorsed and will actively campaign for Davis' reelection. True, Davis is the nominee of only the Communist Party. But he was elected through the support of broad circles of our citizens in 1943 as the candidate of the Communist Party alone.

Davis also has the endorsement—not the designation —of the American Labor Party. We consider it unfortunate that of all the political parties the ALP alone has not designated a Negro candidate from Manhattan. But despite this we are certain that voters who will support all the candidates nominated by the ALP will also vote for Davis. And we are also certain that the Davis campaign will bring new strength to the ALP both in Harlem and in Manhattan County generally.

But it would be a mistake to underestimate the forces working for the defeat of Davis. They must be exposed on the issues and on the basis of their unprincipled campaign against Davis. The labor and progressive forces must make their number one job in this election campaign the reelection of Councilman Davis.

A Tammany Blunder

The Montgomery Advertiser
Montgomery, Alabama - 8-12-45

Tammany is primarily interested in getting out the votes. It is said that when William Marcy Tweed was boss of Tammany Hall he always got out 106 per cent of the vote in his district.

In the recent New York City campaign, Tammany thought it good vote-getting tactics to indorse the candidacy of Benjamin J. Davis, Negro radical of Brooklyn, for city councilman.

After the indorsement was given, Davis wrote for The Daily Worker, Communist newspaper, and advocated a Negro Soviet Union in the United States to be composed of Tennessee and North Carolina and all other Southern States south of these two. This was too much even for a Tammany campaign, and a storm was kicked up in New York. And Tammany was forced to withdraw its indorsement of the Communist.

The scheme called for "revolutionary seizure of plantation land and large-scale farms" in 11 Southern States. And Davis' platform was that "in this territory we demand that Negroes be given complete right of self-determination, the right to set up their own government in this territory, and the right to separate, if they wish, from the United States."

8-12-45

Such idiocy in one of its candidates would cause Tammany to lose more votes than it could gain and there was a speedy withdrawal of Tammany's support from Davis.

Even the most rabid of the New York Democrats, who make South-baiting a policy, would draw the line at the Soviet-South idea. But that did not deter Mr. Frank Kent, columnist, from trying to show that such communistic ideas have a real link with the national Democratic party. Davis is a registered Democrat, and Mr. Kent therefore infers that the Democratic party is the stronghold and the hope of the Communists.

Tammany's blunder, however, is merely a sample of the kind of reckless tactics in big-city Democratic machines which threaten to split the Democratic party. One day we read that the Democratic party is the party of the Southern Democracy and is tory and bourbon; the next day we read that the Democratic party is the party of Tammany and is going communistic. The great bulk of the Democratic party, of course — the rank and file—is devoted to democracy, as is the bulk of the Republican party.

It is unreasonable to take such fantastic incidents as Tammany's indorsement of Davis as having a bearing on a great national political party. Davis and his Soviet republic idea is merely ignorance and fanaticism gone rampant, and even Tammany could not stomach it.—Chattanooga Times.

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AUG 13 1945

REDS SUPPORT YOUTH PARLEY

By HOWARD RUSHMORE

A world-wide youth conference which has the backing of outright Communist groups is being launched in the Allied nations with the American section of the organization playing a leading role in setting up the international conference to be held in London Oct. 31,

Although "American Youth for a Free World"—the local section of the "World Youth Council"—has YMGA and other religious groups represented on its list of delegates, the national executive director of this new movement is a former editor of an avowed Communist publication.

This was learned today by the N. Y. Journal-American as Mrs. Martha Haven Fletcher, executive director of the "Free World" group toured the United States to drum up interest in the new "international youth movement.'

Mrs. Fletcher, who lists herself on propaganda literature of her organization as a member of the "American Unitarian Youth," was on the editorial board of "Spotlight," official organ of "American Youth for Democracy," formerly the Young Communist League.

Now chairman of arrangements for the World Youth Conference in London Mrs. Fletcher also has enrolled, as delegates, representatives of the Young Communist League organization as well as the Southern Negro Youth Conference another group under Red control.

Also sending delegates allegedly "typical of American youth" to the London parley are the American Communications Association and the National Maritime Union, two CIO unions with pro-Communist leadership.

In contrast to these pro-Stalinist delegates will be representatives of the YMCA, YWCA, the United Synagogue of America, and the International Religious Fellowship groups.

AIMS LISTED.

The entire plan follows closely that of the American Youth Congress, set up in 1936 by the Communist International, which subsequently held a "world" conference with religious and patriotic organizations as part of the "innocent" front.

According to "Free World" literature, the aims of the new group will include:

"Letter writing with young people of 46 countries through the World Youth Book project;

"Radio broadcasts and programs to young people here and abroad;

"Provide program resources —speakers, radio scripts, entertainment groups, recordings, films and plays;

"Plan tours of international youth representatives throughout the United States."

According to the same source, countries which will participate in the London October conference, include Russia, China, France, India, Yugoslavia, Mexico, Africa, Iran and many others.

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AUG 13 1945

REDS LAUNCH BID FOR YOUTH

By HOWARD RUSHMORE

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Now chairman of arrangements for the World Youth Conference in London Mrs. Fletcher also has enrolled, as delegates, representatives of the Young Communist League organization as well as the Southern Negro Youth Conference another group under Red control.

Also sending delegates allegedly "typical of American youth" to the London parley are the American Communications Association and the National Maritime Union, two CIO unions with pro-Communist leadership.

In contrast to these pro-Stalinist delegates will be representatives of the YMCA, YWCA, the United Synagogue of America, and the International Religious Fellowship groups.

AIMS LISTED.

The entire plan follows closely that of the American Youth Congress, set up in 1936 by the Communist International, which subsequently held a "world" conference with religious and patriotic organizations as part of the "innocent" front.

According to "Free World" literature, the aims of the new group will include:

"Letter writing with young people of 46 countries through the World Youth Book project;

"Radio broadcasts and programs to young people here and abroad;

"Provide program resources —speakers, radio scripts, entertainment groups, recordings, films and plays;

"Plan tours of international youth representatives throughout the United States."

'Ben Davis Club' Ready for Campaign

9-17-45
New York Daily Worker

LIFE as a Communist organizer is full of interesting contrasts and exciting experiences. Last week I was in Logan County, W. Va., meeting with a group of Negro coal miners, who belong to our local **Carver Club.** It was an 80-mile ride south and back from Charleston, around winding roads, through the hills, past Blair Mt. where the pitched battle occurred year ago between the union miners and the company thugs.

We discussed their many grievances which include being Jimcrowed at the local Greyhound bus station, although 35 percent of the residents of Logan are Negro families. Their children go to separate schools, always the poorest and least equipped. Their job opportunities, even in union mines, are limited, and the question of seniority looms as a burning issue to preserve their present status and extend their rights. FEPC was defeated in West Virginia.

We had a very fruitful discussion. When we adjourned, they asked me when I would return. I explained that for the rest of September and October up to Election Day, I would be busy in New York City in the campaign for the reelection of our Communist Councilmen Cacchione and Davis. They wished them both success. They said earnestly that to elect Ben Davis gives all Negro people a representative and a powerful national voice in the struggle for their democratic rights. To them he is far more than a local New York candidate. Nor is it just any Negro token candidate that will do. Ben Davis is **the** candidate, known nationally today as a champion of the Negro people and of labor—an unbeatable combination. His reelection is a must throughout America. That's the way the Carver Club felt about it.

9-17-45

by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn

* * *

EXACTLY one week later I had the privilege of conveying the message of these coal miners to the Ben Davis Club of the Communist Party in Harlem. The trip was easier, though far less picturesque, a subway ride of a half hour from home. The club is on the street level of Seventh Ave. attractively arranged. A long shelf runs the whole length laden with literature — the classics, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and current pamphlets. Sales were brisk, I noticed. The meeting was one of a county-wide series to guarantee 70,000 first choice votes for Ben Davis—40,000 in Harlem, 30,000 outside of Harlem. I hope all the members at other meetings were as enthusiastic and willing as at this club, named after the candidate.

Everyone present, about 40 members, volunteered for ED (election district) work. They plan to revisit immediately all those who signed the petitions to place his name on the ballot. They plan to visit all local churches and organizations. They plan to check up on all trade union members, especially of the CIO, which endorsed the candidacy of Ben Davis, as its first choice. But they are deeply concerned in Harlem about the rest of Manhattan. They all realize that the votes of Negro citizens alone cannot elect Ben Davis. It is imperative to reach white trade unionists and all progressive-minded white citizens to keep Ben Davis in the City Council.

9-17-45

* * *

THIS is their message to all other clubs, where they hope all members will volunteer for whatever work they are best able to do from now until Nov. 6. In Harlem they are working hard for a big registration turnout. The Davis vote can be doubled in Harlem if this is done, which is the goal of his supporters there. It's a good idea all over Manhattan.

I rode home on a Lenox Ave. bus which passes through several sections of Harlem, where Negro, Spanish, Puerto Ricans and others live. What a sharp contrast there is between the old houses, schools and stores of these poverty-stricken streets and mid-Manhattan of swanky apartments, night clubs, florist shops and fancy stores. Housing, health, sanitation, schools, hospitals, jobs, cost of living, discrimination—these are Harlem's and the East Side's problems as well as coal miners' in West Virginia. The working people of Manhattan need Ben Davis to fight for all these issues. The working people of America need him in our City Council. Our duty is to keep him there—for all of us.

61d-1945
NEW YORK, N. Y.
JOURNAL-AMERICAN
Cir. D. 641,194—S. 1,067,857
AUG 1 - 1945

Reds Secretly Spur Drive to Enroll Negroes

By HOWARD RUSHMORE

Although the national convention of the Communist Party, which ended here last Sunday, temporarily abandoned the proposal to agitate for a Negro Soviet Republic in the South, the Reds nevertheless plan to intensify their recruiting drive among Negroes in all sections of the country.

This was learned today by the N.Y. Journal-American from secret documents distributed to delegates at the convention and which have not yet been made public by the Communist Party leaders.

This report, drawn up by a special "Negro commission" was formulated by two members of the new Communist national board—Benjamin Davis, Jr., City Councilman who replaced James W. Ford as Communist Negro leader, and Josh Lawrence of the National Maritime Union, CIO.

BROWDER ASSAILED.

Criticizing Earl Browder, deposed president of the Party, for his "class collaboration" policies the document stated:

"It was inevitable that the opportunist errors of our general policy during the recent period should confuse our thinking and curtail the effectiveness of Communist work on the Negro question.

"Our revisionist faith in bourgeois reformism narrowed the scope and weakened the vigor of our struggles, even causing us to discourage militant fights against Negro discrimination in the armed forces.

"We have had serious weaknesses and inconsistencies in our work in the Negro communities and have been unable to consolidate our thousands of new Negro Communist recruits into a stable membership.

"We have completely liquidated the Communist organization in the South."

After similar self-criticism, all of it aimed at Browder, the "commission" ordered as a new Communist policy:

"We must give militant leadership to the struggle for Negro democratic rights on all fronts, especially intensifying our educational work among white trade unionists.

"We must rebuild the Communist organization in the South.

"We must develop and bring forward a strong corps of working-class Negro Communist cadres in the great industrial centers of the nation."

NEGROES ON COMMITTEE.

It is known that the convention also elected a number of Negroes to the "Committee of 100" trade unionists which was set up by the Communists to lead the drive to recruit 25,000 CIO and AFL members into the Red ranks.

During the sessions devoted to discussion of the "Negro problem" the delegates sharply criticized Davis for suggesting that the old-time "line" of fighting for a Negro Soviet below the Mason-Dixon line be revived at this time.

However, the Red delegates agreed that such a program was the ultimate aim of the Party, but for opportunistic reasons, it could not be brought into the open at present.

states by a "revolutionary seizure of the plantation land and large scale farms." The Communist documents also add, "In this territory we demand that Negroes be given the right to set up their own government and the right to separate if they wish from the United States."

It was scrapping of this idea by Earl Browder, because he realized the political dynamite in it at a time when he was converting the Communist party into a Communist Political Association in order to get his friend Franklin Roosevelt reelected, which eventually led to the trouble in which Browder finds himself now. He has, apparently, been kicked out of his leadership because of his actions which he held were cooperation for the war effort. Of course the public was supposed to forget the Communist interference with our war effort until Hitler turned on Stalin.

It seems to us this avowed intention to overthrow part of the United States government by force is something for the people of this country to demand be brought to a stop and at once. Again enemies of our form of government are taking advantage of political freedom in this country to work against its welfare. Can you imagine the bloody struggle that would ensue were an attempt made to set up any such Negro Soviet here? It seems to us all who have subscribed to any such alien idea have laid themselves open to imprisonment or expulsion from this country. How much longer are we going to be so soft as to harbor those who are seeking to take us over, not by peaceful means but by force?

BRIDGEPORT, CONN.
BRIDGEPORT LIFE
Cir. W. 15,334
JUL 29 1945

HOW MUCH LONGER?

WE ARE A PRETTY EASY-GOING COUNTRY BUT DISclosures which came out of the Tammany row in New York over the indorsement of Benjamin Davis for the city council should make us sit up and take notice. This Davis, well known Negro Communist, advocated, and still does, a Negro Soviet Union in the United States in the course of which a number of Southern states were to be turned into a Soviet disregarding all present state set-ups and boundaries. Do not forget, unless it has slipped your memory how fantastic were considered the ideas set forth by one A. Hitler, and what they have now cost this world.

This is to remind also those who see no harm in the Communist party in this country that such schemes are being advocated by it. In this particular one this new Soviet Union would be carved out of eleven Southern States a republic, or State, or something, for the Negro population of the United States.

The territory would be that in which there are now heavy populations of Negroes, including much of South Carolina.

This is a revival of a plan suggested back in the '30's. It was a scheme at that time to get the Negro vote, and is just as fanstastic now as it was then.

The scheme, according to Davis now, is a cardinal principle of the Communists. According to an official Communist pamphlet, entitled, "The Negroes in a Soviet America," the new country will involve "the revolutionary seizure of the plantation land and large-scale farms" of the South.

It would be a separate "Soviet republic." But it would be possible that they would later "decide in favor of a federation with the Soviet United States." Among the cities which would be included in this "empire," or whatever it would be, would be Norfolk and Richmond, Va., Atlanta and Savannah, Ga., Montgomery, Ala., New Orleans, La., Little Rock, Ark., and Memphis Tenn.

It is not disclosed why they ovelooked Charleston and Columbia.

It should be inserted here that Davis is a Negro himself.

In summarizing the situation, in an article in the Communist organ, the Daily Worker, Davis said: "We propose to break up the present artificial state boundaries established for the convenience of the white master class, and to establish the state unity of the teritory known as the 'Black Belt.'

"In this territory we demand that the Negroes be given the complete right of self-determination; the right to set up their own government in this territory, and the right to separate, if they wish, from the United States."

Which is quite a program and fully as crazy as anything yet to be proposed by the half-baked Reds. But it does furnish food for thought as to just how far the Communists are permitted to carry their traitorous ideas.

Here is a Negro Red advocating a revolution, and is permitted to disseminate it in a newspaper of wide circulation.

Of course, it is fantastic and incredibly silly, but there still remains the fact that revolution against the United States is being urged.

Free press, eh?

ANDERSON, S. C.
MAIL
Cir. D. 4,253
JUL 27 1945

Reds Would Give S. C. To Negroes

Communists are a strange conglomeration of politically - minded people, whose ideas are more fantastic than they are completely inane.

Their only hope to gain the spotlight is spectacular activities combined with tirades against the accepted order of things.

Benjamin J. Davis has come to the fore with the craziest of all Red ideas. Davis is a New York Communist who is a member of the New York City Council. He wants to carve out of the eleven Southern

CINCINNATI, O.
ENQUIRER
Cir. D. 122,672 — S. 200,750

AUG 3 - 1945

Hopeful Sign Seen By Kent In Protests Of Democrats To Pact With Communist

BY FRANK R. KENT.

IN THE PAST there have been in this country machine bosses who combined extreme practicality in politics with some degree of character as well as brains—not many, it is true, but a few. The late George Brennan of Chicago was one. No one ever charged him with a being a purist but he had a clear idea of what his party should stand for and a pretty high conception of personal patriotism. There are no such men running the machines in the big cities today. On the contrary, the caliber and character of the bosses has shrivelled and the level to which machine politics has sunk marks a new low.

It always has been true that expediency is the keynote of the professional politicians; that they can get out of it; that the real professional boss would much rather handle campaign funds, acquire power and distribute patronage than hold any elective or appointive job, though there are some who manage to do both.

Those things characterize organization politics now just as they always have. But, never in the history of the city machines has there been a time when there was about them so little party spirit and party loyalty, so complete a lack of principle, such utter willingness to do anything for votes.

IN BRIEF, the machines have reached a stage of complete callousness, where no alliance is too depraved to contract, no combination too incongruous to join—if only it promises to pay off at the polls. Particularly is this true of the Democratic machines, because they are dominant. In the past 12 years, these have been nourished with Federal patronage and funds as no machines were ever nourished before. As a result they have grown unprecedentedly big. But the quality of the bosses has not kept pace with the expansion of the machines. Stupidity has taken the place of shrewdness and there is no longer even a pretense of party standards.

No better illustration could be had than the recent Tammany endorsement of the Negro Communist New York Councilman, Benjamin J. Davis Jr. When this action was first unctuously revealed by the Tammany boss, Mr. Laughlin, it was considered in certain circles a very smart piece of politics, indeed. Radical newspapers applauded Mr. Laughlin's action and it was supposed to cement the support of the Communistic American Labor party behind the Democratic Mayoralty candidate, Mr. O'Dwyer. The most advanced New Dealers who, representing the Roosevelt administration, have been mixing in New York politics since 1936, were pleased. But their complacency did not last long.

It vanished suddenly when it was brought out that Davis, writing in the Daily Worker, after his Tammany endorsement, was, with others, advocating a Negro Soviet Union in the United States, to be formed through the "revolutionary seizure of plantation land and large-scale farms" in 11 Southern States.

This interesting scheme is not new. It has been favored by Communist leaders for a long time and was understood to have had Moscow approval. In reviving it, Communist Davis disclosed himself as not in the least civicminded but a very earnest Marxist, a fomenter of revolution, bent upon upsetting our system and substituting another. All of this was well known about Comrade Davis long before Mr. Laughlin gave him the Tammany blessing. But when it was printed in the New York papers there was a reaction so violent that Mr. O'Dwyer had to step in and the Tammany leader was compelled to withdraw his endorsement, the reason being that it was clear far more votes would be lost than gained if he did not do so.

Now, whatever the effect of this incident upon the mayoralty candidacy of Mr. O'Dwyer, there are several things about it which might profitably be pondered. One is the obtuseness of the Tammany leadership. A second is the character of the alliance which Tammany is willing to make and the type of men it is willing to put into public office. A third, and perhaps the most significant, is the revelation that Mr. Davis, Negro Communist and Daily Worker contributor, is a registered Democrat. The reason this is significant is because it bears out the contention that there has been—and is—a systematic infiltration of the Democratic party by the Communists. Communists in New York or, for that matter, anywhere else, do not register as Republicans. They do register as Democrats and there are thousands, who, like Davis, have enrolled themselves in that party. This is a calculated Communist policy. Shortly before 1936 they adopted the Democratic party as the party through which they could best work to promote communistic aims.

THERE WAS NO secret about it. They openly proclaimed it, candidly explaining that working within the Democratic party and supporting the New Deal was the surest way of moving toward Communist goals. Every Communist in the United States able to get to the polls voted for Mr. Roosevelt in 1940 and 1944—for all other Democratic candidates, too.

Every organization in which Communists were influential, such as the American Labor Party and the CIO, did likewise. For purposes of their own, the Communists in this country have adopted the Democratic party as their instrument. That has been so obvious that it must have been a surprise to the Tammany boss when there was so strong a protest against his endorsement of Comrade Davis, a registered Democrat but a wholehearted Communist. That there was that kind of protest is a hopeful sign and if the incident should arouse real Democrats against this kind of party prostitution by such bosses as Laughlin in New York and the radical New Deal politicians, some of whom still hang about the White House, the results may be beneficial.

Contaminated Negroes

Charleston S.C. News & Courier

In the South are virtually no negro Communists. Such creatures as the negro Davis in New York owe their Communism to association with white persons. White Communists contaminate many good Southern negroes who migrate to Northern cities. To this will be no serious objection from white Southerners as long as the contaminated negroes stay among their white associates in Northern cities. Indeed, negro Communists may improve political conditions in New York and make better men out of raw white Hillmanites and Tammanyists.

Two Meetings of Importance To Fight for Freedom

Daily Worker New York 8-17-45

by Doxey A. Wilkerson

THE two people's meetings scheduled for Madison Square Garden tomorrow night and next Monday are both of tremendous significance to the struggle for Negro democratic rights in America.

First, there is the Sept. 18 meeting celebrating the 26th anniversary of the Communist Party.

It is no accident that the Communists in our country and all over the world have always been in the forefront of the struggle for the liberation of oppressed national groups. Kark Marx' dictum during the Civil War period—"Labor in a white skin cannot be free while labor in a black skin is branded"—stems from a fundamental postulate of the Marxist movement, namely, that the basic interests of **all** workers are the same, and that only through **united struggle** can the working class goals of freedom and security be won.

From its beginning, the Communist Party in America has recognized this truth. Even during the 1920s, when the party was small and isolated, its militant struggle for Negro freedom so profoundly disturbed the conscience of America that Jimcrow reactionaries tried to minimize its influence by labeling it the "Negro Party."

* * *

NOW the Communist Party has grown in numbers and influence, has broad contacts and close relations with many non-Communist progressive organizations, and is fresh from an historic convention which was highlighted by decisions and programs for pressing the fight for Negro rights even more vigorously than ever before.

Tomorrow night's Madison Square Garden meeting of this newly-reconstituted Communist Party will inevitably be a landmark in that struggle.

Second, there is the Sept. 24 rally on Spain.

The fascist suppression of the Spanish Republic nearly a decade ago came as a logical next-step to the fascist enslavement and torture and murder of the Negro people of Ethiopia. Freedom is, indeed, indivisible—whether one's main concern be Ethiopians, Spaniards, Chinese, Bulgarians, American Negroes or poor white workers in the South.

Many brave Negro men with the Abraham Lincoln Brigade fought against fascism and for democracy and freedom in Spain—and many still lie buried on Spanish soil. We all must help now to win the goal for which they and their comrades died.

* * *

TODAY the policies which our government follows regarding fascist Spain are inherently linked with those it follows regarding the oppressed Negro people here at home. Let us here struggle for a free and democratic Spain, and we thereby push forward the struggle for a free and democratic America.

Both of these Garden meetings should be packed to the rafters—for then will they shout to the world that the people of America want the influence of their government used to promote genuine democracy in our own country, in Spain and everywhere else. And when the people speak with such power, the reactionaries cannot ignore their voices.

61d-1945 Communists

Negro Struggle Weakened by Revisionism

Daily Worker

By GEORGE LOHR

San Diego, Calif.

Since the general theoretical postulates of our errors have, in my opinion, been quite well examined by other participants in the discussion, I want to direct my remarks to a few specific aspects of the question. Our revisionist estimation of the changed relationship of class forces in our country has also inevitably led us into some gross misconceptions regarding the integration of the Negro people into American life. As a result, we committed many tactical errors which, in my opinion, hampered the struggle for the rights of the Negro people. On this front, too, we had become smug and complacent. 7-17-45

Let me quote a few passages from "Teheran." On page 97 Comrade Browder says: "Our American democratic principles and morality which were denied application to the Negroes on their own ground, thus gain their revenge by reappearing as military necessity." And again on page 96;" It required the harsh realities of war to blast America out of its smug acceptance of the poison of racialism." That is precisely it. The gains that have been made were, in the main, the result of war time necessity, that is to say, Negro workers found employment in defense industry in large numbers. The bourgeoisie, which had a war to fight against an imperialist competitor, found it necessary to temporarily shelve its prejudices. Now that the war in Europe is over, monopoly capitalism is again reaching for its divisive weapon of race chauvinism. Witness the large scale lay-offs of Negro workers in many war plants, in some instances with a total disregard of seniority.

The bourgeoisie was even able to swallow its prejudices against women sufficiently to employ large numbers of them in their "wartime necessity" and now the capitalists are again trying to chain them to the kitchen stove. (By the way, the board resolution is silent on the question of women workers, and I believe this weakness should be corrected). 7-1945

But aside from employment in war plants, very little can be recorded on the balance side of the ledger in furtherance of the integration of Negro people into the life of our nation. Restaurants and other public places throughout the state of California violate the law every day by refusing service to Negroes; "restrictive covenants" flourish, swimming pools in or near army posts are for "White only" and managers of federal housing projects follow the "community pattern" and segregate Negro families into some corner. It must also be pointed out that not a single Negro was appointed to serve as a delegate representing America on any of the numerous international conferences which have taken place lately.

Does all this mean that we should have counterposed the slogan of "Victory abroad" with "Victory at home" as it was done by A. Phillip Randolph and other anti-war elements? Of course not. But as Marxists, we should have recognized that the logic of a People's war becomes fully operative only if the working class does not abdicate leadership for the advancement of Democracy to the liberal bourgeoisie. Fear of disturbing relations with the employer sector of national unity, for instance, is in my opinion greatly responsible for the fact that the excellent proposals advanced by Comrade Hudson in relation to jobs for Negroes in the postwar period have not received serious attention from union leaders. In addition to that, of course, no mass educational campaigns were carried out on the Negro question within the trade union movement. This, too, could wait until after the war. To the extent however, that the building of Negro-white unity on the basis of the struggle for democratic rights was neglected, to that extent has the struggle for the realization of the Teheran perspective been weakened. This is where our dialectics failed us. 7-17-45

One other matter before I conclude this point. I realized with a sudden shock the other day that it has been years since we have carried through a thorough discussion in our ranks on white chauvinism. Instead of a scientific understanding of the class nature of this virulent poison, thousands of our new members have gathered their "understanding" from liberal or humanitarian sources. And we old timers had become so complacent that we did not think that a periodic self critical examination on this question in leading committee meetings was necessary any more.

This brings me to the question of our errors and the present discussion. I have no doubt that thousands of veterans like myself have asked themselves the question, as I have asked myself; "How was it possible to go along with this opportunistic rot?" All of us especially who have served our class and movement in one or another leading capacity must assume a heavy share of the responsibility. In place of scientific investigation and communist vigilance I had substituted hero worship and sophistry. This holds for the national committee as well and I am therefore not in agreement with that body's statement which, in the main is not self-critical and which shifts the major blame to Comrade Browder.

If Comrade Browder was the main architect, there were many of us (and especially the national committe members) who helped to elaborate the blueprints for this structure built upon the sands of opportunism, with the exception of Comrades Thompson, Williamson and Ford, there has not as yet been, in my opinion, the kind of Bolshevik self-criticism which we must expect. A leadership which, in the interests of a formal "unity," did not insist upon the publication of Comrade Foster's viewpoint, has a lot to re-learn about communist methods of work. 7-17-45

I say "Re-learn" because every one of our national leaders has been tried in struggle in the past and not found wanting in communist firmness and integrity. Today we are listening to the voice of our membership, the voice of the best sons and daughters of our class. This voice speaks frankly and critically but it also speaks with tremendous confidence in our ability to quickly eradicate our mistakes and move forward as a united organization.

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JUL 24 1945

See Councilman New Red Chief

By HOWARD RUSHMORE

The Communist party is preparing to elect Councilman Ben Davis to a position of national leadership where the Daily Worker Co-editor can take personal charge of the new Red program to create forcibly an autonomous Negro Republic in the South.

The Communist Councilman whose endorsement by Tammany Hall has thrown sections of the Democratic party into open revolt, may supplant Robert Minor, Red vice-chairman, and even outrank James W. Ford, top-flight Communist Negro leader.

This was learned by the New York Journal-American as the national convention of the Communist party—which opens Thursday—prepared to throw out three of the leading Communists, Earl Browder, president; Minor and Roy Hudson, trade union commissar.

Davis will be one of 11 delegates from New York to this national convention, and it is known that his state group has pledged to nominate Davis to one of the three vacated positions.

At the state Communist convention, held last week, Davis played a leading role in the sessions which devoted a great deal of time to the question of the Negro Republic. Since 1931, Davis has been one of the Communists in charge of carrying out the original Moscow plan of turning over the 13 Southern states to the Negro people, and moving the white population to other states.

Davis has not returned to his native ground in 20 years, although he has been increasingly prominent as Communist spokesman on the solution of the racial problem.

REVIVES OLD PLAN.

The revival of the old plan was announced in the Daily Worker by Davis, who called it "self-determination for the black belt."

At the same time, Communists were formulating plans for the relegation of Browder, Minor and Hudson to obscurity in the party rank and file, with William V. Foster to be named as new president.

Serving with Davis as strategists for the new class war program will be James Dennis and John Williamson, with Dennis directing the theories of the new line.

Removal of Hudson, long a Communist party whip in the trade union movement, indicates a definite break in the Browder "no strike" policy, which has been in effect since Russia entered the war.

Hudson, whose principal work was on the New York waterfront, was present at the State convention and heard his policies and Browder's denounced by Frederick Myers, official of the National Maritime Union, who served as chairman of the State convention.

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HERALD TRIBUNE
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JUL 25 1945

O'Dwyer Wins As Tammany Drops Davis

Forces Loughlin to Take Negro Communist Off Ticket for City Council

Victorious in Third Fight With Leaders

Democratic Mayoralty Candidate Admits Move May Cost Harlem Votes

By Denis Tilden Lynch

Tammany repudiated its support of Benjamin J. Davis jr., Communist Councilman, last night, following a demand by District Attorney William O'Dwyer, of Brooklyn, Democratic designee for Mayor.

Repudiated by O'Dwyer

Mr. O'Dwyer made known his opposition at a meeting with Edward V. Loughlin, leader of Tammany Hall, at which he urged the Tammany chief to name a Negro Democrat for the post.

At the meeting, which began shortly after midnight, Monday, and lasted more than an hour, Mr. O'Dwyer reminded the Tammany chief that Mr. Davis has reaffirmed his belief in the Communist party, its principles and its program after enrolling as a member of the Democratic party and accepting the Democratic designation for Councilman in Manhattan.

Then Mr. O'Dwyer informed Mr. Loughlin that he would have to replace Mr. Davis with a bona-fide member of the Democratic party. Many Negroes of outstanding alibities, Mr. O'Dwyer added, could be found to measure up to this standard.

Aware He May Lose Votes

In the ensuing discussion of the effect of his stand Mr. O'Dwyer told Mr. Loughlin he was fully aware that the reaction in Harlem might cost him votes.

This is the third time Mr. O'Dwyer has challenged the candidates named by Democratic leaders. His first protest was against the original running mates chosen for him at a conference dominated by Edward J. Flynn, Democratic leader of the Bronx.

Mr. O'Dwyer demanded that he have running mates "of proved ability and so known to the people." The party leaders submitted, replacing their first selections with Vincent R. Impellitteri for President of the Council and State Senator Lazarus Joseph, of the Bronx, for Comptroller.

Mr. O'Dwyer's second protest came when Tammany turned down District Attorney Frank S. Hogan of New York County for renomination and designated Edward J. Ennis in his stead. In this case Mr. O'Dwyer also triumphed.

Explains His Action

Mr. Loughlin went to Washington on business following his early-morning meeting with Mr. O'Dwyer, and upon returning to town last night the Tammany leader said:

"In announcing support of Councilman Davis, I acted not only upon the recommendation of district party leaders but was also advised that a representative group of clergymen, professional and business men, as well as labor unions, were in favor of his candidacy. Moreover, Councilman Davis was an enrolled Democrat and a member of the Carver Democratic Club (the Tammany club of the 13th Assembly District North).

"After my declaration of our support Councilman Davis issued a statement to the effect that his status as a member of the Communist Political Association, of which he is a national officer, was unchanged. By reason of these circumstances I have reconsidered my decision and withdraw approval."

The withdrawal was made in the face of a warning yesterday by "The Daily Worker," the Communist organ, that such action would cost Mr. O'Dwyer votes.

The warning, embodied in an editorial, read:

"The designation of Davis strengthens the candidacy of General O'Dwyer. It consolidates the coalition of the Negro people, labor and the progressive. This kind of coalition is an asset to every genuinely liberal running in New York. It will be strengthened by a real fight against the forces trying to use the Communist issue against O'Dwyer, while any concessions to the red-baiters will only undermine the solid front for O'Dwyer and the candidates running with him."

Tammany's indorsement of Mr. Davis evoked caustic criticism from foes of Mr. Loughlin and the Democratic mayoralty designee. It was seized upon by Mr. Flynn, of the Bronx, to invade New York County in a fight on Mr. Loughlin's leadership as part of Mr. Flynn's ambition to nominate the two Democratic candidates for Supreme Court Justice.

Mr. Flynn's anticipated statement in telling of the conference he held in his office on Monday with six Tammany district leaders opposed to Mr. Loughlin did not materialize. High-ranking Democrats prediced it never would, asserting that Mr. Flynn had been advised he was not helping the party and its candidates.

Hours after Mr. O'Dwyer forced Tammany's withdrawal of its support of Mr. Davis, Thomas F. Cohalan, temporary chairman of a Democratic group supporting Judge Jonah J. Goldstein, Republican-Liberal-Fusion designee for Mayor, and his running mtaes, issued a statement challenging Mr. O'Dwyer to repudiate Mr. Davis.

"Are you an unbossed candidate?" asked Mr. Cohalan. "Are you ready to defy Loughlin, Neal and Strand, or do you eccept their decisions as final? Are you weighing the risk of losing Communist votes and support?"

Temporary publicity offices for Mr. O'Dwyer will be opened this week at the Hotel Commodore with William J. Donoghue in charge. The O'Dwyer campaign headquarters will be established late in the same hotel.

Herald Tribune—Rice

Councilman Benjamin J. Davis jr.

The Communist Convention

THE special national convention of the Communist Political Association opens in New York today. In the name of this paper, which had opened its pages to the two-month discussion of Communist policy, we extend warmest greetings to the delegates.

Beyond a doubt, this gathering of American Communists is among the most important ever held. The eyes of the entire Communist movement are upon it. So are the eyes of the most advanced sections of the labor movement and progressives generally. Friends are looking to this convention with hope. Foes of every kind are watching it with undisguised fear. And that is how things should be.

Out of this convention will unquestionably come a strengthening of the program and organization of the American Communist movement. And such a strengthening will deal a blow to the forces of reaction, those who want to short-circuit a democratic victory in Europe and Asia, those who are deliberately running the country toward economic crisis, those who are out to wreck the friendship of our own country and its allies, especially the Soviet Union.

And the harder the blows to reaction, the greater the Communist contribution to the working people, to national progress. As for the weaknesses of the past, we are sure a firm basis will be laid for overcoming them. A new chapter will be opened in the service of the Communists to the working class and the nation.

It is a limited convention in terms of numbers, because of government travel regulations. But it will be a powerful convention in terms of the character of its delegates, the majority of whom come from the shops and major industrial centers. They have been elected from their respective state conventions, which brought together thousands of the most active and representative workers.

The delegates come prepared with the results of the most thorough self-examination ever to take place in any American political organization. Every policy and deed of the past has been publicly and mercilessly examined. No one has been spared the democratic searchlight of the membership. And the result is bound to be—as it already is—a deeper unity, a more effective program of action, a great step forward. We wish the delegates well in their momentous tasks.

Reds Admit Errors On Negro

Promise To Become Militant Again

(Defender New York Bureau)

NEW YORK.—The Communist Party this week admitted soft-pedaling the Negro issue during the war and promised to make amends.

Publication in the Daily Worker of the main resolution of the recent national convention of the party in New York showed a large portion devoted to the Negro question, much of it criticism of the party's failure to fight more militantly.

A promise to wage the fight for Negro rights more vigorously in the future concluded the analysis of the party's policies on the Negro. "It is now incumbent upon us to give militant leadership to the struggle for Negro democratic rights on all fronts, especially intensifying our educational work among white trade unionists."

The resolution declares that the party's former policies as the Communist Political Association spread the "unwarranted illusion that the big bourgeoisie themselves would carry forward after V-E Day the war-time gains of the Negro people."

Dodge Army Bias

The resolution confessed that the party program "even caused us at times to soft-pedal the struggle to eliminate Negro discrimination in the armed forces."

Sharply hit was the dissolution of the Communist Party in the South, with the convention voting unanimously to reconstitute the party once again in Dixie.

Other criticisms were:

"We have not adequately prepared the labor movement and the Negro masses to combat current efforts of reaction to create sharp Negro-white conflicts within the ranks of labor and to wipe out the war-time democratic gains of the Negro people. Despite limited gains we have had serious weaknesses and inconsistences in our work in the Negro communities and have been unable to consolidate our thousands of new Negro recruits into a stable membership. We completely liquidated the Communist organization in the South. We failed to develop a substantial corps of Marxist-trained Negro workers for leadership in the labor movement."

18,000 at Garden Rally Agreed: 'U. S. Needs Communist Party

Daily Worker New York, N.Y. 9-20-45

By ABNER W. BERRY

It would have taken more than a tropical hurricane meeting a chill northeaster in a pelting rain to keep 18,000 Communists and sympathizers from Madison Square Garden last Tuesday. In high spirits and a mood of struggle the thousands poured into the meeting to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the Communist Party.

However, the meeting was more than an anniversary celebration; it was the first great mass meeting since the national convention in July; it was the sounding board from which a militant policy for the coming period was to be announced.

One felt an air of expectancy in the hall preceding the meeting. Would the thoughts which were in the minds of millions be echoed from the platform? Would the issue be joined and a path of struggle be outlined? No one voiced the questions. But they were there. They could be sensed. And with the unvoiced questions there was also an air of re-dedication, a taking up anew of the fight to advance democracy to build and further unify the Marxist vanguard. To the bourgeois wiseacres who had shed many a crocodile tear over the "split" in the Communist ranks, this was the answer. 9-20-45

NEW LEADERSHIP

This meeting which came together to mark a point in history was iself an important historical event. The new leadership which emerged at the convention showed remarkable capability. Its fusion with the old was notable. The speech of Eugene Dennis blended with the meaty and militant speech of William Z. Foster, the evening's feature. And the tone of both speeches struck home with the audience.

By its applause the adience showed a sensitivity to political issues and a heightened sense of danger if the issues were left for solution to even the most intelligent "free enterprisers." There was thunder from the audience when Foster emphasized that "the people have not fought a costly war to victory over German and Japanese fascism only to become victims of the American trusts."

Another feature of the meeting was its Negro attendance and participation. With the Negroes present there was the air of "belonging," of at-home-ness. And the speeches and program set everyone at ease as to where the Communists stood on Negro rights and Negro and white unity.

Undoubtedly the meeting was bad news to the unconverted monopolists. They had wished for and even publicized the demise of the party. But they were wrong. Communism proved to be a much too hardy plant for that. And that hardiness grows out of the fact that the program of the Communists cannot be separated from the aspirations of the people. 9-20-45

If the meeting showed that Communists are serious, scientific and realistic people, it also showed that they are NOT grim to the point of boresomeness. Just as every life, no matter how oppressive the conditions under which it is lived, must have its lighter sides—so, too, did the anniversary meeting. The program of songs from America and the world offered fruitful recreation. Through the songs by the chorus and soloists the audience relived moments at home and got a glimpse of the international peoples' cultural scene. The satire on Tin Pan Alley during the song program sharpened the fight for a real culture freed from the fetters of commercialism. 9-20-45

The unity of all Americans and of all Americans with the peoples of the world as symbolized in the meeting was significant. And in the fight against the "free enterprisers," the imperialists who are trying to cheat the people out of their dearly won fruits of victory over fascism this meeting will be looked upon as a pertinent weapon. No further proof is needed of the fact so aptly pointed out by Dennis in his speech: 9-20-45

"America needs the Communist Party."

Ben Davis Tangles With Rankin At Red Hearing

The Informer Houston Texas 10-6-45

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — City Councilman Benjamin J. Davis of New York, called on the carpet as a Communist leader by the old Dies committee, tangled with Rep. John Rankin of Mississippi, last Wednesday morning, and on Thursday learned that he had come off the better of the two.

The house committee on un-American affairs had called Davis and Earl Browder, deposed leader of the Communist party in America, to explain their activities. When the committee convened Browder was put on the stand for questioning first. His testimony was not yet completed when the house went into session and Rankin declared that questioning of Browder might last "several days."

Davis, who was sitting in a front row of the hearing room, jumped to his feet and strode forward and demanded that the committee hear him that day.

"I want to testify today because I am now running a campaign for reelection and this is taking very valuable time, he argued." "I want an opportunity to testify and get it over with."

Chairman John S. Wood of Georgia, informed Davis that they were running the hearing and not him whereupon Davis branded the hearing at a "witch-hunt" and an attempt to interfere with his chances for reelection.

"That's contempt of this committee," declared Rankin, "and it must be so construed."

Davis again shot back that "it is an attempt to defeat me in the election."

Wood interrupted with the remark that "I am not interested in what you think," to which Davis rejoined that "it is a most un-American way of conducting its (the committee's) affairs." He then charged Rankin with trying to keep "Negroes in New York from being elected to public office just because those in Mississippi cannot be elected."

The dispute was interrupted here by Rep. Herbert C. of North Carolina, who said that "some consideration is due to Councilman Davis" and suggester that "we may be able to hear him."

The committee emptied the hearing room and went into executive session where they agreed to let Davis return to New York and appear on Friday morning. On Thursday, however, Wood announced that Davis would be called sometime later but that he had "no idea" just when.

Rep. J. Parnell Thomas (R) of New Jersey indicated the line that the committee had taken when he added that "after all, he (Davis) is running for reelection to the council and we don't want to interfere with campaign"

It was apparent that to put Davis on the stand would only serve to further the Davis campaign and would do the committee little good. Even before the hearing began on Wednesday, Davis made this statement to this reporter:

"This is having a tremendous effect—and not all negative. Negro people and labor realize this is a means of defeating me. They are, however. supporting me because I am a front-line trench."

The Incipient Gestapo

The Worker

THE Rankin Committee of the House has focused its immediate attack on the Communist Party. This is an unintentional compliment to the Communists as the most consistent fighters against reaction and fascism—in short, against everything men like Rep. John Rankin of Mississippi stand for.

New York, N.Y.

But the Rankin Committee also has other irons in the fire. It is "reviewing" the scripts of liberal radio commentators in New York in a thinly disguised effort to get them off the air. And it is "investigating" progressive currents in Hollywood in preparation for a public spectacle to be compounded in equal parts of anti-Semitism and red-baiting.

This is altogether characteristic. The witch-hunters begin with the Communists. But they soon include in their dragnet the labor movement and even the mildest of liberals.

As William Z. Foster told the committee to its face, it is "an incipient Gestapo" and "a combination of Hitlerist red-baiting, Japanese 'dangerous thought' control and Salem witch-hunting."

10-21-45

The Communist leader exposed the real meaning of this fantastically cheap and vulgar circus: to divert attention from the real problems of the country, to provide a smoke-screen for imperialist reaction at home and abroad.

American public opinion has been all too slow in reacting to the danger of this new Dies Committee—instigated by Rep. Rankin after the leading members of the original Dies Committee had been retired by the voters to private life.

But the first signs of popular alarm are beginning to emerge. The radio commentators, threatened by the committee, are fighting back at the attempt to gag them. And on Monday there will be held in New York a conference of liberal organizations to organize a protest movement.

The movement against the Rankin Committee is just beginning. It needs the backing of the labor movement—the inevitable target of the witch-hunt. And it must be developed until it is climaxed in a real drive in Congress to abolish the Rankin witch-hunt.

One Negro's Viewpoint on Communism

Congressional Record

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN E. RANKIN

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 5, 1945

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, if anyone wants a real picture of the damages communism is doing to the Negroes of this country, I invite him to read a letter which I am inserting in the RECORD, written by Charles Lee White, a Negro now living in Jersey City, N. J.

In addition to organizing a certain element of the Negroes and encouraging them to adopt an attitude of antagonism to the white people, these Communists, in the early days of the war between England and Germany, and especially at the time of the nonaggression pact between Russia and Germany, encouraged their stooges among the Negroes all over this country to buy up all the firearms, pistol cartridges, shotgun shells, and other ammunition they could get their hands on. Here in Washington they even bought up all the ice picks at one time preparatory, evidently, to carrying out the Communist mandate for a revolution at the proper moment.

These Communists might as well understand it now: This Government is not going to be overthrown, and communism is not going to control America.

It is about time that men in public office stop coddling these Communists for political effect, and help us rid the country of this menace.

Here is a Negro who has struggled to make himself a place in the world among his own race, turning the sunlight onto just what the Communists have done, and are now doing, to the Negroes of this country.

It reads as follows:

To the EDITOR:

SIR: This continual arguing back and forth about the DAR is so childish it seems to me that the real cause of all the trouble should be put before the people. The Communists in this part of the country have caused so much trouble and disagreement between the races it is about time we got after them and chased them out of the country so that we can plan a peaceful future.

In the first place, the Communists have been working for years to cause not only trouble between the North and South, but to cause trouble between the races. The whole organization is based on deceit. They have spurred the Negro to demand things he sincerely does not want such as moving into white neighborhoods, demanding entrance into white institutions, even intermarriage.

This is not the Negro's idea of equal rights—that is, the intelligent Negro. I am a Negro with a college degree, and I most certainly want my race to have certain privileges, but being an intelligent person, I certainly don't approve of the Communist propaganda which has fired the Negro's demands for such privileges to the point where he may marry with the white man.

I came north from Tennessee 14 years ago. My mother worked for a white family and helped raise their children. They paid her a reasonable salary and gave her an ideal home. I worked on this country estate for several years before entering a Negro university. To this day, I correspond with the family, and only deep devotion remains even though my mother died several years ago and the entire family—the white family for ch she worked—attended her funeral and wept for her.

Is there any such devotion in the East between the white man and his Negro help? There is not. Communism has destroyed all that is fine in these relationships. However, I would never even consider dining at the table with this fine white family, or even entering their church, for I would much rather be with my own people in a place exclusively for them. The Communist has done his best to try to make the less intelligent Negro think differently. He has encouraged him to demand entrance to white hotels, organizations, and I was told of a case where Negro girls entered a white beauty parlor demanding service. This makes me ashamed of my race, and no Negro with any intelligence would consider such things or be so impressed with Communist propaganda that he would be led to such actions.

If we, as a race, are given good living conditions, a chance to make a decent living, and an opportunity to have our own clean hotels, hospitals with our own Negro staffs and nurses, our own churches and schools where our own teachers might teach, then and then only will we lick communism. Some of my dearest friends in the South are among white people, and I do not expect any Communist-contaminated Negro or white in the North to understand this relationship.

I have no enemies among the white men, and I have no desire to enter his institutions—hospitals, schools, and so forth—but when that is the only decent place for me to go, what am I to do? There should be money to finance a Negro hospital with a Negro staff, especially where the number of Negroes in that city warrants an institution of their own. My children would be much happier in a school where only Negro children attended, and where only Negro teachers taught. That is all we ask.

CHARLIE LEE WHITE.

JERSEY CITY.

101

61d-1945

Communist

The American Communist Party

The position of the American Communists in this quick-changing world is that of a flea on a hot griddle. The essential aim of the party is, of course, the overthrow of our economic system and government by revolution, which it knows would have to be violent. But it has been forced to alter its program, from time to time, in accordance with the changing needs of Soviet Russian foreign policy. 8-16-45

Sometimes these changes are ludicrous. Thus, June 21, 1941, found Communist pickets marching up and down in front of the White House, carrying placards denouncing the "imperialist war" in Europe. The next day, following Hitler's invasion of Russia, the pickets were withdrawn and the American Communist Party began screaming for American entry into "the war to preserve human liberties." The program of American revolution, to be incited chiefly by strikes, was dropped, and the Commies began to co-operate with the Government to help win the war—primarily for Russia. Cincinnati, Ohio Times Star

As part of this new program, Earl Browder dissolved the Communist Party over here and made it into a "political association" in support of the Roosevelt Administration. But the approach of the war's end in Europe caused an abrupt reversal in policy. With Russia out of danger, Browder was denounced by Communist leaders abroad for his collaborationist policy. A few days ago he was kicked out of office. His successor and head of the reborn American Communist Party is the old revolutionary, William Z. Foster. 8-18-45

Since the "holy war" in Europe was over and since Russia had not entered the Pacific war, Foster and his sheep-like following promptly denounced the American fight against Japan as an "imperialist" war. Plans were laid to revive the class war over here and to work for revolution through general strikes, race riots and boring from within.

But again the American Commies were taken by surprise. Russia, for her own reasons, suddenly declared war on Japan—after the appearance of the atomic bomb. And suddenly the "imperialist" war in the Far East became a "holy crusade." One can picture the frantic scurrying about in Red offices throughout the land as the Commies planned once more to reverse their program in mid-air.

Perhaps they won't have to after all. The conquest of Japan is a fact. Russia is, to put it mildly, secure in that quarter. The diatribes against American "imperialism" and the class war can be resumed, with the assurance that any disunity caused in the United States may redound to the advantage of Russia in peace negotiations in the Pacific.

This shifting back and forth could be dismissed as absurd and contemptible were it confined to a few long-haired male and short-haired female radicals. But the American Communists have friends in high places in the Government. They have the support of powerful labor unions. They have won over a section of the American Negro population. Important voices over the air and in the newspapers, magazines and books of the land are speaking, not openly but shrewdly, in their behalf.

Ridiculous as its public antics may seem, the American Communist Party, as the spearhead of a variegated army, has become a grave menace to American unity and security.

NEW YORK, N. Y.
JOURNAL-AMERICAN
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SEP 18 1945

City's Reds Back Davis Race

Look to Revival of Negro Soviet Plan

By HOWARD RUSHMORE

The Communist Party has ordered its 25,000 members locally to concentrate on the re-election of Benjamin Davis, Jr., to the City Council as a major step in the revival of the old Party program to establish a Negro Soviet republic in the Southern States.

This was learned by the N. Y. Journal-American today following a secret meeting of Communist leaders, who plan to use the prestige of Davis' position in the City Council as a sounding board for a nationwide recruiting campaign based on the Red appeal to Negroes to set up a Bolshevik government below the Mason-Dixon line.

DAVIS TO TOUR SOUTH.

Davis, who was promoted to national Negro spokesman for the Communist Party at the recent national convention, will be used to tour the South and other parts of the country to promote this policy if he is re-elected, it was also learned.

The importance attached to the Davis campaign by the comrades is demonstrated by the printing of 1,500,000 pieces of Red literature backing his campaign and the appropriation of $20,000 by the Communist Party to be used city-wide in the re-election fight.

Other major Communist demands and agitational issues have been set aside by order of William Z. Foster, Red national head and more than 100 Red "clubs" in the five boroughs have been put on an around-the-clock basis ringing door bells for Davis.

DEMAND ON UNIONS.

Repudiation of Davis by the Democrats following a flood of protests at his original endorsement by Tammany was a blow to Communist hopes, but they are now demanding that the CIO and AFL unions under Red control supply the necessary election machinery to assure the re-election.

Davis is under orders from the Party to soft-pedal his declaration made two months ago that the Negro Soviet republic should be revived. Strong opposition to this program among Harlem voters, many of whom refused to sign Davis petitions, is said to have brought about this order.

However, at its convention, the Communist Party, which liquidated itself in the South during the war years, voted to once again set up "cells" in major Southern cities and to launch a recruiting campaign for Negroes based on the program set up in Moscow in 1929 that the Southern States should be turned over to the Negro population.

Salute to CP From Soldier

Daily Worker

Keesler Field, Miss.

Editor, Daily Worker:

Since being in the Army of the United States, I have come to appreciate more and more the program and significance of the Communist Party. I am stationed down South where the Negro situation is most unbearable to see. Signs marked "White Only" or "Colored, Stay Out," have been staring at me for some time and making me wish that I could kick someone in the teeth for putting up those signs. N.Y. N.Y.

The way Sen. Bilbo and Rep. Rankin are lauded here makes the situation even more disgusting. These two "heroes" are played up as the "savior" of this state. When I think of how the C.P. has fought bitterly against all this, I'd like to take my hat off and salute all the members of the organization and tell them to keep on fighting. 10-10-45

A DISGUSTED SOLDIER
IN THE SOUTH

Meet Josh Lawrence

The Worker N.Y.; N.Y. 9-23-45

Meet Joshua Lawrence, Political Action Committee leader for union seamen in the Port of New York and member of the National Board of the Communist Party. His chief interest now: 're-elect Ben Davis.'

By BETH McHENRY

JOSHUA LAWRENCE, elected to the National Board of the Communist Party at the recent national convention, knows the workers' problems from first-hand participation.

Josh Lawrence is a young man for the high responsibilities which have been entrusted him, but he's been through the mill that makes workers mature early. Now somewhere in his early thirties, he was union conscious at 16, and conscious of discrimination long before that. He has, however, the natural enthusiasm and the sympathetic attitude toward others that keeps a leader close to the people and makes him stand out among other men. Josh Lawrence is the kind of man to whom others come with their problems.

An elected official of the CIO National Maritime Union, Lawrence heads the union's Political Action Committee in the port of New York. He has been in the NMU since his first trip to sea in 1939. As PAC director he has a responsibility for the job that he considers biggest on the people's agenda in New York this fall—the reelection of Benjamin J. Davis, Communist City Councilman.

"If you want to do a story about me," Lawrence told us in an interview the other day, "just make that the lead: Reelect Ben Davis to the City Council. That's a task that everybody who thinks straight has got to throw himself into. It isn't enough to be for Ben Davis—people have got to get out and work for him. Unless the work is put into it, political action doesn't mean a thing."

He Got 'A Call'

9-23-45

Josh Lawrence was born in Elizabeth, N. J. His father was a steel worker of great religious leanings. Josh recalls his father preaching in various churches on Sunday, although he had no church of his own. As the second of seven children, Josh had no choice but to go to work early—but his father hoped against hope that somewhere down the line this second boy of his would get the "call" and study for the ministry. Josh, with a smile, says he got a "call" all right, but it came from another direction.

At the age of 16, Josh left high school and went to work. His first job was at maintenance work in a hospital. Thereafter he did a variety of things—odd jobs on the big nearby estates of the rich, and in a number of other places, including a baking company where he tried to persuade the AFL union to organize the maintenance workers. Not only did the union refuse, says Josh, but he lost his job for his trouble. Sixteen dollars a week for plenty of hours, he recalls.

In 1934, through a peculiar circumstance which he remembers warmly, Josh discovered the Young Communist League.

"The YCL opened up a headquarters in Bloomfield, where I was living then," he told us. "The mother of a friend of mine told us about it. She had been reading the papers and she was scared stiff of the Communists. The press of Bloomfield was condcting a vicious campaign against the Reds, making them out to be murderers and worse. My friend and I went down there to have a look at the headquarters. I don't remember quite what we expected, but it must have been a lot different than what we found. Here was a group of friendly young people who invited us and talked to us about things we knew but hadn't thought through exactly. I was very impressed."

First Contact With Communists

Not that Josh Lawrence joined the YCL right off. But he went away feeling friendly toward it and the ideas he had got from that first contact with the Communist movement sank in. I kept thinking about them afterward, he said, and they made plenty of sense. Two years later, he joined the YCL and became a very active member from the start.

In 1939, just before the war started in Europe, Josh shipped out to sea. He joined the NMU, which he said he had looked on as "sort of my own union" before that. As a YCL-er he had helped collect funds for the strikers in 1936 and 1937 and had stretched his legs on the picket line more than once. That first trip to sea took him right into the war. He was a day off England when war was declared and he saw the Regent Tiger, first British tanker to be hit by a submarine, get it. Two years later, on Dec. 7, 1941, he was on a ship returning from South Africa when the news of Pearl Harbor came through. 9-23-45

As an American seaman, Josh Lawrence has seen hundreds of ports in a half dozen years. He has been to many countries of South America, to England, Holland, Belgium, and to all the coasts of Africa. Only in South Africa, he says, has he seen discrimination practiced as openly and brutally as here at home, in the United States of America.

Because of the NMU, Josh Lawrence said, seagoing was better, even for a Negro American, than it had been a few years earlier. But the fight against discrimination is still a bitter, hard pull, at sea as elsewhere. Josh himself was pulled off the S.S. Brazil two years ago, only to be reinstated by the action of the union.

"I was the ship's delegate," he explained, "and the Mate on the Brazil then hated the union and hated Negroes. When we hit New York, I was pulled off the ship. The mate had reported me as a troublemaker, I guess. Anyway, the company called in the Army Intelligence to clinch the deal. They gave me a real going over. Finally they asked me if I were a Communist. When I said yes, the officer who was questioning me jumped up like he had sat on a tack. He asked me again, and I said yes, and so they ruled that I could not sail aboard any vessel carrying troops. But the union forced them to rescind the ruling and I went back aboard the Brazil."

Elected to N. Y. CP Committee

9-23-45

In 1943 Josh Lawrence was elected to the New York State Committee of the Communist Party. He had come to believe in the movement as the only possible answer for working people anywhere, and he was convinced that only by uniting their efforts with all workers could the Negro people fight their way out of the particular bitterness of their life under capitalism.

In January, 1944, Josh Lawrence came ashore to take the post to which he had been elected, field patrolman in New York. He covered ships in the harbor, settling beefs, collecting dues, making reports. Other patrolmen say he is one of the best. He knows how to talk to men and how to fight for them, a fellow patrolman said of Josh, guys feel that he's their spokesman.

In the spring of 1944 Josh's son, Kim Lawrence, was born. Now, at the age of 18 months, Kim is standing watch over the crib of an infant sister, Joanna. Josh said, "Sometimes I think I've learned about how to work with grownups, but learning about how to work with children is something more." Between family, union and Party leadership, Josh Lawrence is a busy man.

His final words to us, as his first did, stressed the importance of the Ben Davis election campaign. Josh said there's no doubt about the NMU's being for Ben Davis. 9-23-45

"In the foc'sle, the union hall, and wherever the seamen gather, the Davis campaign is widely discussed," he said. "You see, our members worked hard to get Ben elected two years ago. They stuck it out in the rain, getting out campaign literature, manning the polls. And Ben Davis didn't let them down. He was the first councilman that I know of ever to get this City Council on record of the demands of a trade union—he did that when the Council voted full support to the wage demands of the NMU. So our men will work for him again, harder than before even. And the rest of the labor movement has got to do the same thing."

JOSHUA LAWRENCE 9-23-45

61d-1945

Communist

Communist Council Vote Highest in N.Y. History

11-12-45

Daily Worker New York N.Y.

The count of ballots for City Council resumes today with Brooklyn the only borough that has not yet completed an unofficial tally of first choice votes. The first choice vote for the two Communist Councilmen, Benjamin J. Davis, Jr. and Peter V. Cacchione, in Manhattan and Brooklyn alone is certain to top any Communist vote ever received in the entire city in any election. With the count in Brooklyn only 61 percent completed, the two candidates had 96,970 votes combined at the close of business Saturday. The highest vote ever received by a Communist in New York City was the 100,000 vote given to Israel Amter, running for representative-at large, in 1938.

11-12-45

With Frederick L. Schick, incumbent Democrat, declared the winner in Richmond, the top first choice votes in all other counties on the unofficial count were received by candidates endorsed by the CIO.

In the Bronx, Councilman Michael Quill, the CIO's number one choice for the entire city, had 71,191 first choice votes upon the completion of the unofficial first tally Saturday night. This is the second highest figure ever received by any candidate in any borough since proportional representation was intiated in 1937. In 1939, James A. Burke of Queens hit the maximum 75,000 first choice votes.

CIO CHOICES WINNING

In Manhattan, Stanley Isaacs, independent Republican, and Davis, were running first and second upon the completion of the first tally. Both were endorsed by the CIO Council. Their first choice votes of 59,830 and 56,540 respectively, were the highest ever received in Manhattan in PR history.

Third in the Manhattan standing is still another CIO-backed candidate, Eugene P. Connolly of the ALP, with 42,151 first choice votes. And William A. Carroll, Democratic incumbent who ran with CIO's blessing is fifth with 35,432. Isaacs, Davis and Connolly are assured of election while Carroll is considered almost certain.

In Queens, the end of the first count found James A. Philips, Democrat, on top with 56,487 ballots. Phillips, a member of the CIO State, County and Municipal Workers Union, also had the endorsement of the CIO Council.

In Brooklyn, Cacchione is in the lead and Councilman Joseph T. Sharkey, Democrat, is second. Both Cacchione and Sharkey are CIO Council-endorsed. Cacchone has 40,250 first choice votes as the count resumes today, and Sharkey 35,116. Another CIO-backed candidate in the Bronx, Charles Rubenstein, American Labor Party, finished sixth in the first tally with 25,488 first ballots. With five to be elected in that borough Rubenstein is conceded a fair chance of election. He is expected to beat out John Devaney, pro-fascist running independently, who leads him by less than 300 votes. His chief contenders for the fifth place are Gertrude Klein, who trails him by 3,500 first choice votes, and Ira J. Palestin, Liberal Party nominee who has 19,395 votes.

In Queens, Charles Belous, ALP nominee backed by the CIO Council finished in seventh place in first choice votes. While he is expected to pick up many second choice votes, his chances of being one of the four elected are considered slim.

In Brooklyn, the two ALP candidates supported by the Council, Milton J. Goell and Bertram L. Baker, were running seventh and fourteenth respectively. With seven or eight to be elected it was considered scarcely likely that Goell would be able to pick up enough votes to come in a winner.

The new Council will have five members from the Bronx, five from Manhattan, four from Queens, one from Richmond and either seven or eight from Brooklyn.

The procedure, following completion of the official tally of first choice votes, will be to eliminate all candidates with less than 2,000 and to distribute their second choice votes immediately. After these are tallied the lowest candidates on the list will be successively eliminated in each borough, and their second choice votes distributed to those still in the running. This continues until only the number to be elected remains.

As soon as a candidate reaches 75,000 votes, however, he is declared officially elected and every additional vote cast for him is distributed to the candidates next preferred on the ballots. Quill and Isaacs are considered certain to hit the 75,000 mark.

61d-1945

Democrats

This Evening

Birmingham News 12-31-45

By Charles N. Feidelson

SOUTHERN DEMOCRATS

Drew Pearson, who seems to have eyes and ears planted in the most secret places, published what Senator Mead, of New York, told an executive meeting of Democratic senators when Felton Johnston, of Mississippi, was chosen assistant secretary of the Senate majority. Senator Mead thought the appointment should go to a Democrat from some other section of the country. With McKellar as president pro tem, Barkley as leader, Doxey as sergeant-at-arms, Biffle as secretary, it seemed altogether too much of a good thing for another Mississippian to be given a party plum. "What about the great industrial states of the North, the Midwest and the Far West? They have a right to appointments, but, more than that, it is vitally necessary that they get them."

Then it was that Senator Mead issued a serious warning. He said: "We've got to remember that the Democrats would have won easily in 1944, even if they had lost the entire South. The South cannot win an election for us, but it can lose one. The South has got to work for the good of the whole party—and that means that it must stop these sectional battles over the poll tax, fair employment legislation and other issues. The South has got to stop combining with Republicans against that liberal legislation which alone will keep Democrats on top." Mr. Pearson reports that, while they objected to Mead's candor, many Southern senators took a gloomy view of 1946 prospects.

One wishes that some Democrat in the House would talk to Southern congressmen with equal frankness. For in the lower chamber, reactionism and teaming up with Republicans are even more pronounced among Southerners than in the Senate. The record in this respect is too clear to be gainsaid, but it is being given a new emphasis by the way in which a committee headed by Mr. Manasco, of Alabama, is handling the full employment bill, or the way in which Mr. Doughton's ways and means committee has been strangling the unemployment compensation measure. The president has repeatedly declared that these proposals are essential to his reconversion program, but that seems to make no difference.

Alabama's Manasco and Mississippi's Whittington went to the White House the other day at the president's invitation. Mr. Truman was worried about the full employment bill. It had been emasculated in the Senate by Taft's amendment giving a balanced budget priority over employment maintenance. But even that was better than the stalling indulged in by the House committee on expenditures. The president thought he might persuade Mr. Manasco and his colleague to change their minds about "assurance" of employment and the right to work But the two congressmen stuck to their guns and the outlook is that when their committee gets through with the bill it will not be recognizable.

The reason why that is likely to happen is that Messrs. Manasco and Whittington are ready to join their Republican colleagues in knifing the measure. This is what Senator Mead denounced. "The South has got to stop combining with Republicans against that liberal legislation which alone will keep Democrats on top." The folly of such a course is so plain it is hard to understand why Southern Democrats are so willing to cut their party's throat. To be sure, whatever happens in '46, these men will go back to Washington. But they are risking their committee assignments, and it is questionable whether they really are expressing the sentiments of the interests they think they are serving. 12-31-45

Let me illustrate. The Committee for Economic Development is strong in the South, with able leadership. Yet in a report recently issued on its behalf and entitled "Toward More Jobs and More Freedom," we have a discussion of the "crucial responsibilities" of government "for promoting and maintaining high levels of productive employment." The government has a great lever for the purpose, the C. E. D. Research Committee argues. But not by taking the traditional line of economy or tax cutting, or budget balancing, or debt reduction, it asserts. "It is generally agreed that an annual balance of the budget is impractical—that an attempt to balance in a depression year might work against recovery."

But how is this to be reconciled with the committee's conviction that "a peacetime increase in the public debt should be avoided and that as much debt should be retired as is consistent with maintaining high levels of employment and production"? The way in which to work for both objectives is to increase expenditures and reduce taxes when the market demand is weak and to do just the reverse when things are going well. This, as Keith Hutchison points out in *The Nation*, is "a new statement of the compensatory theory, which looks to government fiscal policy to offset the fluctuations in demand inherent in the free-market system." Not only that, "it is the theory which gives potency to the Murray full employment bill." So we have the C. E. D. indorsing the conclusion that "it is the state of employment which must determine budgetary policy, not vice versa." 12-31-45

Harlem Leaders Irked Over Brewer's Case

The Memphis World
Memphis, Tenn.
12-7-45

Charges Return Of White Rule In Harlem

BY ALBERT ANDERSON

NEW YORK — (ANP) — Exposing the underground methods of Clarence Neal, Democratic leader in Tammany Hall's organization, which tended to set up a dual leadership based on race, Guy Brewer, duly eelcted leader of the 12th A. D., has been the target of a bitter and vicious attack seeking his ouster.

Brewer was elected leader on July 31, has led the tottering and warring forces in his district into a unified group, winning elections for Democratic candidates by a three to one majority in the recent campaign.

In every election, workers are paid for their efforts and when the time came to pay the campaign workers, Mr. Brewer received a check for $500 for the Negro districts, which comprise two-thirds of the district. When he learned of the size of the check, Mr. Brewer protested saying some mistake had been made and his check was short.

It was then that Neal showed his real colors and told Brewer the check was not short, but a white man had been given a check to pay the white workers in the 12 minority districts of the 12th. 12-7-45

This infuriated Brewer, who had had a white woman elected co-leader of the district, to the extent that he returned the check and raised funds otherwise to pay the Negro workers who were becoming disgruntled.

The separation of the races is the idea of the powerful leader who indicates a return to white rule in Harlem—which Brewer fought for years from 1930. The statement that whites should be paid by whites and not by Negroes leads many to believe that the same practice is followed in the other districts where Negroes hold leadership.

From this fray, other things developed and many voters who believe in honest, outspoken Negro leadership are wondering whether they have been hoodwinked and fouled by their present leadership.

Young Ga. Demos Discuss Negro Part In Forums

The Louisiana Weekly
New Orleans, La.

(By 8he Associated Negro Press)

Atlanta, Dec. 12.—The question of Negro participation in forums on citizenship conducted by Young Democratic Clubs of Georgia was brought up at a forum of the 1945 convention last week. It was this convention to which Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt had been invited, embarrased by the resignation of two officials of the organization over the racial attitude of the former First Lady and finally decided not to attend. 12-15-45

A high school student from Decatur asked this question: "If the federal constitution declares we are all created free and equal, why aren't Negroes here to join with us in discussing privileges of citizenship?"

P. T. McCutcheon, clerk of the Georgia House of Representatives and one of the speakers, hedged the issue by declaring that Negroes had not asked to participate in the forum, that they were free to organize and hold forums if they so desired and that it was their right to discuss any question.

Many faces were red over the question, however. 12-15-45

SOUTH URGED TO AGGRESSIVE LIBERALISM NOW

Louisiana Weekly
New Orleans La.
3-3-45

(By The Associated Negro Press)

Atlanta, Ga., Feb. 28.—An aggressive liberalism and a disposition to move ahead are the only things that can save the south from a further decline into "poverty, illiteracy and backwardness when the postwar boom is over," Mark Etheridge, publisher of the Louisville Courier-Journal and Times, declared here Friday.

Mr. Etheridge, who served as first chairman of the original FEPC, delivered the principal address to members of the Georgia Academy of Social Sciences.

Six southern senators were named by the speaker as "men whose voting records would delight the heart of any president of a big corporation." The list included Georgia's Walter F. George, Bailey of North Carolina, Byrd of Virginia, McKellar of Tennessee, Bilbo of Mississippi and Connally of Texas. 3-3-45

All five of the senators owe their continuance in key committee chairmanships to the liberals, who reelected President Roosevelt, the publisher pointed out, adding, "yet they blocked the renomination of Vice President Henry A. Wallace and are leading the fight now to strip the commerce department of vast lending power."

The present Wallace fight, the publisher opined, "is not merely a question of whether Wallace should be in the cabinet; we are witnessing and participating in a great spectacle of political history—the struggle for power within the Democratic party. The primary objection to Wallace is that he symbolizes and expressed views which challenge all the reactionary elements of the country."

3-3-45

Southern reactionaries, Mr. Etheridge said, see in Wallace's coming to power the possible destruction of tight little machines which keep them in office and make them able to ignore the popular will.

"Southerners," he asserted, "are much less il-liberal than most of their political leaders. In no primary and in no election in the south last year in which the New Deal was the issue did it lose."

The south's hope is in men like Wallace, he said, "who are ready to fight centralization which has been a curse to all sections of the country except the east,, whose leaders are now ready to use the credit and resources of the country to develop still more resources in these other regions."

3-3-45

"It lies," he concluded, "in governors like Arnall, who is willing to fight the supreme court, in the legislature and before the people for his convictions and his section; in senators like Pepper of Florida and Hill of Alabama, who are willing to carry the fight against reaction, and in a dozen young congressmen from the south who have broken through the domination of political machines and won by direct appeal to their people. The people have demonstrated that they are eager for that leadership."

FORMER BLACK CABINET OF ROOSEVELT ABSENT WHEN CHIEF TAKES 4TH OATH AS PRESIDENT

Black Dispatch
Oklahoma City, Okla.
1-27-45

Mrs. Bethune, Marshall Sheppard and Ted Poston Present

ATTEND LUNCHEON AT WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON.—(NNPA)—More than 50 Negroes of the hundred or more invited saw President Roosevelt inaugurated in a simple ceremony on the south portico of the White House last Saturday. They were part of the crowd of nearly 5000 admitted to the White House grounds, and the several thousand who stood outside the fence to hear the proceedings over loud-speakers erected for the purpose.

Most of the Negroes to whom invitations were sent were persons who had worked during the presidential campaign in the interest of the reelection of Mr. Roosevelt. As party workers, many of them were also invited to the luncheon in the White House which followed shortly after the inauguration ceremonies. 1-27-45

The decline of the once powerful, influential and close-to-the-White House Black Cabinet was emphasized by the absence of such officials from the group. Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, a former cabineteer, Ted Poston of the OWI, and Dr. Marshall Shepherd, Recorder of Deeds, who would qualify for the cabinet if it still existed, were seen at the ceremonies.

Among others present were Rep. William L. Dawson and Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, the only two Negroes in the Congress of the United States.

Most of the Negroes in attendance were from New York City, Chicago, the District of Columbia, and Detroit. 1-27-45.

Among those from New York were Miss Hazel Scott, Miss Wilhelmina Adams, Mrs. Caroline overton, Dr. Channing Tobias, Mr. and Mrs. Henry Moon, Mr. and Mrs. Guy Brewer, Col. Hubert Julian, Dr. Godfrey Nurse, and Andy Razaf.

Seen among those from Chicago were: Mr. and Mrs. John Sengstacke, Atty. Edith Sampson, Miss Olive Diggs, Willard Townsend, Mrs. Marjorie Joyner, and Mrs. Mamie Mason Higgins.

Among those from Detroit were Mrs. Eva Campbell, Mrs. Rosa Gragg, Joe Coles, Emmett Cunningham, and Atty. LerBon Simmons.

From the District of Columbia were Mrs. Thomasina Johnson, Mrs. Marie B. Poston, Atty. and Mrs. Emory B. Smith, Mr. and Mrs. Pete Johnson, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Nelson, Mrs. Pinkey Adams, Dr. Dorothy B. Ferebee, Roscoe Evans, and Mrs. Marion H. Elliott. 1-27-45

Others seen among those present were Mrs. Bernice Harden of Baltimore, Md., Mrs. Rosamond Stewart Marrow of Newark, N. J., Dr. Edward F. Jones of Yonkers, N. Y., Frank Brown of St. Paul, Minn., Mrs. Alice Anderson of Philadelphia, Pa., Dr. Shagg Taylor of Boston, Mass., Arthur Star Brown of Pennsylvania, and Rev. Julian A. Taylor of Ansonia, Conn.

NEW YORK, N. Y.
HERALD TRIBUNE
Cir. D. 356,512 — S. 539,023

JUN 9- 1945

Democrats Will Meet 'Obligation' to Negroes

Hannegan Replies to Demand That Party 'Sell Itself'

WASHINGTON, June 8 (AP).—Negro Democrats, demanding greater recognition in the party, were assured today by Democratic National Chairman Robert E. Hannegan that the party recognizes and will meet "an obligation."

The demand and the reply were voiced here at a meeting of Negro party leaders from sixteen states, sponsored by the National Council of Negro Democrats.

Emmett S. Cunningham, of Detroit, council president, voiced an implied threat that Negroes will quit the party unless they are allowed to become "an integral part of the planning and machinery."

"When Negroes came into the Democratic party," he said in a speech, "they did not make any marriage vows to stick 'until death do us part'."

He said the Negro vote in the last twelve years has largely followed the late President Roosevelt and Mrs. Roosevelt, and added that "the Democratic party as such has never been sold to the Negroes."

Urging specific measures "to sell" the party and its current standard bearer to Negros, Mr. Cunningham suggested appointment of members of the race to key governmental positions and Federal judgeships, legislation for a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee, an anti-poll tax law, public housing, social security expansion, and non-discrimination throughout the armed forces.

Mr. Hannegan, addressing the meeting later, asserted that the party "owes an obligation to those who worked for the election of the ticket last fall" and is going to meet it."

Negroes Ask Bigger Role

By The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — Negro Democrats, demanding greater recognition in the party, were assured Friday by National Chairman Robert E. Hannegan that the party recognizes and will meet "an obligation."

The demand and the reply were voiced here at a meeting of negro party leaders from 16 states, sponsored by the National Council of Negro Democrats.

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Hannegan, addressing the meeting later, asserted that the party "owes an obligation to those who worked for the election of the ticket last fall" and is going to meet it, adding:

"I know that without the aid of your group we would not have been successful in this last election."

The national chairman offered assurance that in President Truman the negroes will find a man who shares the feelings of the late President Roosevelt.

UNION CITY, N. J.
HUDSON DISPATCH
Circ. D. 28,845
JUL 26 1945

Tammany Narrowly Escapes Red Trap

Tammany Hall, once in political control of the 5 boroughs of New York City, appeared to be staging a come-back with the able and forthright District Attorney William O'Dwyer of Brooklyn heading the Democratic ticket for mayor.

Then Tammany stumbled into a Communist trap when Edward V. Loughlin, leader of "the Hall," endorsed a Communist member of Common Council as a Democratic candidate for reelection.

Up until this time, with Mayor Fiorella LaGuardia self-eliminated as a candidate for a fourth term, the Democrats were sailing along nicely. It looked as if the party, for the first time since John P. O'Brien was mayor in 1933, had a good chance to capture the grand prize.

Tuesday, Candidate O'Dwyer forced Mr. Loughlin to repudiate his endorsement of the Communist. The Tammany leader, in a statement, gave as his reason for this sudden revocation of support—

"That after my declaration of our support,' the candidate issued a statement to the effect that "his status as a member of Communist Political Assn., of which he is an officer, would remain unchanged." Mr. Loughlin said, he reconsidered his decision and withdrew approval.

Mr. Loughlin may have gotten away with this reason save for the fact that the Communist he had picked to run on the Democratic ticket had advocated Communism for many years.

World-Telegram commented thusly on the selection:

'Tammany's Communist candidate for council today stands revealed as one who advocates a Negro Soviet Union in the United States. This fantastic program utilized by the Reds in the 1930's to get the Negro vote, was revived under the byline of Councilman Benjamin J. Davis Jr. in Sunday's Daily Worker, of which he is vice president. This new Soviet Union would be carved out of 11 Southern states by "a revolutionary seizure of the plantation land and large-scale farms." Communist documents add that "in this territory we demand that the Negroes be given . . . the right to set up their own government . . . and the right to separate, if they wish, from the United States."

While Tammany nas now withdrawn from the Communist trap, and Mr. O'Dwyer's stature has been increased by his prompt repudiation of the Tiger's action, WHAT WILL BE THE ULTIMATE EFFECT UPON THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE'S CHANCES OF ELECTION? NO DOUBT HE WILL LOSE SOME RADICAL SUPPORT. HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE THAT THE INCIDENT WILL BRING ADDED VOTES FROM AMERICAN ORGANIZATIONS THAT WILL MORE THAN OFFSET ANY DEFECTION IN LEFT-WING BACKING.

NORTHAMPTON, MASS.
HAMPSHIRE GAZETTE
Cir. D. 8,932
JUL 25 1945

The Great Game Of Politics

BY FRANK R. KENT

Concern is felt among Democrats here lest, under Chairman Robert Hannegan of the National committee, the combination of labor unions, Northern Negroes and city bosses which has so effectively held the party in power since 1932, should disintegrate and thus the Republicans gain control of the House in 1946.

This would be a major political disaster for President Truman. It would give him a hostile Congress in the last two years of his term and it would cast grave doubt upon his election in 1948. For many years it has been accepted that loss of the House in the midterm election by the party in power means loss of the country in the following presidential election. Such a result in 1946 would also be bad for the nation, as there would then exist the most unfortunate situation possible under our form of government. With the President of one party and the House controlled by the other, neither can function effectively. They nullify each other. A condition of governmental helplessness ensues.

That there is danger of exactly that happening is admitted. The best evidences of the movement are the sufferings of Mr. Hannegan, who seems to have gotten himself on a very uncomfortable spot, indeed. It will be recalled that a few weeks ago a formidable group of Negro leaders came to Washington, presented figures to show that the Negro vote had elected Mr. Roosevelt in 1940 and 1944; declared the Negroes had been strongly for Mr. Roosevelt but were by no means married to the Democratic party; asserted that they were entitled to more recognition, voiced a determination to get it or find out why not. Warmly responsive, Mr. Hannegan declared to the delegation that it would have been impossible for the Democrats to have won in 1944 without the Negro voters.

Mr. Hannegan is right about that, but perhaps he was not very smart to let his declaration be made public. Its effects were unfortunate in several directions. For one thing, it was resented by Southern Democrats, who felt that Mr. Hannegan intended to "coddle" the Negro vote more than before, and had pledged himself to meeting their patronage demands, one of which is appointment of Negroes to the federal bench. For answer, the Hannegan declaration did not wholly satisfy the Negro leaders who were not pleased with his slightly elusive commitments concerning their patronage demands.

But the worst repercussion came from the pro-Roosevelt labor leaders of the CIO. One of their better journalistic interpreters vehemently asserts that it was "labor" and not the Negroes which cast the decisive for Mr. Roosevelt and cites figures to prove the point, laying particular stress on the work of Mr. Hillman's Political Action committee in getting the vote registered. There is a lot in this contention. As strong an argument can be made for it as for the other—to wit; that the Negroes elected him. Both elements now claim they did it. Probably both are right. Probably, if either had deserted him, Mr. Roosevelt would have lost.

But that is not helping Mr. Hannegan in his immediate problem, which is to win the congressional elections next year. To do this, he has to keep both the Negroes and "labor" on the Democratic side with the same solidity they were kept by Mr. Roosevelt from 1936 through 1944. So far as the CIO is concerned, he should not have much trouble. It is true its leaders have no such alliance with Mr. Truman as with Mr. Roosevelt. It is true, too, they do not like Secretary of State Byrnes, who would become President if anything should happen to Mr. Truman. It is true, also, that they resent not being given full credit for the Roosevelt-Truman election.

Nevertheless they are so thoroughly committed to Mr. Truman and have been so nostile to the Republicans that they really have no place else to go in 1946 or 1948. There is the further fact that for various reasons there is a popular reaction against labor political domination, with the prospect that their strength in the next campaign will be diminished. With the Negroes, the story is different Their attachment to the Democratic party was because of Mr. Roosevelt personally. Unlike the CIO group, they have some place else to go. Going back to the Republican party to them is going back home, and invariably they have shown a tendency to go back in the off years when Mr. Roosevelt was not on the ticket.

In 1946 this tendency may be accelerated—first, because Mr. Roosevelt is no longer living; second because of the violence with which one section of the Democratic party opposes the Fair Employment Practices Commission, whose requested appropriation was cut in half with, it is claimed, crippling effect; third because of the greater concentration of well-informed Republican managers upon bringing the Negroes "back home." Altogether, it is not an encouraging Democratic prospect and it is easy to credit the report that Mr Hannegan is unhappy. In fact, the prospect of a Republican House and a Democratic President from 1946 to 1948 is not encouraging for the nation as a whole. The problems of the next two years are so important that co-operation between the Executive and Congress is vital. Unfortunately, politics are such that full cooperation is almost impossible when the President and a majority of the House are of opposite parties. It is not pleasant to think that the health of the whole country depends so much upon pressure groups in a few states—but such is the fact.

61d-1945

Democratic

The Great Game of Politics

Democrats Fear Hannegan Is Losing Hold on Pressure Groups, Says Writer

By Frank R. Kent

Concern is felt among Democrats here lest, under Chairman Robert Hannegan of the National Committee, the combination of labor unions, Northern Negroes and city bosses which has so effectively held the party in power since 1932, should disintegrate and thus the Republicans gain control of the House in 1946.

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This would be a major political disaster for President Truman. It would give him a hostile Congress in the last two years of his term and it would cast grave doubt upon his election in 1948. For many years it has been accepted that loss of the House in the midterm election by the party in power means loss of the country in the following presidential election.

Such a result in 1946 would also be bad for the Nation, as there would then exist the most unfortunate situation possible under our form of government. With the President of one party and the House controlled by the other, neither can function effectively. They nullify each other. A condition of governmental helplessness ensues.

Evidenced by Hannegan.

That there is danger of exactly that happening is admitted. The best evidences at the moment are the sufferings of Mr. Hannegan, who seems to have gotten himself on a very uncomfortable spot, indeed.

It will be recalled that a few weeks ago a formidable group of Negro leaders came to Washington, presented figures to show that the Negro vote had elected Mr. Roosevelt in 1940 and 1944; declared the Negroes had been strongly for Mr. Roosevelt but were by no means married to the Democratic party; asserted that they were entitled to more recognition, voiced a determination to get it or find out why not.

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Mr. Hannegan is right about that, but perhaps he was not very smart to let his declaration be made public. Its effects were unfortunate in several directions. For one thing, it was asserted by Southern Democrats, who felt that Mr. Hannegan intended to "coddle" the Negro vote more than before, and had pledged himself to meeting their patronage demands, one of which is appointment of Negroes to the Federal bench. For another, the Hannegan declaration did not wholly satisfy the Negro leaders who were not pleased with his slightly elusive commitments concerning their patronage demands.

But the worst repercussion came from the pro-Roosevelt labor leaders of the CIO. One of their better journalistic interpreters vehemently asserts that it was "labor" and not the Negroes which cast the decisive vote for Mr. Roosevelt and cites figures to prove the point, laying particular stress on the work of Mr. Hillman's Political Action Committee in getting the vote registered.

There is a lot in this contention. As strong an argument can be made for it as for the other—to wit: that the Negroes elected him. Both elements now claim they did it. Probably both are right. Probably, if either had deserted him, Mr. Roosevelt would have lost.

But that is not helping Mr. Hannegan in his immediate problem which is to win the congressional elections next year. To do this, he has to keep both the Negroes and "labor" on the Democratic side with the same solidity they were kept by Mr. Roosevelt from 1936 through 1944. So far as the CIO is concerned, he should not have much trouble. It is true its leaders have no such alliance with Mr. Truman as with Mr. Roosevelt. It is true, too, they do not like Secretary of State Byrnes, who would become President if anything should happen to Mr. Truman. It is true, also, that they resent not being given full credit for the Roosevelt-Truman election.

No Place Else to Go.

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The problems of the next two years are so important that co-operation between the Executive and Congress is vital. Unfortunately, politics are such that full co-operation is almost impossible when the President and a majority of the House are of opposite parties. It is not pleasant to think that the health of the whole country depends so much upon pressure groups in a few States—but such is the fact.

Negro Democrats Told to 'Pin Fight' On Constitution

Columbia, S. C., Oct. 16 (AP)—A meeting of the National Council of Negro Democrats today was told to "pin its fight" for admission into ranks of the Democratic Party on "rights guaranteed under the United States Constitution."

Speaking before more than 500 delegates from throughout the country, Vice-President James E. Williams, of the Nat[illegible] Council of Negro Democ[illegible] "The Constitution belo[illegible]roup or groups."

He called on th[illegible] carry on his own fight[illegible]ss of certain liberal wi[illegible] "They (the whites) won't go the whole way," he said.

We don't know what radical white politician may have urged these Negro politicians into passing such undemocratic and un-American resolutions, but the following recent news article reads like it may have been cleared by Sidney Hillman and his Political Action Committee:

Washington, June 10 (AP).—The National Council of Negro Democrats, concluding a two-day meeting, today adopted resolutions asking:

The Democratic National Committee to give them representation in the committee organization with full-time paid members.

That Congress pass the permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee act, the anti-poll-tax bill and the anti-lynching act.

Abolition of Jim Crow (segregated) travel in the South.

Expansion of the Federal Housing Administration's work so that slums might be abolished.—*C. R. Learning in the Mansfield, Louisiana,* Enterprise.

THIS MORNING

by JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

B'ham, Ala.

"The Democratic party is the South's best hope." 10-9-45

Age Herald

BATTLE CREEK, Mich.—And Mrs. Douglas doesn't mean Sen. George, I take it. Although her husband, Maj. Melvyn Douglas, the motion picture star, is a Macon, Georgian, their home is in California and he has been absent on military leave for many months. But she is alert, nevertheless, to what they say about Dixie.

* * *

BY HELEN GAHAGAN DOUGLAS

In discussing the writing of this column with its proper signator and my friend, John Temple Graves, he suggested that I tell his readers why they should remain Democrats under a two-party system. I won't do this, quite. I am a Southerner only by marriage, but am not brash enough to accept his invitation to tell the South what it should do. Moreover, the Southern people don't seem to be in need of my advice. For the most part they are becoming vitally interested in their own Southern problems and in our national and international problems and are acting with foresight and intelligence in sending more and more men of high purpose and ability to represent them in the Congress. And they have also canceled out some of the mistakes that they have let creep into past Congresses. 10-9-45

* * *

Men like Lister Hill in the Senate and my colleagues in the House, John Sparkman, Albert Raines and Luther Patrick, are doing a fine job of representing the South in the liberal and progressive tradition that is the South's greatest heritage. Moreover, Alabama has graced the judiciary with Hugo Black and is well represented in the executive branch with progressive, intelligent and capable men like Clifford J. Durr, Federal Communications Commissioner, and J Haden Alldredge, Interstate Commerce Commissioner. These, too, are in the solid tradition of Southern liberalism.

* * *

Southerners, and particularly Alabamians, are in the forefront of progressive political action. Indeed, if I were debating in Alabama on the question "Has the New Deal Been Dealt," I would without question want to take the position upheld by Col. Harry Ayers in spite of my natural fear of the difficulty of tilting against the charm and wit of my genial host on this column. But I know I would have logic and the people of Alabama on my side.

* * *

Because even a columnist must (and a congressman should) at length come to the subject of his piece, I state the following postulates regarding Southern democracy under a two-party system.

* * *

1. The South has traditionally been liberal. It contributed the one most important liberal philosophy to our national thought in the work and wisdom of Thomas Jefferson. Nor did its contribution stop there. The voices of the South and the West in the Congress and in general have favored policies for the common man, have sounded against monopoly and remote corporate control of our economy, have been raised in behalf of international cooperation and internal expansion. Woodrow Wilson, too, was a Southerner.

10-9-45

2. The South must remain liberal. Like the West, the South has suffered discrimination that has prevented its achieving a balanced economy of industry and agriculture which is the goal of all the regions of our nation. Only through the liberal and progressive spirit will the South overcome these traditional handicaps by the activity of its forward-looking business men, its sound labor organizations, its intelligent farm programs and practices and the enlightenment of its state and federal governmental leadership. These progressive forces must be willing to take aggressive political action if the South is not to remain enthralled by absentee owners and remotely controlled operators whose primary interests lie in other sections of the country. The South has its old fogies, as do all areas—it has its local bourbons and big business spokesmen who will sing the song of stagnation and retrogression. But if it is lulled by these voices of special interest, the South will not succeed of its purpose of a better life for its men and women and especially for its children. Remember that the South loves children; it has more of them per capita than any other section of the country.

* * *

3. The Democratic party is essential to the maintenance of the liberal spirit in America. That is why the South will remain Democratic. To be sure the party in the South may some times falter in its program and its purposes—but it is still the best hope of progressive democracy in the land. And the Democratic party will remain liberal because its leaders know that in its liberalism lies its popularity—North and South. Moreover, we Democrats are fully aware of the fact that the people know that they can get a conservative or reactionary government more effectively by the election of Republicans. The Democratic party has never been successful in a national election when it tried to out-conservative the Republicans. 10-9-45

* * *

To sum up, the South has been liberal and must continue to be liberal if it would live up to its potentialities. The Democratic party is the South's best hope for the full development of its resources and its people.

Democrats Choose Atlanta For 1946

The Memphis World

Memphis Tennessee 10-18-45

Ask National Aid

COLUMBIA, S. C. — (SNS) The National Council of Negro Democrats closed its first session in the deep South here Tuesday night to meet next year at Atlanta. The body had been in session since Monday morning and attracted a large number of delegates from many states in the Union.

ADOPTS SHARP RESOLUTIONS

Sharp resolutions were adopted at the afternoon session Tuesday, calling up on the National Democratic Committee to aid the plight of southern Negroes in their fight to become Democrats and, to aid

The thirteen sectioned resolutions covered a request of President Truman to continue policies initiated by the late President Roosevelt and prevention of returning government to the non-liberals and others who would use their offices for perpetuating racialism; equal justice under federal housing programs was advocated, enlistment of progressive labor drives for enfranchising the southern Negro the cause of Negroes throughout the country. 10-19-45 protection of the rights of returning veterans, inclusion of Negroes on state bodies dealing with ex-service men and the appointment of Negroes to more posts under the general government.

The National Democratic Committee was also petitioned in the resolutions to adopt a more firm and positive program to break down he pure-white southern parties.

WOMEN ACTIVE

The Monday afternoon session was given to women and developed into a lively meeting when Mrs. Annie Belle Weston led components of the host party into a general discussion of the part women are playing. Several related how they stood by their men and encouraged them when it seemed discouraging. Mrs. Sarah Y. Daniels of Manning made a brilliant speech during the session on the place of women in the party and politicial life of the country.

Monday morning's session was devoted to organizational matters and welcoming remarks from local officals. R. J. McElmurray, City chairman for the Progressive Democrats Party here, welcomed the body and Jno Gorminston of Pennsylvania replied. At noon several speakers spoke briefly to a joint chapel session of students at Benedict College and Allen University

Lack Of 'Free Elections' In South Hit In Historic Meet Held In S. Carolina

Louisiana Weekly

New Orleans La

(By The Associated Negro Press)

Columbia, S. C., Oct. 24.—Bold moves to outlaw the white south and extend membership to Negroes in the Democratic Party were main accomplishments of the National Council of Negro Democrats which ended a two-day session here Tuesday night, maring the first meeting of that organization in the deep South. 10-27-45

Resolutions adopted by the convention Tuesday afternoon called for the National Democratic Committee exerting immediate and unrelentless pressure upon its southern units to open them up to Negroes and, denial of office or position to persons holding federal posts who achieve them through alliances with groups who prevent, by scheme and device, their election or appointments through preventing participation by a majority of their fellow citizens.

The latter resolution, officials explained, was aimed at ousting white federal office holders who are given power through the white primary.

Seek Lynching, Poll Tax Removal

Resolutions also called for immediate passage of federal bills to eliminate lynching and the poll tax, the latter to be done by legislation rather than by constitutional amendment. The convention, attended by some 600 delegates from northern, western and eastern states, also requested that more Negroes be given federal posts, particularly those agencies dealing with labor, housing and rights of veterans. Immediate passage of a permanent FEPC bill and one to extend federal aid to education were requested. President Truman was praised for his administration, but was urged to guard against domination of it by reactionaries and groups hostile to Negroes.

10-Union Effected 27-45

High point of the convention was its concluding with complete agreement among the delegates that problems affecting southern Negroes were also problems effecting Negroes in the northern, eastern and western sections. The council went on record as intending to prosecute, to the fullest, denials to southern Negroes as its first job.

Host to the convention was the Progressive Democratic Party of South Carolina, whose chairman is John H. McCray. Sessions were held at Allen University and Benedict College.

Cunningham Hits South

Emmet S. Cunningham, national council president, hit hard the South's political machinery in the main address Monday night. "The lack of free elections in the South," he said, "has closed the door of hope to the sons of the South who aspire to the presidency and vice presidency of these United States. The Democratic Party, and I speak advisedly, will never again nominate a man to these offices who comes from a poll tax state or from a state that excludes Negroes from the Democratic primaries."

"When move for fair elections. Secretary Byrnes makes demands for free elections in Bulgaria and the Balkan States," he declared, "the cry goes up 'what about free elections in South Carolina' Mr. Cunningham also scored Secretary of State James F. Byrnes'

10-27-45

GEORGIANS ORGANIZE POLITICAL LEAGUE

Pittsburgh Courier

MACON, Ga.—(ANP)—Between 500 and 600 representatives from nearly fifty Georgia counties attended a called non-partisan meeting by the Atlanta Civic-Political League for colored citizens of Georgia in Macon last week.

As a result of the meeting the Georgia Civic-Political League was organized with the following officers: John Wesley Dobbs, Atlanta, president; Frank Hutchins, Macon, first vice president; the Rev. W. L. Griffin, Ocilla, second vice president; the Rev. W. H. Shields, Americus, secretary; Mrs. V. A. Edwards, Fort Valley, assistant secretary; Dr. Thomas H. Brewer, Columbus, treasurer.

"The time is ripe to get the ballot back," Mr. Dobbs declared. "No poll tax need be paid, no property tax need be paid; the only thing necessary to register is your ability to write your name and be of sane and legal age."

Dobbs pleaded for unity throughout the State as Negroes work for political freedom, and further emphasized the non-partisan aspect of the league.

12-15-45

Following the meeting, the Rev. L. A. Pinkston, president of the Georgia Missionary Baptist Convention, commented: "The time has come for the bridging of all gaps for the solidarity of racial freedom. Ambitious leadership has kept the race back long enough."

Dr. Ralph Mark Gilbert, president of the Georgia NAACP, declared: "There is no need of Negroes in Georgia being at cross purposes. We need each other. We must lose sight of personalities and strike at the ugly head of discrimination wherever it is found.

The league adjourned to meet in Macon April 17, 1946, at Stewart Chapel.

61d-1945

General

RAYMOND DUNCAN

Two-Party Talk Grows in Dixie

Atlanta Constitution 2-1-45

ELLAVILLE.—You hear much talk down here in south Georgia these days about politics—a new and strange brand of politics for the solid south.

This talk rarely comes from politicians. Businessmen contribute their share, and some farmers put in their say. Returning servicemen join in.

What they are saying is that the south is the country cousin of the Democratic party, getting only the token attentions commonly shown a hayseed relative just to acknowledge that he is still in the family. They are saying that the tradition which permitted the ruling members of our party to accord us such treatment should be left in the history books. That the south must quit handing over its votes to the party without assurance of getting more consideration in return than we do now.

Some of the boys suggest that the south merely do an authentic job of scaring the fellows who run the party.

After all, they say, we certainly want to stay in. But others have no patience for such caution. They want two parties, with both sides bidding, and bidding high.

Take it or leave it, but this is the run of political conversation heard day after day. It isn't spreading like a grass fire and there isn't much excitement. But the boys have been thinking and are putting others to thinking. Call their expressions idle talk, if you like. The professional and big-time politicians might be wise not to run such a risk. That rebel yell listens better when it's on your side.

he Republican vs. The Democratic Party

Black Dispatch 7-7-45

Our good friend, M. S. Stuart, who every week writes "Talking Turkey" for the Black Dispatch, is dominated with an extreme case of melancholia. We trust his fears, broodings and delusions will not be infectuous. Turn to his weekly article on page seven where Mr. Stuart tells Black Dispatch readers the Republican party is a better political vehicle in which to ride than the Democratic.

To our notion, parties are nothing except that they represent principles in government, and when we recall that the Republican party just now is openly espousing the principle of "States Rights," the vicious theory of government that has made possible jim crow, segregation, disfranchisement and the mob, we doubt seriously we could join with friend Stuart in this newest of his thoughts, when we realize and know that the Democratic party is emerging into American life under the banner of central control.

Social change does not come tailor made and just as an individual would have it. If Mr. Stuart will look about him he will discover that significant progress has been made, in his day, in progressive thinking among Southerners. Too few Negroes ally themselves with white Southern liberals, and this is the main reason why they do not know of the phenomenal advance that has been made in democratic thought down Dixie way. Take, for instance, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, the CIO, and several other groups composed entirely of Southerners. If one were to attend these meetings and observe their vision and understanding respecting the reconstruction of the South, there would not be so much unhappiness and dejection among Negroes. Thought precedes action. The South has started thinking right, despite Bilbo, Rankin and their rapidly disappearing ilk.

We cannot see what could have brought about this sudden morbidity in the spiritual processes of Mr. Stuart unless it is that President Truman has recently elevated to his cabinet a number of Southerners. But, Roosevelt, whom Mr. Stuart praises, did the same thing. We want to quote from Mr. Stuart's article when he says during the Roosevelt administration "more progress was made in converting Southerners to a sense of fairness for the Negro" than under any other administration. We wonder whether or not Mr. Stuart will attribute any of this "progress" to knowledge of Democrats that Negroes were voting the Democratic ticket in larger numbers than ever before. We wonder whether or not this progress could have been made in progressive thinking down South had Negroes at that time continued to be a solid piece of Republican granite?

It was the flexibility of the Negro vote during the Roosevelt administration that made the South flexible, and just at this moment let us join with another statement made by Mr. Stuart that needs serious examination. He refers to the "torso, the solid body of the (Democratic) party." Torso means, mutilated of head and limbs, and that is the actual condition of the Democratic party at the present time. No one should today refer to the Democratic party as representing the "Solid South," for today "Bilbo" democracy represents the "unsolid" South.

When we think in terms of Governor Arnall of Georgia, Claud Pepper of Florida, Hugo Black of Alabama, former Governor Allred of Texas, Frank P. Graham of North Carolina, Lillian Smith of Georgia, how can we honestly and sincerely say that progress is not being made in Southern morality? The Democratic party is today emerging as a great liberal influence in American life. In such moment, should the Negro become impatient and ally himself with the very antithesis of liberalism?

When Roosevelt selected Jack Garner of Texas as his running mate, Negro leadership had the jitters, just as Mr. Stuart shudders now. When he selected Hugo Black, of Alabama, for the Supreme Court, fright dominated the black voter's being. Mr. Byrnes, whom a great many American blacks now seem to fear, should also be remembered as a Roosevelt favorite. Why should Byrnes, with Roosevelt dead, become a changed man, and something wholly different than in the hours when Roosevelt lived? We admit that Byrnes has a bad record so far as Negroes are concerned, but that record is no different than it was when Roosevelt looked with favor upon him in the White House.

We recall when President Roosevelt was about to appoint Malcomb Ross chairman of the Fair Employment Practice Committee, we received a long letter from an official of a certain liberal agency, in which the previous record of Malcomb Ross was disclosed. It was not the best record possible, and the writer of the letter urged that every effort be made to prevent Ross being named chairman.

Everyone know that the Fair Employment Practice Committee made its most valuable contribution to democratic processes after the elevation of Malcomb Ross to the chairmanship. He has emerged from this responsibility as the true friend of minority groups and an outstanding liberal. The Black Dispatch believes it was wise in suspending judgment on Malcomb Ross until he had an opportunity to go into action.

The Black Dispatch intends to suspend judgment upon President Truman until he has been in office at least a year. We believe this hurried attempt to evaluate and appraise his acts is unwise and lacking in wise discernment. We also believe this impulsive attempt to brand all Southerners appointed to high office as unsafe is prejudicial to progress obviously being made below the Mason and Dixon line in social thinking and human decency. We are not going to stymie progress with a bad guess.

We agree with Mr. Stuart "the Republican party when it had the opportunity did not keep faith with the Negro," and we are not going to believe that Republican mis-leaders such as Senator Robert Taft, are going to lead the GOP back to the realm of integrity and honor. The Republican party, "when it had the opportunity," could have fashioned teeth in the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments so that today we would not need an FEPC; it could have patterned the rules of the Senate so that Bilbos could not filibuster; it could have passed vitalizing statutes making it a crime to preach and practice race discrimination in the United States.

61d-1945

Negro Urged To Combat South's Backwardness

The Louisiana Weekly

Cheraw, S. C., July 18.—Southern Negroes were called upon to break up the continuation of the south's backwardness here Sunday by John H. McCray, editor of the Lighthouse and Informer and state chairman of the Progressive Democratic Party.

Speaking at a city mass meeting under the sponsorship of the PDP organization for Chesterfield County, McCray declared: "The white south's intention of keeping the Negro down is explanation for the south's leadership in being the most backward section of our country."

New Orleans, Louisiana

"Not only is the Negro dissatisfied with his treatment by southern whites but he is equally dissatisfied with having to live in a backward moving and looking area maintained by white men who dare not take their hands off the lives of Negroes."

7-21-45

South Carolina, he said, not only set the pace for the south in leading off the seccession from the Union, but last year led again the southern states who sought to circumvent the Texas primary decision of the U. S. Supreme Court.

"Our people must take the leadership in establishing decency, tolerance and progressive thought in the south. We can at least, down here, help keep out of the Washington government such men as Bilbo and Eastland of Mississippi and Johnston of South Carolina. We can vote in every southern state under existing laws. Let us determine how we can turn this privilege against our oppressers."

Progressive Democrats

30,000 South Carolinians Registered For Primaries

Pittsburgh Courier

8-4-45

By BAXTER LEACH

COLUMBIA, S. C.—Negroes in this State have registered to the tune of 30,000 to vote in the Democratic primaries, it was revealed here on Saturday by John H. McCray, president of the Progressive Democratic party and editor-publisher of the "Lighthouse and Informer." The organization is Statewide and has wielded tremendous influence in some localities, Mr. McCray said.

The Progressive Democratic party does not confine itself to colored members, but has succeeded in attracting a number of whites to its banner. For several weeks an influential member of the white group worked as secretary at the headquarters.

IMPROVED RACE RELATIONS

A. W. Simkins, leading businessman here, says that race relations are improving and through interracial meetings problems relating to local conditions are discussed and brought to peaceful settlement.

A movement was started recently with strong backing to secure Negro policemen here. This writer was told by an influential citizen that the effort will not be in vain, "that Negroes will be appointed on the force."

There are some forty thousand Negroes in Columbia, practically all of whom are property owners. In the suburbs, in villages like Reddypoint and Arthurtown, four-fifths of all the large plantations are owned and operated by Negroes. Among this number is Senius Watson and Fred Metz, whose families have been land owners for seventy-five years.

As an indication of which way the wind is blowing, the city of Greenville voted equal pay for all teachers in the public school system on Thursday.

It has a bright future. The regular Democratic Party is in decline in the South. In fact, the regular Demoratic Party, is such in name only. Actually, you don't have such. You have a handful of officials sometimes elected by the voters, but often who elect themselves who control the votes and make the decisions without the consent of the voters and with responsibility to nobody but themselves.

While the PDP may or may not open up the regular Democratic Primary, it is sure to show up some of its glaring defects. The regular Democratic Party fails to give a choice to its members. It holds on to the poll tax. It clings to the false teachings of "white supremacy. It serves special and selfish interests. With the Negro issue removed, the regular Democrats will stand exposed to the common white people as frauds on democracy.

Inspiration for the Progressive Democratic Party is taken from the history of Negro Democrats in South Carolina. They fought and died for the Democratic Party back in Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction days. You hear the conflicting stories about Wade Hampton, a white Democratic leader. In the 90's one version of history says that he championed a group of Negro Democrats. These adherents under fire and in bloodshed stood by Hampton and the Democrats one historical account says.

During Reconstruction, South Carolina sent more Negroes to the National Congress than any other Southern state. A Negro was once president of the University of South Carolina which today bars Negro students. One was lieutenant governor.

They served with distinction in the State Legislature.

Strength, too, is found in the spirituals. Each meeting of the PDP is opened with "Climbing Jacobs' Ladder" and closes with "Let My People Go."

You would be inspired to see the ministers, school teachers, rural leaders who are working in this movement. In a way, the women are the backbone of the formidable strength that it has picked up.

Mrs. Annie Bell Weston, inspired state organizer, directed the meeting devoted to the work of the women in the party. She has plans for calling a national meeting of women auxiliaries of the National Negro Democratic Council.

If the PDP leaders have their way, there is not going to be any selling the Negro out. They are watchful that Negro leadership will remain enlightened, courageous and true.

Jackson Gives Conceptions Of Progressive Demos Meet

Atlanta Daily World-Atlanta, Ga.

10-30-45

By EMORY O. JACKSON

COLUMBIA, S. C.—(SNS)— This convention of the National Council of Negro Democrats, in session here October 15-16, is giving a new significance to the Progressive Democratic Party of South Carolina.

Its the first time that a political movement led by Negroes in the South has reecived this kind of attention from a Northern group of professional, skilled and influential politicians. The PDP was organized as a device to defeat the efforts to disfranchise the Negro by tampering with the constitution after the "white primary" was declared illegal by the United States Su-

61d-1945

Not Education — But Action

Atlanta World 1-24-45

There is a grim touch of humor in the bland admission by Republican National Committeeman Perry W. Howard of Mississippi, explaining the reason for the desertion of the Negro voters from the Republican to the ranks of the Democratic Party.

Mr. Howard, who is working on a five-point program to recapture this vote, claims that his party is primarily at fault in that it failed in "alienating" Negroes from the Democratic ranks. To effect this program he proposes to secure from his party councils the sum of $200,000 to be spent annually for the next four years in order to carry on an effective educational campaign among colored voters. He would spend $100,000 of this amount with Negro newspapers for the conduct of such a campaign. 1-24-45

How utterly stupid is such a thought. Some one should intervene into this wild dream and help save this vast sum of money Mr. Howard is proposing to be spent on educating Negroes through the medium of the Negro press. What the Negro voters want from the Republicans is not education but concrete and constructive action. Negroes want Republican members of Congress to get on the side of progressiveism rather than on the side of reaction. We would like to hear less and less of the political clap-trap about Republican love for Negroes and more and more on their demonstration of that love in their action and their votes on measures affecting our advancement. Who but 137 Republican votes in the 79th Congress aligned with those of the southern Democrats to resurrect and to send the iniquitous Dies Committee again on a wild-man-hunt.

No it is not education that the Negro voters desire from their Republican friends. What we earnestly desire is a change in heart of those who having a chance to help us with their votes, almost consistently during the past three national administrations, have failed us. Moreover, it is difficult to imagine any Negro newspapers worthy of their names, condescending to accept such funds at the expense of the welfare of their readers.

HOBOKEN, N. J.
JERSEY OBSERVER
Circ. D. 36,937

JUL 23 1945

Scott Re-elected As Negro G.O.P. State President

Samuel C. Scott, of Jersey City, president of the Colored Republican Association and county executive, was re-elected state chairman of the Colored Republican Council of New Jersey yesterday at a meeting in Atlantic City.

Other officers of the state council chosen were William A. Dart, assistant prosecutor of Atlantic County, first vice chairman; Clarence A. Hightower, Passaic County, second vice chairman; Joseph Clark, Monmouth County, third vice chairman; Miss Estelle Pringle, Essex County, recording secretary; Mrs. Bessie Mason, Essex County, financial secretary; Leon Harris, of Asbury Park, coroner of Monmouth County, treasurer, and David Schellman, Hudson County, sergeant-at-arms.

Assemblyman James O. Hill presided as temporary chairman of the meeting, and installed the officers.

Republican

THIS MORNING

by JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

"The United States needs the South

Birmingham Ala Herald

DES MOINES, Iowa—Republican Clare Booth Luce means the South ought to have a two-party political system. The funny thing is that you can agree with her and still be a Democrat.

* * * AIA.

BY CLARE BOOTH LUCE

The Solid South, which fought one of the great wars of history for the sake of principle, may now help to defeat that very principle of freedom and self-determination by continuing its partisan solidity

* * *

There can be little doubt that the one-party policy of the Southern states is the foundation upon which such groups as the P. A. C. expect to build control of the United States through control of the Democratic party. There can be no doubt either that the purposes of the P. A. C. are directly opposed to the principles which the South traditionally cherishes. 10-9-45

* * *

All over the world today, wherever there is freedom to read what one may choose, men and women are anxiously looking for reports on what is happening in the United States. They know our military and industrial power. They want to see how we are going to use that power politically. In many cases our lead will be followed wherever there is freedom of political choice. That is where the South today has a heavier responsibility than ever before.

* * *

It is generally admitted that the strength of the United States, politically, has come through its two party system, which avoids the political excesses of the multi-party practice that weakened parliamentary government in Europe. Also, it is generally conceded that the two party system enforces upon each party a consideration of minority demands, ensuring fair treatment, politically as well as legally for the members of minority groups.

* * *

The United States has the two-party system—except in the Solid South, where to all practical intent the individual voter has no more choice of candidate or program than had the non-Nazi who wanted to vote against Hitler, but found only the one list when he went to the polls. I am not suggesting that the Democratic party—either North or South—has any similarity today to the National Socialist Party of Germany. I am only calling attention to the fact that in this one thing the political machinery has an identical action.

* * *

Until now, this fact has been of domestic importance only. From now on, it assumes an international importance which we should be the last to underestimate. Mr. Byrnes, the secretary of state, denounced the puppet government of Bulgaria when it seemed that only one party was to present candidates to the voters. King Mihai, of Romania, appealed to the United States for assistance in arranging the election in his country so that there would be a real choice of candidates and programs presented to his people, instead of a solidly Communist slate, as had been planned. On the other hand, the Soviet government complained about the impending Greek elections because, under supervision of Great Britain, France and the United States, all parties in Greece were to have a free choice in electing their various candidates, instead of the limited slate which Moscow suggested be restricted to candidates of the Communist group in Greece.

* * *

The analogy cannot be ignored. How will it be possible for the United States, in its international relationships, to urge a balanced political machinery which gives a choice of candidates and programs, and yet protects the rights of every individual no matter which is chosen? How can we do that abroad, while here at home a very large section of our own country, a section noted for its high devotion to patriotic principles, refuses to share in the general political encounter; preferring to retain its ancient prejudices, rather than sustain its principles in open battle? From the earliest colonial times, no section of these present United States has been more devoted to the ideals of liberty and freedom than the South. No section has given more quickly and more willingly, its sons, its wealth, its spirit to the defense of those ideals. Now, in the greatest crisis which has faced the ideal of free government since it was eclipsed in Athens 25 centuries ago, the people of the Southern states have to make a decision which may affect the trend of history.

* * *

That they will choose gallantly, I have no doubt. I hope they will choose wisely, too.

Form National Council Of Negro Republicans

Atlanta Daily World 10-9-45

Atlanta, Ga.

NEW YORK — (SNS) — Official announcement has been made here of the formation of the National Council of Negro Republicans, strongly supported and endorsed organization which will counsel the various branches of the Republican Party concerning its relations with Negroes throughout the United States. The unit was formed approximately a month ago, but announcement was held up by its board of directors until this week in order to complete its roster of members. 10-9-45

Establishing a precedent for scope of support, the new organization has the full endorsement of Herbert Brownell, Jr., chairman of the Republican National Committee and the Negro leadership of all the areas in which the Negro vote is appreciable. This is indicated by the Council's board of directors which is national in geographical representation.

Indicative of the strong support the unit has from industry is the fact that Ernest T. Weir, chairman of the board of National Steel Corporation and one of the top-flight money-raisers of the Republican Party is head of the organization's Advisory Board and treasurer of the overall setup. Mr. Weir has been joined on the advisory group by A. W. Robertson, chairman of the board of Westinghouse Electric Company.

Indicative, also, of the scope of the new Council and its potential services to the Republican Party is the fact that a careful balance has been maintained between so-called "independents" and the regular heads of the Republican "organizations," for the new organization's board of directors is a cross-section of both. No women have been named the unit's ruling board's since this work, the sponsors said, will be left to the women's wing of the Republican National Committee.

The officers and members of the boards of the new setup are, in addition to Mr. Baker:

Harold Burton, Assembly District Leader, New York, vice-chairman; Sidney R. Redmond, St. Louis attorney and former Western campaign leader, secretary; Ernest T. Weir, Pittsburgh, treasurer. Other members: Attorney Joseph S. Mitchel Jr., Mass.; Attorney James M. Stockett, Jr., Rhode Island; William O. Walker, editor of the Cleveland Call-Post and member of City Council, Ohio; Attorney William A. Dart, Assistant City Solicitor, Atlantic City, New Jersey; Sidney Davis, Assembly District Leader, of New York; William C. Wingate, cosmetic manufacturer, Joseph W. Givens, Assistant to the Attorney General, and Bishop David H Sims, Pennsylvania; and Dr. Emmett J. Scott, the District of Columbia. The members representing Illinois, Michigan and the Pacific coast are to be chosen within the next few days, according to the Council' executives.

Negro Republicans Form National Council

Chicago Defender
Chicago Ill.

NEW YORK—Official announcement has been made here of the formation of the National Council of Negro Republicans, strongly supported and endorsed organization which will counsel the various branches of the Republican Party concerning its relations with Negroes throughout the United States. The unit was formed approximately a month ago, but announcement was held up by its board of directors until this week in order to complete its roster of members.

Establishing a precedent for scope of support, the new organization has the full endorsement of Herbert Brownell Jr., chairman of the Republican National committee and the Negro leadership of all of the areas in which the Negro vote is appreciable. This is indicated by the council's board of directors 10-20-52.

Alabama Press

THE POLL TAX

Birmingham News Ala. 2-25-45

Senator Lister Hill, in advocating the repeal of the poll tax, makes this very pertinent statement: "The fitness and eligibility of citizens to vote in Alabama is determined under state registration laws and by county registration boards and not by the poll tax." Many people overlook that fact in making snap judgment in regard to the need of a poll tax. This newspaper has always inclined toward payment of poll tax, feeling that the vote is a privilege and should be worth $1.50 to any person. On the other hand, we fear that there may be some people who consider the $1.50 to be worth the vote and are willing for political friends to have a share in marking the ballot in return for paying the poll tax for them.—Greenville Advocate.

THE POLL TAX QUESTION

Birmingham News 2-28-45 Ala.

In regard to the poll tax question and its ultimate answer in Alabama, we have a rendezvous with the inevitable, and further postponement merely widens the gap between two chains of thought.

We agree with Senator Hill—or vice versa—that the time has come for Alabama to remove this prejudice-inspired, antiquated law from its statute books. We agree with Senator Hill because he worded his criticism of the poll tax in a manner that entirely reflected our own opinion, and the same agreement would have been extended to any other man speaking as frankly and sanely.

The poll tax law hangs over Alabama and those states where it is still in effect like the musty odor of an attic trunk, and it is just as out of date as the oldest letter in that trunk.

They are foolish who believe that its elimination will noticeably affect racial relationship, and they are wise who realize that the state's election laws can and will circumvent any detrimental influence that might result.

We, too, are unappreciative of the federal government's interference in this, a state matter, but that interference happens to come at a time when we ourselves should initiate a movement for repeal, and our delay merely gives excuse to those who prefer enforcement over collaboration, particularly as it applies to the South. 2-28-45

Gov. Sparks is making Alabama a fearless and honest governor; the present Legislature is one of our best, an admission we have made many times, but if they fail to at this time prepare the way for repeal of the poll tax law, future administrations and future generations might well refer to this era as narrow of thought, prejudiced in judgment and politically complexed.

It is safe to say that the very great majority of Alabama voters favor repeal.—Sylacauga News.

POLL TAX REPEAL

Birmingham News Ala.

To the Editor of The News:

It is time for all of us to become serious with ourselves. Are the wrong persons being elected because of the poll tax?

Suppose we wait a few years and see how Georgia comes out. If they get along all right, then we could try it. 2-28-45

It seems that we are getting along okeh as the law is. Politics is not rotten in Alabama. And, too, a person who doesn't think enough of his vote to pay $1.50 a year might not care enough for it not to sell it for $1.50. And the schools need the $300,000 it gives them.

If we repeal the law, let's refund the money paid in by the legal voters. Does the class that doesn't pay poll tax need special privileges?

Fairfield, Ala. W. L. KEETON.

Dr. Vines Has 'No Idea' Of Total Number Who Ask To Become Voters

Birmingham News 2-10-45 Ala.

Two-Hour Check Shows Six Negro Women Apply But Refused Registration

As registration for voting opened its fourth day Saturday, Dr. J. B. Vines, chairman of the Jefferson County Board of Registrars, declared he "had no idea" how many people had registered, whether the number of registrants was smaller or greater than during the last registration period, how many Negroes had appeared for registration or how many people had been denied the privilege of registering.

The registrars' office at the courthouse has been fairly well filled with Jefferson County citizens filling out the long questionnaires for the last four days, but nobody seems to know what happens when these citizens take their questionnaires back into the room marked "private" where the three registrars, Dr. Vines, R. L. Creel and Mrs. Eva Whitfield, pass on the qualifications. 2-10-45

During a two-hour period Friday afternoon, an unofficial count showed that 28 persons presented themselves for registration: eight white women, 13 white men, six Negro women and one Negro man. Several service men were in the group.

Although the chairman of the board declines to say what disposition was made of the Negroes' requests for registration, the six Negro women, all of them teachers in the Birmingham schools, said registration had been denied them.

"This is the fifth time I've tried to register," one of them said. "I have taught in the schools here for 20 years, and I brought tax receipts showing I own $3,000 in property. They didn't say why I couldn't register." 2-10-45

The Alabama Code provides that in order to qualify to register a person must be able to read and write any article in the Constitution in the English language, and must have worked for the greater part of the 12 months preceding application for registration if physically able to do so, or must own 40 acres of land or have paid taxes on real estate assessed at $300 or more and must not have been convicted of a long list of crimes. However, the Board of Registrars may refuse registration if the majority of the board members feel the applicant has not met the qualifications.

Recourse for denial of registration by the board is appeal to the Circuit Court.

Even as these Birmingham citizens revealed that they were being denied the privilege of registering (they had already paid their poll taxes), Gov. Chauncey Sparks and Gessner T. McCorvey, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, agreed that Negroes who are qualified must be permited to vote.

Stricter Voting Rules Favored By McCorvey

Montgomery Advertiser 2-10-45 Ala.

He Says Lift Standard And Register Negroes If They Are Qualified

By ATTICUS MULLIN

The political experience and party authority of Chairman Gessner McCorvey of the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee was thrown Friday against the proposal to abolish poll taxes in Alabama and also against any proposition that might cause a return to the convention system of nominations. He advocated, instead before a legislative committee that negroes who have properly qualified themselves should be registered and that the qualifications for men and women who register to vote should be raised and not lowered. 2-10-45

Chairman McCorvey appeared before the joint interim committee on constitution and legislative procedure and expressed his views which had been eagerly sought by the committee and after he had stated his views, Gov. Sparks expressed himself in accord with most of them and specifically the views that qualified negroes should be registered and that boards of registrars should be given judicial powers.

Chairman McCorvey, unlike some Democrats, believes that the present primary election laws should stand. Under the present law, safeguards are thrown about voting and the State pays for the election. In the Texas case the Supreme Court of the United States held in effect that where the State of Texas regulated and paid for a primary, negroes could not be eliminated from voting. Following the Texas decision some Alabama Democrats thought that if the State would return to the old system by which primaries would be controlled by the State Democratic committee, and the candidates should pay the expenses of the election, negroes could continue to be barred from voting.

Carried Out Here

The views of Chairman McCorvey are those held by the Board of Registrars in Montgomery County which registered 80 or more worthy negro citizens during the last few months. It is understood that boards in several other Alabama counties did the same thing.

A statement quoted in The Advertiser from Gov. Sparks nearly a year ago, it seems, made a deep impression upon most of the members of the boards of registrars in Alabama. In that statement Gov. Sparks said that members of the negro race who had made themselves worthy of the ballot should be registered and allowed to vote. He did not say then that they should vote in Democratic primaries but Chairman Gessner McCorvey's statements before the legislative committee Friday had the effect of recommending that duly qualified negro voters who hold the Democratic faith should be allowed to vote in Democratic primaries. In the past, Democratic primaries have been called solely for white voters. Thus Chairman McCorvey has struck at a longtime precedent.

Chairman McCorvey wants the $1.50 a year poll tax retained. He takes the position that this tax, which goes to education, is so small that any person opposed to paying it cannot be regarded as a citizen who is worthy to vote. And in that he probably spoke for a majority of the Democrats of Alabama. This writer, of course, believes and has advocated that the poll tax should be abolished but it is certain that the majority of Alabama Democrats do not believe it should be abolished. 2-10-45

Chairman McCorvey recommended that the constitutional provision giving any owner of $300 worth of property the right to register should be repealed. That, of course, would take a vote of the people of Alabama before it could be repealed. Chairman McCorvey advocated the strengthening of the registration laws which require a person to be able to read and write an article of the constitution before registering to require that person to be able to give a clear cut definition of the article as well.

Hits Absentee Ballot

The State chairman did not mince words when it came to the absentee ballot law. He advocated its repeal leaving only a provision that men and women absent in the armed services could vote. He said he made his recommendations because 90 per cent of all election crookedness in Alabama could be traced to the absentee voting law. Only last year, the State committee was called upon to deal with several election situations in Alabama where absentee ballots were fraudulently voted and fraudulently handled after they had been voted. But while he opposed absentee voting he strongly favored a continuation of the present system of numbering ballots. He said that only by numbered ballots could an election contest be properly decided and guilty and fraudulent voters be brought to justice.

Chairman McCorvey made a deep impression upon the committee because after his appearance a number of committee members said his experience and his judgment had caused them to change their views about certain pending legislative matters affecting voting. 2-10-45

Meanwhile, a proposal by the Alabama League of Municipalities for an increase in the State gasoline tax from six to seven cents, the additional revenue to be distributed to cities and towns on a population basis, received the approval of the committee on State, county and municipal government.

Sparks' Hands Off

Gov. Sparks told reporters that was one piece of legislation he was steering clear of. 2-10-45

Ed E. Reid, executive secretary of the league, estimated the additional one-cent tax would bring in about $500,000 a year.

The constitution and government committees recessed until Feb. 20. The latter group deferred action on another league proposal under which municipalities would be empowered to make public improvement assessments against the business of railroads and other corporations instead of against the property affected.

Recessing Thursday, the appropriations-finance committee will get down to work on its biennial budget and general appropriations bill Feb. 20. Chairman C. D. Norman indicated that, with hearings virtually completed, the committee would stay in continuous session until its work was done.

McCorvey And Sparks Say Qualified Negroes Should Be Given Vote

Birmingham News 2-10-45 Ala.

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—Negroes who are properly qualified and who

believe in the [illegible] plas of the ocratic Executive Committee, told spect" of the courts, referring to a Democratic party" should be per- the Legislature's interim committed to vote in Alabama pri- tee on constitution and legislative maries. Gessner T. McCorvey, of procedure Friday. Mobile, chairman of the State Dem- McCorvey called for "proper re- ocratic primaries. He said that decision, Alabama cannot hold a Democratic primary election under state statutes and bar Negroes who have paid their poll taxes. He urged higher qualifications for voting be established, rather than to

change present election machinery.

Gov. Chauncey Sparks said later that he agrees with McCorvey that Negroes who are qualified must be permitted to vote. 2-10-45

A proposal by the Alabama League of Municipalities for an increase in the state gasoline tax from 6 to 7 cents received the approval of the committee on state, county and municipal government. The increase would be distributed cities and towns on a population under the proposal.

Remind Ala. Voters Of Their Status

The Enforcer
Houston, Texas
3-24-45

DOTHAM, Ala.,—(ANP)— The 60 recently registered and qualified Negro voters in Houston county are being reminded by candidates in the Dothan city primary election that "you are legal voters in the forthcoming primary."

One candidate has told these new voters along with the whites, "I will appreciate your vote and influence in the forthcoming election."

Alabama Kills Poll Tax Law

Philadelphia Tribune

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—(ANP)—The house of representatives swamped the poll tax bill bill introduced by Rep. Mark Hode of Jefferson, Wednesday, by a vote of 70 to 23 but only after one of the toughest debates heard in the Alabama legislature during the past 10 years. 5-26-45

Gov. Sparks was behind the measure and its set-back constituted the worst legislative defeat he has suffered since he became governor.

Rep. Hode fought hard for his measure. He told the legislators that "our soldiers are fighting for democracy, yet in Alabama less than 10 percent of our people now go to the polls to preserve that democracy." The vote killed the measure for the present session.

GOVERNOR CHAUNCEY SPARKS of Alabama is expected to ask the state legislature, which convenes May 1, to repeal the poll tax. The South Carolina Senate has passed a resolution authorizing a referendum on repeal next year, and political observers on the scene think the House will pass it soon. Meanwhile, T. Grady Head, Attorney General of Georgia, has minimized the effect of repeal in his state by ruling that all past-due poll taxes must be paid before the right to vote is granted. In fairness to Governor Arnall, who fought for repeal, it should be pointed out that Mr. Head was elected, not appointed.

Alabama Press

Birmingham News
FINIS

The poll tax issue has again gone down in defeat by an Alabama Legislature, and this is our contribution to the final reverberations.

It was defeated by prejudice, sectionalism and Heflinotic oratory, not by cool, analytical argument or discussion. The vote was on the past, not of the future. 6-11-45

Witness this defense:

"I say that Alabama is the greatest state in the Union—and one of the reasons is our poll tax law."

"This bill is against the peace and dignity of the Black Belt."

"This is a dangerous bill. A Negro once occupied the House seat in which I sit today."

No, the poll tax issue was not defeated—it wasn't even discussed.—Sylacauga News.

* * *

DOWN BUT NEVER OUT

The poor old poll tax is down again, but we have not heard the last of it. The bill to abolish the poll tax, sponsored and abetted by Gov. Sparks, failed to get very far in the Legislature, killed, we believe, by the "politicians' lobby," who fear that their individual and collective "machines" will become unmanageable if more "untrained" citizens are allowed the constitutional privilege of balloting for their "public servants." 6-11-45

While this paper did not favor outright repeal of the poll tax at this time, preferring and advancing the theory that we wait two, three or possibly five years to study the effect of repeal in Georgia, we would like to see the absentee ballot and the cumulative sections of the law thrown in the trash can. However, as far as the law is concerned, it will have much better chance of being repealed if outsiders refrain from giving directions.

As long as absentee ballots can be "counted" by the ins, especially in an election where few ballots are cast, the outs don't have a helluva lot of chance to succeed the ins.—Pell City News.

THE POLL TAX

Birmingham News

To the Editor of the News-Age-Herald:

We are proud of our legislators, for they have expressed the desire of the most of Alabamians in killing the poll tax amendment.

My good Republican friends, who have been out of office since 1901, are not so much for the poll tax as they are for the requirements after the tax is paid. 6-30-45

An amendment could be passed permitting all persons paying two years' back poll tax to vote if they meet the other requirements. This would keep the money for the schools and get some back money, yet retain a high standard in the qualifications of the voters. It's not the money. Those who want the poll tax abolished would have paid the money 10 times if it wasn't for the requirements after the money is paid.

We read about the death blow. Yes, death, 44 years of death. So I believe Alabama is willing for all who pay two years' back tax to vote if they meet all the other requirements.

W. L. KELTON.

Ala. Passes Law Insuring Ballot To Whites Only

Philadelphia Tribune

MONTGOMERY, (ANP)—The Alabama house of representatives Wednesday unanimously passed a proposed amendment to the constitution that would fix the registration laws to guarantee "white supremacy" eternally. 6-23-45

The bill was introduced by Rep. E. C. Boswell of Geneva County.

It would revise the registration laws to knock out ownership of property as a qualification to register. In addition, it would require that all registrants understand the constitution to the satisfaction of the registrars.

The proposal is obviously aimed at substituting registration for the "white primary" and poll tax as a deterrent to Negroes and poor white people voting.

Negro Vote Suit Hearing Set In Federal Court

Specifically, Action Is On Motion To Dismiss By Attorney General

Judge Charles B. Kennamer said yesterday that Sept. 20 at 10 a.m. had been set for hearing the pleadings on the motion brought by Atty Gen. Robert B. Harwood to dismiss the complaint brought in Federal Court against the Macon County board of registrars charging the members with refusing to register negroes as voters because of their race.

The original action was brought by Arthur D. Shores, negro lawyer of Birmingham, specifically in behalf of William P. Mitchell, Macon County negro.

The petition described the complaint as a "class action" because "members of this class are so numerous as to make it impractical to bring them all before the court."

Intervening in behalf of Mrs. George C. Wright and Virgil Guthrie, registrars, Atty. Gen. Harwood seeks dismissal of the suit on the grounds that "it fails to state any facts showing that the board . . . . did any act violative of the plaintiff's rights."

The complaint also failed to allege any facts showing Mitchell was ever refused registration, the State's motion sets out.

Mitchell's complaint alleged that the registrars have established and are maintaining a policy, custom and usage of denying to the plaintiff and others on whose behalf the suit was brought equal protection under the laws, and requiring them to submit to tests not required of white electors.

Many Register Pro-American In Birmingham

Baltimore, Md.

BIRMINGHAM (ANP) — In response to leadership appeal, a long line of citizens flocked to the courthouse here last Wednesday morning at 8 o'clock, half an hour before the doors opened, determined to register in defiance of new and ancient schemes to discourage them. 8-25-45

This time, the Jefferson County Board of Registrars refused to permit any except prospective registrants to enter the office, but Emory O. Jackson, managing editor of the Birmington World, was allowed to observe the registration when he asked whether the press was banned.

Armed Deputies Present

Two deputies from the sheriff's office, armed with pistols, supervised the line-ups, which caused J. J. Green, chairman, NAACP's registration campaign committee to point out that they were sent "to protect citizen-taxpayers" in their quest for the ballot.

A white youth, 16, was allowed to accompany a relative unmolested, and two white men entered, one to register, the other for companionship, but there was no evidence that the registrars noticed or were told of these violations of their ruling. 8-25-45

Leaders Turn Out

W. M. R. Wood of the Zion City NAACP branch was asked to leave when he went to help his wife, but was called back by an attache. Charles C. Rasberry, whose sight is impaired, said a board member registered him after an office worker declined.

Leaders active in the registration movement present at the registrar's office were: L. H. Britt, NAACP president; W. H. Hollins, president, Business League; Cornelius Maiden, AFL; Hartford Knight, UMWA; F. W. Nelson, Rosedale unit chairman; and the Rev. T. H. Hudson, pastor.

Ala Revises Voting Laws; "Gradfather Clause" Revamped

Oklahoma City Black Dispatch

BIRMINGHAM (ANP) — The recent session of the Alabama state legislature took steps to liberalize the election in one way, but in another made it harder for Negroes to vote. 9-1-45

Under House Bill No. 250 enacted by the legislature, the books will be open for registration twice a month in every county. Hitherto in most of the 67 Alabama counties the books were open only once a year.

Federal Court Asked To Drop Negro Vote Suit

Montgomery Advertiser

Motion For Dismissal Filed By Atty. Gen. Harwood

8-31-45

A motion to dismiss a suit against the Macon County Board of Registrars charging members with refusing to register negroes as voters because of their race was filed in United States District Court yesterday by Robert B. Harwood, attorney general of Alabama.

Ala.

The original action was brought by Arthur D. Shores, Birmingham lawyer, specifically in behalf of William P. Mitchell, Macon County negro.

Mitchell's petition describes the complaint as a "class action" because "members of this class are so numerous as to make it impractical to bring them all before the court."

8-31-45

Intervening in behalf of Mrs. George C. Wright and Virgil Guthrie, registrars, the attorney general seeks dismissal of the suit on grounds that it "fails to state any facts showing that the board . . . . did any act violative of the plaintiff's rights."

The complaint also fails to allege any facts to show that Mitchell was ever refused registration, the State motion sets out, adding that there is no allegation of facts that the residents referred to in the complaint were legally entitled to be registered.

Mitchell's complaint alleged that "the defendants have established and are maintaining a policy, custom and usage of denying to the plaintiff and others on whose behalf this suit is brought equal protection under the laws by requiring them to submit to tests not required of white electors."

Gov. Sparks Names Englehart, Jr., To M.C.B. Of Registrars

Atlanta, Ga. Daily World

12-43

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — (SNS) — S. M. Englehart, Jr., of Shorter was appointed on Dec. 15 by Governor Chauncey Sparks to the unexpired term of Virgil M. Gutherie on the Macon (Tuskegee) County Board of Registrars.

Mr. Guthrie, along with Mrs.

Can This Be True?

from the News

A letter from a Negro journalist which appeared in last Sunday's *News* tells a disturbing story about the experience of Negro applicants for registration in Jefferson County. The figures cited indicate that of the 250 Negroes who applied during the August period approximately 171 were rejected, upon the basis of questions which included the ridiculous "What would be the proper place for a candidate for the governorship to make his first speech?" Even more distressing is the assertion that "hardly any of those trying to register on the literacy provisions were accepted," and that those seeking to qualify had to meet the double test of literacy and ownership of property.

8-29-45

If it be true, as this letter states, that 68 per cent of Negroes who applied during the August registration were turned down, though many of them "do and can meet the legal requiremcnts to register as electors under Alabama laws," a disturbing pictare is thereby presented to the thoughtful white community. If it be true that Negroes are not allowed to become voters merely because they are Negroes, and not because they cannot qualify under the law, something should be done to improve our system of registration as well as the conduct of our registrars.

It is understandable, in the light of this disclosure, why there have been efforts to make registrars more arbitrary than ever in carrying out an unwritten purpose to keep Negroes from becoming voters. Instead of setting up qualifications which are relevant and democratic, and instead of insisting that these qualifications be enforced without fear or favor, there seems to be a movement on foot to make matters worse by doctoring requirements to enable registrars to defy the federal constitution.

8-29-45

The "white supremacy" which depends on such methods is leaning on a weak reed. It is a "supremacy" which is afraid to stand on its own feet. The time has indeed come for white Alabamians to be concerned if the best they can do to preserve political control is to rely on subversion of the law.

George C. Wright, also a registrar, was sued for $5,000 by William P Mitchell of Tuskegee, for allegedly refusing to register him on May 5 because of his race.

Dismissed by Federal Judge Charles B. Kennamer on Oct. 12, Arthur D. Shores, Birmingham lawyer and Thurgood Marshall, eminent constitutional lawyer of New York, noted an appeal on Nov. 30.

What caused the vacation of the office by Mr. Guthrie was not learned.

Mitchell Files Suit Against Macon County Registrars

Atlanta Daily World

8-16-45

TUSKEGEE, Ala. — (S N S) — peal for the 25 applicants who charged that they were wrongfully Just nine days after 25 registration appeal suits were filed in Circuit Court here, William P. Mitchell filed a $5,000 damage suit in the District Court of the United States Court for the Middle District of Alabama, Eastern District, against the Macon County Board of Registrars.

Filed by Attorney Arthur D. Shores of Birmingham, the suit in addition to asking for damages, seeks a declaratory judgment and a permanent injuction restraining the registrars from alleged racial discrimination in the administration of the law. The action, a class suit, is brought on behalf of all Negro citizens in Macon County.

On August 1 Shores filed an appeal for refused registration.

Mitchell's complaint says that on July 5 two of the registrars—Mrs George C. Wright and Virgil M Gurthie refused to register him although he presented evidence of paying tax on property valued in excess of $300 and could read and write any part of the federal constitution, which are optional requirements for registration under present Alabama law.

Refused applicants allege that during the 5-day July registration session, the Macon registrars failed to post or make public any announcement of the session, moved the place of registration twice during the five days and sat in three different rooms. That during a greater portion of the period only one registrar was on duty, used delaying tactics in filling out the forms, asked questions in kill-time fashion, required vouchers, failed to provide enough application blanks and advised applicants to put off registration until the October session.

A suit similar to Mitchell's was filed in Birmingham June 19 by Nurse-Pastorah Vinson.

Can This Be True?

A letter from a Negro journalist which appeared in last Sunday's *News* tells a disturbing story about the experience of Negro applicants for registration in Jefferson County. The figures cited indicate that of the 250 Negroes who applied during the August period approximately 171 were rejected, upon the basis of questions which included the ridiculous "What would be the proper place for a candidate for the governorship to make his first speech?" Even more distressing is the assertion that "hardly any of those trying to register on the literacy provisions were accepted," and that those seeking to qualify had to meet the double test of literacy and ownership of property.

If it be true, as this letter states, that 68 per cent of Negroes who applied during the August registration were turned down, though many of them "do and can meet the legal requirements to register as electors under Alabama laws," a disturbing picture is thereby presented to the thoughtful white community. If it be true that Negroes are not allowed to become voters merely because they are Negroes, and not because they cannot qualify under the law, something should be done to improve our system of registration as well as the conduct of our registrars.

It is understandable, in the light of this disclosure, why there have been efforts to make registrars more arbitrary than ever in carrying out an unwritten purpose to keep Negroes from becoming voters. Instead of setting up qualifications which are relevant and democratic, and instead of insisting that these qualifications be enforced without fear or favor, there seems to be a movement on foot to make matters worse by doctoring requirements to enable registrars to defy the federal constitution.

The "white supremacy" which depends on such methods is leaning on a weak reed. It is a "supremacy" which is afraid to stand on its own feet. The time has indeed come for white Alabamians to be concerned if the best they can do to preserve political control is to rely on subversion of the law.

Negro Vote-Registering Case Goes To High Court

The Birmingham News
Birmingham, Ala.

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Dec. 1—(AP)—A Federal Court ruling dismissing a suit charging members of the Macon County Board of Registrars with refusing to register a Negro for voting has been taken to the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals.

Federal Judge Charles B. Kennamer on Oct. 12 dismissed the suit brought by William P. Mitchell, a Negro. The decision declared Mitchell had not exhausted his rights in state courts before asking for federal action.

12-1-45

Arthur Shores and Thurgood Marshall, attorneys for Mitchell, filed notice of appeal yesterday. Mitchell had charged in District Court he was denied registration "solely because of race or color."

New Technique Insures Hundreds Of Ala. Voters

Chicago Defender
8-18-45

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—Negro citizens of Birmingham showed their determination to become voters this week by standing in line for hours waiting for registration offices to open.

Following a "ballot budget plan" devised by the local NAACP, 140 persons were at the Jefferson County Board of Registrars half an hour before opening time.

NAACP registration leaders in each of 14 communities sent 10 prospective voters to the board on the first day. During the registration period—Aug. 8 to 16—each leader has a quota of 100 new voters.

No Violence

Seeing this unprecedented interest in voting, the registrars resorted to new tactics which failed to work. Deputies from the sheriff's office came to the scene flourishing their pistols. None except those applying for registration was allowed in the office.

J. J. Green, militant dirctor of the NAACP's registration campaign, to allay any fears created by the presence of the deputies, whispered around the word that Sheriff Holt McDowell had sent the deputies to protect the citizen-taxpayers in their right to vote. The deputies calmed, became cooperative and actually helped to speed up registration after that.

Emory O. Jackson, managing editor of the Birmingham World was permitted to enter the registrars' office, assisting the applicants with organizing their application form. Jackson had vigorously protested the ban.

Registrars Helpful

8-18-45

Hitherto, the NAACP placed a person in the registrars' office to assist the applicants. The registrars ruled that their own staff would assist, and actually did so.

W. M. R. Wood of the Zion City NAACP unit was asked out of the registrars' office when he went in to help his wife, but later one of the attaches came out and told him to return.

Charles C. Rasberry said that he told one of the office workers that his sight was impaired, but that she declined to assist him, allowing him to talk with the two members of the board present, R. J. Creel and Mrs. Eva M. Whitfield. He said that Mr. Creel filled out the blank for him and registered him. Dr. J. B. Vines, chairman, was reported ill at home.

Registration "Clinic"

L. H. Britt, president of the local NAACP branch; F. W. Nelson, chairman of the Rosedale unit, and the Rev. T. H. Hudson, pastor of Brownville Methodist church, were among the registration leaders on the scene when the doors of the registrars' office opened.

Meantime, the Birmingham World set up a "registration clinic" in its office which is located in the main business section of the city, only a few blocks away from the courthouse. Prospective voters come by the office, are instructed on how to fill out the form, refreshed on the Constitution, grounded in the registration laws and schooled on personal strategy for registration.

Green said that a week-by-week "ballot education clinic" would be sponsored in every community in the Birmingham area throughout this year. The books will open for a 45-day period on Nov. 14. During the entire month of September the registrars will visit every precinct in the county.

The "four artists of enfranchisement of Negro citizens in Jefferson County" are J. J. Green, of the NAACP; W. H. Hollins, of the Negro Business League; Cornelius Maiden, of the AFL, and Hartford Knight, of the United Mine Workers.

Jackson, in his column, "The Tip-Off," said of the movement:

"Green is conducting something in the nature of a registration revolution in Jefferson County. It is revolutionary in the sense of motivation, identification, spirit and leadership.

"Here is combined labor, the ministry, women and neighborhood leaders. The majority of the response is coming from women. Women voters, remember, were largely responsible for putting Churchill out of office in England."

NEGRO VOTE SUIT FOR $5,000 FILED

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Aug. 23—(AP)—A suit charging the Macon County Board of Registrars with refusal to register Negroes for voting was on file in Federal Court today.

The complaint was filed by Arthur D. Shores, Birmingham attorney, in behalf of William P. Mitchell, Macon County Negro, and "the Negro Citizens of the United States and the State of Alabama . . . who are qualified electors."

It charges Mitchell was denied registration on July 5 of this year solely because of his "race, color and previous condition of servitude."

The petition named Mrs. George C. Wright, Tuskegee, and Virgil M. Guthrie, Notasulga, members of the Board of Registrars, as defendants and asked $5,000 declatory judgment.

It also alleged:

That "the defendants have established and are maintaining a policy, custom and usage of denying to the plaintiff and others on whose behalf this suit is brought protection under the laws by requiring them to submit to tests not required of white electors." It did not elaborate.

That white persons with less qualifications than Negroes have been registered.

That white persons are not required to have two persons vouch for them, as are Negroes.

The complaint said it was a "class action" because "members of the class (Negroes) are so numerous as to make it impracticable to bring them all before the court."

U. S. Judge Kennamer Dismisses Negro Vote Case From Court

The Birmingham Post
Birmingham, Alabama
10-13-45

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Oct. 13—(AP)—Holding that William P. Mitchell, Negro, failed to exhaust his rights in state courts, in a suit charging members of the Macon County, Alabama, board of registrars with refusing to register a Negro for voting, Judge C. B. Kennamer, U. S. District Court here dismissed the case yesterday on the grounds that the court lacked jurisdiction.

"Action such as this cannot be maintained in the federal courts," Judge Kennamer said, "until the plaintiff has availed himself of the administrative remedy afforded by the laws of Alabama."

The state constitution provides right of court appeal from a decision by the board of registrars.

In Birmingham, Arthur D. Shores, Mitchell's attorney, said the case would be taken to the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals.

In dismissing the complaint, Judge Kennamer sustained a motion filed by the State of Alabama as an intervenor, after the suit was instituted against two members of the Macon County board, Mrs. George C. Wright and Virgil M. Guthrie.

The Negro alledged he was denied registration on or about last July 5 because of what he termed a policy of the board to reject members of his race. He filed the suit as a class action in behalf of other Negroes, and asked:

1. A declaratory judgment.
2. A permanent injunction against denying Negroes the right to register "solely because of race and color."
3. $5,000 damage.

In granting the state's motion to dismiss the proceedings as a class action, Judge Kennamer asserted that "registration is an individual matter, each case being considered on its own merits or demerits. . . ."

The Negro makes no charge, Judge Kennamer said, that he would not be registered if he followed the course open to him under state law.

COURT DISMISSES NEGRO VOTE SUIT

The Birmingham Age-Herald Birmingham, Ala.

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Oct. 12—(AP)—A suit charging members of the Macon Couty, Ala., board of registrars with refusing to register a Negro for voting was dismissed in U. S. District Court here today on the grounds the court lacked jurisdiction.

Judge C. B. Kennamer held that the Negro, William P. Mitchell, failed to exhaust his rigths in state courts, and declared:

10-13-45

"Action such as this cannot be maintained in the federal courts until the plaintiff has availed himself of that administrative remedy afforded by the laws of Alabama."

The state constitution provides right of court appeal from a decision by the board of registrars.

In Birmingham, Arthur D. Shores, attorney for Mitchell, said the case would be taken to the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals.

In dismissing the complaint, Judge Kennamer sustained a motion filed by the State of Alabama as an intervenor. After the suit was instituted against two members of the Macon County board, Mrs. George C. Wright and Virgil M. Guthrie.

Racial Policy Changed

The Negro alleged he was denied registration on or about last July 5 because of what he termed a policy of the board to reject members of his race. He filed the suit as a class action in behalf of other Negroes, and asked:

1. A declaratory judgment.
2. A permanent injunction against denying Negroes the right to register "solely because of race or color."
3. $5,000 damage.

In granting the state's motion to dismiss the proceedings as a class action, Judge Kennamer asserted that "registration is an individual matter, each case is considered on its own merits or demerits . . . The question of unconstitutional discrimination cannot be determined by groups or classes but must be determined as to each individual."

10-13-45

Denial of registration to a prospective voter, the court held, is "but the first step in the procedure set up by the laws of Alabama by which his request for registration must travel before it becomes final."

System Not Contested

The plaintiff did not contest the machinery established by the state law for registration of voters, the opinion continued, "but on the contrary took advantage of the initial step in such machinery to present himself to the board of registrars.

"However, after he was denied registration by the board, he forsook the remaining parts of the machinery . . . and shifted his request for registration from the administrative machinery of the state of Alabama, to the federal district court . . ."

The Negro makes no charge, Judge Kennamer added, that he would not be registered if he followed the course open to him under state law.

In conclusion, the judge declared:

"The court is of the opinion that the plaintiff is precluded from shifting from the initial step of the state machinery to the federal court and must avail himself of that administrative remedy afforded by the state laws of Alabama.

Tuskegeeans Face Sharp Retaliation

Atlanta Ga.
Daily World

Meet Run-Around, Subterfuges In All-Out Effort

By DEWILDA BUSH HAIRSTSON

TUSKEGEE — (ANP) — Tuskegee's Negro citizens faced the sharp retaliation of whites here, October 9 and 10, official registration days, when they found the doors of the local registration office in the court house building closed.

In an all-out effort to break down the barrier which has prohibited Negroes in this community from obtaining any degree of political power, civic organizations urged all citizens to pay their poll tax and register. The drive grew out of the recent William Mitchell case which came up in the federal district court, Montgomery, September 20. Mitchell, an employe of the Veterans administration, Tuskegee, filed suit because he had allegedly been refused a proper registration certificate by the Tuskegee board of registration. The defense (Macon county, Ala.,) claimed among other things, that Mitchell had not made proper use of the lower court in Tuskegee, Ala., before going to a higher one.

10-14-45

FORCED TO WAIT

On Wednesday, many were given leave from their jobs to register However, when they reached the court house they could find no signs or obtain any information as to where the registering was being held. It was reported that the few who registered were forced to wait in the lobby for several hours until some whites entered. Then closely following them, they found the officers registration room and entered with the others.

Most people were discouraged from registering by the long wait and lack of information, and unless further action is taken to alleviate the situation, Tuskegee's Negro vote will remain nil.

McCorvey To Propose Change In Rules To Allow Negro Vote

Birmingham News

MOBILE, Ala., Dec. 29 — (AP) — Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey today called a meeting of the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee for Jan. 12 in Montgomery to complete plans for party primaries next Spring and said he would recommend that the committee amend its rules to allow qualified Negroes to vote for the first time.

12-29-45

In a three-page letter to committee members, McCorvey said that under the U. S. Supreme Court decision in the Texas case, Alabama could not legally bar Negroes from voting in Democratic primaries because of color. He said he would oppose any move to "get around" the decision by abolishing party primaries and returning to the old convention system of nominating.

12-29-45

McCORVEY SAID A RESOLUTION would be introduced eliminating the old restriction limiting the primary to qualified "white" electors and expressed belief it would be adopted.

Ala.

"If my recommendations are carried out it will mean that our primary elections in the future will be conducted as they have been in the past, with the exception that we will not limit our primaries as formerly to only white electors," he said.

"As a practical proposition, I don't think it is going to make so much difference—certainly not at this time—because there are comparatively only a very, very few Negroes who are properly registered and who have kept up their poll tax.

"If conditions in the future demand a change from the policy I am advocating, we can at any time change our procedure, but for the present I am strongly in favor of continuing the holding of our primary elections under our present primary election law, but in obedience to the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, permitting those Negroes who believe in the principles of the Democratic Party and who have properly registered and paid their poll taxes to vote in our primaries."

* * *

HE SAID HIS IDEA of the way to handle the Negro voting problem was to see that "only properly qualified persons are permitted to register" and said that this could be accomplished through adoption of the Boswell amendment, to be voted on next November, changing constitutional registration requirements.

The committee chairman said that the number of potential Negro voters had been increased by a 1945 state law waiving the poll tax requirement for all servicemen and women, including Negroes, but that the registration requirements were still in force.

McCorvey said that in conformity with state law, the committee would set March as the deadline for candidates to qualify for the primary elections and would set the first primary for Tuesday, May 7, and the second primary for Tuesday, June 4.

B'ham., Ala.

IN PROVIDING FOR THE qualifications of candidates for nomination for judges of Courts of Record, the chairman said the committee should provide by resolution that no candidate can qualify for such a position who is under disbarment or suspension.

Reporting that several servicemen had asked him if they could qualify as candidates in the primaries, McCorvey said he was advising them that they could qualify as any other candidate by making the required party loyalty pledge and paying the necessary assessment fee.

12-29-45

The committee also will fill vacancies in its membership from the Third, Fourth, Fifth and Ninth Districts where members have died or resigned.

Chairman Robert Hannegan, of the Democratic National Committee, was invited to attend but was unable to make the trip.

Negro Vote Move Starts In Alabama

Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution

Ala.

MOBILE, Ala., Dec. 29.—(AP)—The chairman of the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee says he will ask the committee to let qualified Negroes vote in Alabama's primaries next spring.

The committee meets Jan. 12 in Montgomery to make plans for the primary. Gessner T. McCorvey, of Mobile, is chairman of the committee.

12-30-45

McCorvey said he would oppose any move to "get around" the U. S. supreme court decision that Negroes can vote in the south's white primaries by returning to the old convention system.

The state Democratic chairman said he didn't think letting Negroes vote in Alabama primaries would make much difference now, as there are few Negroes "properly qualified" and who have kept their poll tax paid.

Alabama is one of the seven states retaining the poll tax as a voting requirement. The tax in this state is cumulative.

McCorvey said his idea of the way to handle the Negro voting problem is to see that "only properly qualified persons are permitted to register."

This, he added, could be accomplished through adoption of a constitutional amendment changing registration requirements.

The U. S. supreme court decision he referred to was the decision in the Texas case. Similar cases now are in federal courts in other "white primary" states.

Specific Way To Examine Negro Pushed

Montgomery Advertiser

Proposed Constitution Change Vote Slated For General Election

Montgomery Ala.

By ATTICUS MULLIN

Gessner McCorvey, chairman of the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee in calling a bi-ennial meeting of the body, not only carried out a week old prediction made by The Advertiser, but he called upon the people of Alabama to ratify the Boswell amendment to the constitution which would require a person registering to become a voter to "understand the constitution" as well as to recite it.

The Boswell amendment will be voted upon in the general election in 1946 at which the Governor, members of Congress and hundreds of county officials will be chosen.

12-30-45

Mr. McCorvey, in his call for a committee meeting, does not see how negroes can be prevented from voting in the primary, or that is those who are legally qualified to vote through being registered. He offers no way by which the decision of the Supreme Court in the Texas case can be outwitted.

Chairman McCorvey again calls attention to what he said when he appeared before a joint recess legislative committee this year to the effect that the way to prevent undiscriminate voting in a primary was through registration laws. He asked the voters to ratify the Boswell amendment which will come up in the general election in November, 1946. But that amendment, whether defeated or adopted, will not have effect upon the Democratic primary in May of this year. So far as is known, negroes who are qualified and who are willing to pledge themselves to support the nominees of the primary, will be allowed to vote.

Already several newspapers in Alabama have begun an attack on the Boswell amendment even though it will not be voted on until November, 1946. They read into the amendment an attempt to slow up negro voting in Alabama primaries and elections. And of course, that is just what the amendment means. It will not only affect negroes but whites as well.

Chairman McCorvey, in his call to committeemen, had the following to say regarding the adoption of the Boswell amendment at the general election in November 1946:

"At the request of Hon. E. C. Boswell, an esteemed member of our State Committee, I appeared last February before subcommittee No. 3 of the Interim Committee on Constitution and Legislative procedure, which subcommittee was appointed to consider and make recommendations on our election laws, and at the time I appeared before this committee of our legislature I recommended that we amend Section 181 of the Constitution so as to eliminate the clause which gives a person the right to register if he or his wife is the owner of personal property assessed for taxation at $300 or more. I think it ridiculous to permit a man, whether he be black or white, to become a qualified voter—regardless of his lack of other qualifications—merely because he or his wife might own some junky automobile assessed for taxation at $300 or more. In 1901, when our present State Constitution was adopted, we had no automobiles and any person, whether he was black or white, who had $300 worth of property assessed to him was a person who had some real interest in his government and some substantial rights to be protected.

12-30-45

"Now, under the changed conditions which have taken place in the last 45 years, almost every one, black and white, rich and poor, has an automobile worth $300 and the safeguards which the drafters of our Constitution tried to throw around us so as to give us an intelligent electorate are no longer effective. I think that the Constitution should undoubtedly be amended so as to entirely eliminate that clause giving a man or a woman the right to register merely because they own personal property assessed at $300. Then, too, I think that Section 181 of the Constitution should be amended so as to provide that the prospective voter, in addition to being able to read and write any article in the Constitution of the United States in the English language, must also be able to understand such article. A smart parrot could be taught to recite a section of our Constitution. This, of course, would give certain discretion to the Board of Registrars and enable them to prevent from registering those elements in our community which have not yet fitted themselves for self government.

12-30-45

"I think that the Act of the Alabama Legislature which was passed by the House of Representatives on June 13, 1945, and passed by the Senate June 27, 1945 (Act No. 336, House Bill No. 177), offered by Mr. Boswell, proposing an amendment to Section 181 of the Constitution of Alabama, covers the situation admirably, and I sincerely hope that the people of Alabama will ratify this proposed amendment by an overwhelming majority when it is voted on at the time of our general election in November, 1946."

In Ala. Vote Case

Registrars Face Trial

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — (ANP)— The Jefferson County Board of Rigistrars, composed of Dr. J. B. Vines, R. J. Creel and Mrs. Eva M. Whitefield, must stand trial for allegedly illegally refusing to register Mrs. Pastorah Vinson as an elector here April 10.

That is the substance of the opinion of Federal Judge Clarence Mullins, who on Nov. 20 overruled in all respects except the class feature of the State's motion to dismiss the suit in which Mrs. Vinson, a registered nurse and property owener, asked $5,000 in damages, a declaratory judgment and a permanent injunction to enjoin and restrain the registrars from alleged use of racial yardsticks in determining voter qualifications.

61e-1945

Cites Tricks To Deny Vote

BIRMINGHAM — (ANP) — Tricks resorted to by members of the Jefferson county board of registrars were pointed to Tuesday by Emory O. Jackson, secretary of the Birmingham branch NAACP, as "wholly illegal and discriminatory as well.

"A soldier with a medical discharge obtained in World War II was told that since he had a medical discharge he was not well enough to vote and was denied registration," Jackson asserted. 3-3-45

"Members of a prominent family here, all of whom hold college degrees and own considerable property, were bluntly refused registration because 'you don't understand the constitution well enough.'

"A freshman student of Miles college was told that he missed defining a word to their satisfaction and a county school teacher was denied registration because she was 'not clear' on the preamble of the constitution. Another teacher the same day was turned down because she allegedly left out the word 'mere' in reciting the preamble of the constitution from memory." 3-3-45

White applicants, Jackson said, are not required to go through similar procedure to get their names on the registration book.

FBI To Put On Pressure For Negroes

Montgomery Advertiser 1-9-45 Ala.

Or So North Alabamian Fears, He Declares In Note To Montgomerian

After Black Vote

Attempted Intimidation Of Registrars To Be Put Before State Legislature

By ATTICUS MULLIN

One of the most widely known lawyers and political observers in North Alabama' is afraid that the F.B.I. through Washington political influence is going to try to intimidate registration officials in Alabama to the end that all negroes be registered. This widely known man sends the following memorandum about what occurred in one North Alabama county, Jefferson, last Fall and what may occur again. The memorandum says: 1-9-45

"Under the law registration books opened in Jefferson County December 4, 1944, and stayed open ten days. The Board of Registrars of Jefferson County, or its chairman and one or more members thereof, was visited twice by two operatives of the Federal Bureau of Investigation within a very short time before the opening of the books on the above occasion. These F.B.I. men told members of the Jefferson Board that they wanted to find out how registration of negroes was being conducted and was going to be conducted. They asked a great many questions about what examination was made of negro applicants. They said they understood such questions as the following were asked of negroes

"'What is domestic tranquillity?' 1-9-45

"'How old was George Washington when he died?'

"What are the names of the members of the President's cabinet.'"

"They asked what different procedure prevailed in the registration of white and colored persons and stated they had been sent there for the purpose of finding out about this matter. They asked many questions."

Continuing this prominent lawyer and observer said:

"Before the amalgamation of the races can be made entirely effective, of course, they've got to work out some way for the negroes to become a political factor in the South by getting their names upon the registration lists. As soon as this happens every professional politician in the South will be kowtowing. We will have a new style of carpetbagger.

"County registration books in Jefferson are going to open again in February and the strongest sort of organization has been made to rush our registrars and put on the books a big block of negro voters. Personally, I think the people of Alabama fail to recognize what is being done and the people of South Alabama are the only ones I know of that can do anything about it." 1-9-45

The matters raised by this North Alabama man will receive the attention of the Legislature when it meets in May. But anything that body does must run the gauntlet of the Supreme Court of the United States. And that is some gauntlet, in these days and times. The writer of the memorandum will personally bring the matters named to individual legislators.

Alabama

First Negro Registered In Ala. Town In 40 Years Finds Voting's Just Fine

Chi's 2d Defender 3-24-45

3-24-45

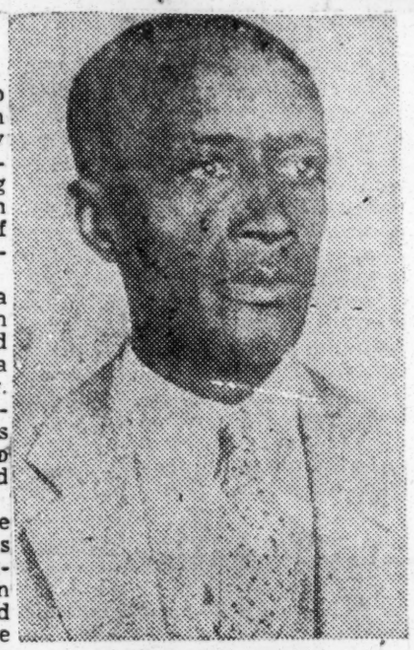
By JOHN LeFLORE
(Defender Staff Correspondent)

DOTHAN, 'Ala.—The first Negro to register as a voter in Houston County, Ala., in 40 years recently enjoyed another novel experience of citizenship—that of having his vote sought by candidates in the race for city commissioner of Dothan, the largest town in southeast Alabama.

The man is J. Mack Murray, a reputable and respected citizen here, who came up the "hard way" and has made more than a "living" by the sweat of his brow.

He is a brick, stone and tile mason, and is quite proficient in his trades. It is said that he has no equal as a builder of stone and brick in this section of the state.

In the race for election to the city commission office, which was held this Tuesday were two candidates, Dr. I. C. Bates and John D. Ayres, both of whom are listed among Dothan's outstanding white citizens. The latter named is a broker and head of the brokerage firm here bearing his name.



J. MACK MURRAY

Writes Letters

The two candidates solicited the Negro vote in the community but Ayres even threw aside the usual policy of back-door ballot-seeking from the Negro electorate used by southern politicians almost universally. He wrote Negro voters letters, correctly written and with proper recognition of title and salutation. 3-24-45

Murray was one of the first persons to receive such a letter. Written on the letterhead of the Ayres Brokerage company, under date of March 1, 1945, it read as follows:

"Mr. Julian Mack Murray,
Dothan, Ala.
Dear Sir:

"You are a legal voter in the forthcoming city primary of March 20. I am a candidate for City Commissioner, as Mr. Miles Miller is retiring. I am enclosing a copy of an ad which appeared in the Dothan Eagle at the time of my announcement, and my platform is based entirely on the program as outlined in this ad.

"If you will carefully read the program as outlined and give it serious consideration, I will appreciate your vote and influence in the forthcoming election on March 20."

Yours very truly,
John D. Ayres.

40-Year Ban

There was no specific reference to the Negro in Ayres' platform pledge. However, Negroes here believe he would consider their desires and needs in any program for community betterment. Dothan has a population of only 20,000, and all the "leading" Negroes are known to the whites. Ayres' properly written letter to Murray was no mere accident.

For 40 years no Negroes voted in Houston County. The various boards of registrars, desperate in their determination to "protect" white supremacy, would defiantly and surreptitiously refuse to permit Negroes to register and qualify as voters. 3-24-45

When the Houston County board of registrars met in July, 1944, Murray was the first Negro to present himself to that body and request an application form to register. In Alabama some county boards of registrars compel the applicant have the qualified voter who vouches for him personally appear at the time the application is made before the board. Such is the policy in Houston County. 3-24-45

White Vouches for Him

Murray was told by the board of registrars that there were no Negro qualified voters in the county who could vouch for him. But this Negro stone and brick builder was respected by whites and blacks alike, and he had no difficulty in getting a prominent white citizen, W. C. King, who represents one of the nation's big oil refineries, to vouch for him. Thus, the 40-year-old barrier against Negro voting in Houston County was toppled, thanks to J. Mack Murray and a white friend.

Today there are 60 Negro voters in Dothan, the county's largest town.

The board of registrars is composed of three leading white women of the county. They are Mrs. Olive Armstrong, chairman; Mrs. W. L. Lee, and Mrs. Christine Griffin. Mrs. Lee is regarded as the one member of the body who is apparently opposed to Negro citizens exercising the right of franchise. 3-24-45

But Negroes here have not as yet experienced any trouble in registering as voters, as has been found in a number of Alabama counties. The trouble now seems to be that many Negroes are not interested in voting.

Journal & Guide
Norfolk, Va.
3-3-45

Alabama Officials Indicted On Election Fraud Charges

SCOTTSBORO, Ala.--This community, made internationally famous more than a decade ago for the trial of nine young hoboes, was thrown in the spotlight again Tuesday when 49 indictments were returned by the Jackson County grand jury charging Alabama election officials with frauds.

Four of the indictments named Probate Judge J. S. Benson. After an investigation of county commission elections last year, the jury accused some 40 to 45 election officials of violations, Solicitor Joe Dawson revealed.

Judge Benson was charged, the Solicitor asserted, with having "given out and with "adding to the list of qualified voters the names of persons who were not qualified voters."

Dawson said election officials were accused of having violated election laws in such ways as permitting unqualified persons to vote and in some instances with having changed ballot results after the polls closed.

RECOMMENDS REPEAL

Reporting the absentee ballot system and the failure of election officials to perform

their duties properly to be the two main sources of illegality, the jury recommended that state absentee voting legislation be repealed, the Solicitor declared.

Dawson reported some of the defendants have been placed under bond, and that most of the indictments charge misdemeanors. The jury charged, he asserted, that numerous bogus ballots printed unofficially outside of the county were used in the commission election but that the jury reported it was unable to determine who was responsible for the printing and importation of the ballots. Dawson said the investigation grew out of two election contests.

In its report, the inquisitorial body urged " a better and different system of preparing and purging and perserving" a list of qualified voters.

CAN'T DECIDE IN VACUUM

Some of those who oppose removal of the poll tax indicate they might switch their position, if "Northern interests" would stop their agitation of the matter and let us decide the matter in a vacuum, so to speak.

Gov. Sparks, we believe, is among those who have taken this stand or advanced this argument. Birmingham News

State sovereignty and state rights, if they are valid, mean, of course, that each state shall be in control of its elections and be the judge of the qualifications of its electors.

But they do not, and cannot, prevent citizens of other states from agitating the poll tax or any other issue in Alabama from their distant point of view. 3-3-45

That should not disturb us in the least. The poll tax issue is a matter for Alabama, and Alabama residents alone, to decide, upon a basis of what is right and best for us and for the general good.

As for outside agitation, it perhaps will continue, perhaps even grow greater, as long as otherwise properly qualified citizens of Alabama have a poll tax bar set up against a free and untrammeled ballot.

It's idle to argue that there is going to be a lull in this controversy which enlists the interest and attentions of citizens of other states.—Huntsville Times.

Voice Of The People

WHO CAN VOTE

Birmingham News

To the Editor of The News:

I read a letter in your paper of May 24 entitled "The Negro Vote." I don't think that Alabama should be classed with Hitlerism by any means. Yes, some of our Negroes are fighting in this war—it is their duty as citizens of our free country. The Negro has the same voting freedom as the white in Alabama. Any person in Alabama, black or white, can vote if he complies with the law. No doubt there are just as many whites in Alabama that cannot vote as blacks, because they are not qualified. If it was customary to be arrested for not qualifying to vote, I don't think there would be any squabble about the voting question and everyone who becomes 21 years of age would be a qualified voter. 6-1-45

I feel sure that every disqualified voter squanders 10 times the cost of a year's poll tax, and in some cases much more. Yes, a pint of whisky in some cases will exact the cost of two to four years' poll tax. Don't try to lead the Negro to believe he is being discriminated against by our Legislature. The Negro knows he has the privilege to qualify to vote.

All who qualify, both black or white, can vote.

J. E. DUKE.

1220 Eighth Street, West.

Alabama House Passes Lily-White Election

Chicago Defender

MONTGOMERY — (ANP) — The Alabama house of representatives Wednesday unanimously passed a proposed amendment to the constitution that would fix the registration laws to guarantee "white supremacy" eternally.

The bill was introduced by Rep. E. C. Boswell of Geneva county.

It would revise the registration laws to knock out ownership of property as a qualification to register. In addition it would require that all registrants understand the constitution to the satisfaction of the registrars. 6-23-45

The proposal is obviously aimed at substituting registration for the "white primary" and poll tax as a deterrent to Negroes and poor white people voting.

Can't Vote, Nurse Sues for $5,000

Miami Herald

BIRMINGHAM — (ANP) — A suit asking $5,000 damages, a declaration of rights and an injunction restraining the Jefferson County Board of Registrars from alleged hostile discrimination was filed in United States District Court here June 19 by Registered Nurse Pastorah Vinson.

Named as defendants in the suit were Chairman J. B. Vines, Bessemer, Ala., R. J. Creel, Route 11, Warrior, Ala,. and Mrs. Eva M. Whitfield, of the board of registrars. 6-30-45

The plaintiff alleged that on April 10, she applied for registration, showed her tax receipt, read correctly the constitution and performed the other registration duties but was refused. Her complaint brought under the 14th, 15th and 17th amendments of the Federal Constitution was styled as a "class suit" on behalf of "herself and all other Negroes possessing the qualifications to register as electors in Jefferson county."

The seven-page document listed 15 grounds and further charged that Negro applicants were "subjected to unreasonable tests not required of white electors." It asked that the case be advanced on the docket and given a speedy hearing.

The present suit contains the salient features that were deleted in the W. L. Patterson vote case which was decided daversely by an all-white jury in federal court May 29. A number of new features not in the original Patterson complaint have been added. It is perhaps the most sweeping case of its kind ever filed in a court in Alabama.

Arthur D. Shores of Birmingham and Thurgood Marshall of New York filed the complaint on behalf of the plaintiff.

Launch White Supremacy Drive Down In 'Bama

New York Amsterdam News

Plans Statewide Campaign To Give Anti-Negro Vote Bill Wide Public Attention

BIRMINGHAM, (ANP) — "Alabama," ultra - reactionary news magazine, revealed in its July issue that Rep. E. C. Boswell, author of the legislature - adopted "white supremacy vote bill" "plans the formation of a statewide campaign to give his white supremacy amendment adequate public attention."

Boswell lives in Sampson, Ala., Geneva county, one of the nine Wiregrass counties. He is the spearhead of the drive to write the equivalent of the Klan rituals into the electoral laws of Alabama.

The Alabama house passed the bill 80 to 0 and the senate approved it 17 to 3.

The amendment will be passed on by the voters in the 1946 general election. 7-14-45

If adopted by the voters, the boards of registrars will be clothed with dictatorial power. Prospective voters will have to "understand and explain" the federal constitution to the satisfaction of the registrars Morever, they will have to be of good moral character.

Commenting on the Boswell amendment, the fascist - spirited sheet said it was "a plan to tighten the registration laws for Alabama voters, so that recent decisions and tendencies on the part of the U. S. Supreme court might not revolutionize our southern customs and disrupt our peacable existence."

61e-1945

THIS MORNING

by JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

"More by your number than your light . . ."

Birmingham Age

People who don't understand how an ardently New Deal newspaper like Montgomery's Alabama Journal can be opposed to such mildly forward-looking things as poll tax repeal and legislative reapportionment should consider that the rest of us might be guilty of the same reactionaryism if we lived with the race question always necessarily a first consideration and with a set of solutions believed indispensable. Because it wrongly believes the poll tax indispensable to control of the race situation, the Black Belt defeated the poll tax reform bill last fortnight. And it was able to do so because unfair legislative apportionment gave it more weight in the legislature than it is entitled to have. This is why the Black Belt will never willingly give up the present apportionment if it can help it. And this is also why we-the-rest-of-the-people must somehow get legislative reapportionment accomplished. For the Black Belt can be wrong.

5-29-45

The Black Belt can be wrong, and indeed is quite likely to be wrong on this issue because it is too close to it to see straight. But this doesn't mean North Alabama should have this same Black Belt as its model for what a people and a civilization ought to be. Youthful Birmingham should want to grow up to be not like Pittsburgh or New York, but like Montgomery, where they know values as we are too young to know them, where living is an art, where disagreement doesn't call for cutting throats, where people are post-modern enough to understand how many things are going to be more important than making money, being efficient, saving time and getting ahead. The fact that the Black Belt can be and in this instance is wrong doesn't mean we are chronically right. It means only that nobody is right enough to be allowed to run this state without benefit of a genuine majority of its voters such as would be provided if legislative reapportionment were enacted in compliance with the Alabama constitution. 5-29-45

* * *

When the poll tax debate was on the other day I seem to recall that my very able and distinguished friend, Editor Stanley, of The Montgomery Journal, added his voice to the others that were calling it sacrilege to oppose what our blessed forefathers had in their wisdom put into the constitution of Alabama in 1901. But if it was sacrilege to oppose the poll tax which our fathers put into that constitution why isn't it equally sacrilegious to oppose the legislative reapportionment ordered in that constitution?

* * *

The liberalism of Chauncey Sparks, who speaks here tonight on Station WSGN's educational forum program, confuses many so-called liberals, and many anti-liberals, too, because it is the genuine article. It includes liberty. The state's rights position of the governor equally confuses those who don't understand that this is a time to recover and cherish states' rights and those who talk rights without being willing to accept the responsibilities.

* * *

As a states' rights liberal the governor has opposed the federal anti-poll tax bills but is increasingly stron-minded for poll tax return by this state's own bright hand. As a states' rights liberal he opposes federal interference with Alabama wages and hours but is backing a bill to have this state itself take an enlightened position for wage and hour decency and economic sense. Because of these things I continue to believe Chauncey Sparks' states' rights liberalism will persuade him, even as he leads in opposition to a federal permanent fair employment practices commission to use his influence to have set up by this state's own hand another sort of fair employment commission to help Alabama Negroes.

5-29-45

The state fair employment practices commission Alabama should have would not be the trouble-making monstrosity they have set up in New York. Neither would it be the social reform affair the federal one has been and the proposed permanent one would be. It would be, rather, a state committee devoted in good faith to assisting the Negro here to all the economic opportunity and advancement he can take. It would not deny Alabama employers the right to employ whom they please and it would certainly make no attempt to eliminate racial preferences by law.

* * *

But with prestige and public backing enhanced by the sympathy it would be known to have for Southern institutions and points of view, it could help the Negro towards better economic chances in these peacetimes coming, and to the blessed tune of good will between races.

Alabama

Hill For Poll Tax Repeal

Birmingham News

Senator Lister Hill, forthrightly favoring the repeal of the poll tax, makes the suggestion that the people of Alabama have a right to vote on the question and expresses confidence that the Legislature will afford that opportunity. Immediately after publication of the senator's statement, it was announced by Representative Ivy Gwin, chairman of the Jefferson County legislative delegation, that this group will hold public hearings in the month of April at which citizens may express themselves on the issue. Both these developments testify to the steady accumulation of indications that new action on this matter is virtually certain to be considered in the forthcoming session of the Alabama Legislature. 2-16-45 Ala.

Georgia's recent repeal of its poll tax gave great impetus to the advocates of such reform in Alabama and the six other states still imposing such a levy.

* * *

Senator Hill, in his formal statement, was sweeping in his denunciation of the Alabama poll tax. Because of its cumulative requirements, he said, it "is the most burdensome, restrictive, indefensible and undemocratic" of all such now prevailing levies.

He pointed out that in North Carolina, Florida and Louisiana where "the poll tax has been repealed for some years the fears of the opponents of repeal proved groundless and the repeal has proved so wise that there are none who are seriously advocating a reinstatement of the tax."

Many supporters of the tax hold that it is a barrier against the voting of ignorant and irresponsible persons. But, as Senator Hill correctly emphasizes, the fitness and eligibility of citizens to vote in this state are subject to state registration laws and the action of county registration boards. Mere payment of a poll tax does not qualify a citizen for the ballot. If, by paying the tax, insufficient barriers remain to guard against the voting of irresponsible and unqualified persons, then it is the registration laws that properly should be amended accordingly. 2-16-45

* * *

The poll tax is operating to keep many thousands of otherwise well qualified Alabama citizens from the polls, particularly because of its cumulative feature. Senator Hill says that the effect of the poll tax in this state "is to disenfranchise several hundred thousand white men and women who are fit and qualified to vote."

The junior Alabama senator expresses his faith in the ability of many more Alabamians to contribute to the functioning of democracy in this state and nation. Their reasonable qualifications granted—and he evidently would be liberal in this regard—he believes sound government would be advanced by the participation in the balloting of these additional voters. 2-16-45

This is a courageous stand by Senator Hill. It will contribute to the speeding up of the reform that eventually is certain to come in this state.

LISTER HILL

Montgomery Advertiser 2-19-45 Ala

It becomes increasingly clear to the people of Alabama that they have, in Senator Lister Hill, a liberal representative who is admired and respected by liberal opinion everywhere. It was not by accident that Mark Ethridge, publisher of The Louisville Courier-Journal, chose the name of Lister Hill as an example of a liberal Southern Democrat. Senator Hill deserved the tribute which Mr. Ethridge paid him in his Atlanta speech, for he has been in the forefront of every liberal battle in recent years.

Lister Hill's most recent pronouncement has to do with the poll tax, which he calls on Alabama to abolish. He does not advocate abolishing this tax because some one in New York says we ought to do away with it, or because some well-meaning citizen of Los Angeles advocates its repeal, or because of any outside pressure, but for Alabama reasons which Alabamians can understand. In his statement, Mr. Hill said that "the Alabama poll tax, because of its cumulative requirements, is the most burdensome, restrictive, indefensible and undemocratic" of the poll taxes. 2-19-45

The cumulative provision of the poll tax law is indeed burdensome, and everybody knows that it has kept many intelligent citizens from voting in Alabama. This is particularly true among women, of whom Mr. Hill says: "The mother of a boy on a fighting front may have to go back and pay thirty-six dollars to cast her vote and have her say as to what kind of government and nation her boy is fighting to save."

The actual amount of the poll tax is small, particularly in times such as the present, when money flows freely, but it occurs to observers like Hill that the principle is wrong. After all, anybody can scrape up $1.50 once a year. Intelligence and education are the sensible requirements for voters. An intelligent electorate is more important than all the poll tax ever collected in Alabama. 2-19-45

Mr. Hill has given the people of this great State, and particularly the members of the Legislature, something to think about.

Alabama Echo In Washington

Birmingham News

Action of the Alabama Legislature in side-tracking poll tax legislation undoubtedly has had its effect in Congress where an effort is being renewed to enact a law prohibiting any state from collecting a poll tax as a prerequisite for voting in federal elections.

Had Alabama abolished, or even lightened, its poll tax provisions, advocates of national legislation would have lost at least some of the force of their argument that a national law was needed because the poll tax states would not drop the tax on their own initiative. Because of the course taken at Montgomery, the threat of intervention from Washington is increased.

It is unfortunate that the poll tax issue has become involved in so much heat and has to that end been associated with so many false charges. Perhaps there will not be poll tax legislation in Congress this term. A law to this end is almost certain to pass the House, however, with more than half of the members having signed a petition to get a bill out of the judiciary committee. And even if a bill should be defeated in the Senate, under the "debating" rules of that branch, it is certain to be revived again and again.

The poll tax as a barrier to voting is doomed in this country. Sentiment throughout the nation, even in the poll tax states, is too strong to justify any hopes of advocates

6-1-45

State May Repeal Poll Tax If Left Alone To Decide

Birmingham News 2-18-45 Ala.

Abolition Sentiment High But Alabamians Want No Interference

BY REX THOMAS

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—(AP)—Despite favorable sentiment in some quarters of Alabama's Legislature for repeal of the poll tax, no abolition move, it appeared Saturday, is likely to succeed "as long as that crowd in Washington tries to force it down our throats."

That was the way one high administration leader expressed it, and his views are in close sympathy with those voiced by other legislators. 2-18-45

Several of them have said privately they thought the poll tax should be discontinued, but almost unanimously they agreed they would oppose any repeal move unless what they termed "Northern interference" disappeared.

Gov. Chauncey Sparks voiced similar sentiment when he told a newsman as far back as last September:

"As long as present outside agitation for poll tax abolition continues, I will make no recommendation to the Legislature for a change."

He indicated at a press conference Friday that his position had not been altered. 2-18-45

THE POLL TAX QUESTION, always a politically explosive issue, already has been brought before a Legislature interim committee. A suggestion that the tax be abolished and another that it be modified were both quickly turned down by the committee on constitution and legislative procedure.

That it will come up again, however, when the entire assembly meets in May is a foregone conclusion. Rep. Mark Hodo, of Birmingham, already has announced his intention of renewing a campaign to wipe out all unpaid poll taxes beyond two years.

Cumulative provisions of Alabama's tax were singled out for criticism in Washington this week by State Junior Sen. Lister Hill in a statement advocating outright repeal of the $1.50 annual levy.

Because of them, Sen. Hill declared, Alabama's statute is the most "burdensome, restrictive, indefensible and undemocratic" of any in the South. 2-18-45

Hill's anti-poll tax stand caused considerable discussion in capitol corridors, but Gov. Sparks and other administration leaders were inclined to withhold comment for the time being.

* * *

AN INDICATION THAT POLL TAXES might become "an issue in the 1946 governor's race" came from Cullman's Jim Folsom, runner-up in the gubernatorial campaign of three years ago and a delegate to the 1944 Democratic National Convention.

Folsom contended the "poll tax must go."

The tax brings only $300,000 annual revenue to the schools and as one education leader put it, this is "only a drop in the bucket."

Service men and women are by constitutional amendment exempt from the tax and no voter is required to pay the levy after he reaches the age of 45.

Consequently, hundreds of thousands of voters will be tax-free in the next election regardless of whether the ballot levy stays or is repealed. 2-18-45

No organized abolition move has so far made itself known around the capitol.

The poll tax problem is only one of many which will confront the Legislature and which are being thrashed out now by interim committees.

"I'm glad to see, however," he commented, "that action on this matter is being taken by the states rather than by the federal government." 2-18-45

Sparkman expressed hope that the Legislature would act this Spring to remove at least cumulative features of the tax.

"It is a matter to be handled by the state," he said, "and I do hope some action will be taken."

Rains, former member of the Legislature, said Alabama is "not at the stage" to repeal the tax entirely but that a bill to remove the cumulative feature may be approved this Spring.

* * *

COMMENTS BY OTHER SIX LEGISLATORS were:

Hobbs: "It's a state matter, of course, and any time the people of Alabama want to change their voting laws, it's their privilege to do so."

Boykin: "I have every confidence in Gov. Sparks and his Legislature, and I'm not their adviser. They're fully capable of taking care of themselves, and I know they'll do what's right. I'll abide by their decision."

Manasco: "Anything the Legislature does is all right with me."

Jarman: "Whether citizens contribute $1.50 annually to education for the privilege of voting is entirely up to the people of Alabama to decide. I have no disposition to dictate to them." 2-18-45

Grant: "There's nothing sacred about the poll tax. It has its good and bad features. Up here I would vote against the repeal, but down there I'd be agreeable to hearing both sides of the question. I hope they can settle it, however, without any outside interference."

Andrews: "I feel we up here haven't anything to do with legislation down there. If those boys want to repeal the poll tax, that's their business."

Three State Congressmen Advocate Poll Tax Repeal

WASHINGTON —(AP)— Three of Alabama's nine House members agree with Sen. Lister Hill that the state Legislature should take action to abolish the poll tax.

Reps. Patrick, of Birmingham; Sparkman, of Huntsville, and Rains, of Gadsden, told a reporter they favor state action to outlaw the cumulative annual tax, but the other six Alabamians were unwilling to commit themselves.

Patrick, one of few Southerners to vote for federal action to repeal poll taxes, said the move in Alabama "only sustains the position I have taken for years."

SPARKS' TENACITY

Birmingham News

Undeterred by the House of Representatives defeat of an anti-poll tax bill last week, Gov. Chauncey Sparks has wasted no time in serving notice that he does not intend to abandon the fight. In an address delivered to the graduating class of Judson College, the governor declared that poll tax laws were intended to solve the problems of a "generation ago," and that "we readily understand and see the justice of relenting the requirements of the poll tax for voting." 6-2-45

But after a casual appraisal of the opposition which the governor faces in his advocacy of repeal of the cumulative feature of Alabama's poll tax law, we are convinced that it will take considerably more action on the governor's part than he has thus far seemed able to generate. Aligned against him are the Black Belt politicians, the industrialists who are fearful that change in the poll tax law would result in wholesale registration of workers, and machine politicians throughout the state who want to preserve the status quo. Ala.

The rallying cry of all these groups is "white supremacy"—which they well know is not at stake, but which they use to justify their refusal to make voting in Alabama easier. That these groups also know that sentiment among voters themselves is overwhelmingly in favor of repeal of the poll tax law, first, and abolishment of the cumulative feature, second, is apparent in the House's hesitancy to submit the matter to the voters for their decision.

Yet it is good to know that Gov. Sparks, himself a lifetime resident of a county which bounds Alabama's Black Belt on the east, has not let one defeat cause an abandonment of a legislative program which he knows is in keeping with enlightened progress and the sentiment of the people. Even though he has not asked for outright repeal of the poll tax, perhaps he may eventually succeed in maneuvering the Legislature into abolishing its cumulative features. That, in itself, would be a forward step inasmuch as it would restore the franchise to many citizens whose right to vote has been forfeited through an accumulation of back due taxes.—Dothan Eagle.

Alabama Press

"POOR YORICK"

Birmingham News Ala. 6-1-45

As Shakespeare would put it, "Alas, poor Yorick, I knew him well!"

Our "poor Yorick" is the poll tax issue that now lies buried under an avalanche of petty legislation, covered over with a blanket of wherefores, whereofs and be-it-resolveds.

We had high hopes, as did a great many people of this state, that the issue would be presented before the legislative body, thoroughly discussed and definite action taken, rather than what amounts to pigeonholing. This was our first hope, our second being that the law would be repealed in its entirety.

But the professional politicians who have used the poll tax issue in every campaign since the Civil War still feel they can squeeze a few drops of sectionalism out of it to garner prejudiced and uninformed votes, and they, with the indifferent balance, had the usual control.

At any rate, and as far as the present Legislature is concerned, the poll tax issue is as dead as poor Yorick, and many of us mourn at its bier.—Sylacauga News.

* * *

NOT TRUSTING

Last week the lower house of our State Legislature dashed the hopes of those who hoped to see some measure of poll tax reform rudely to the ground. The vote on a bill to submit a constitutional amendment that would not abolish poll tax but modify the cumulative feature of the system was 25 for to 70 against. In other words, the Legislature has refused overwhelmingly to let the people say by their votes whether they want poll tax modified, to say nothing of being repealed altogether. In still other words, a large majority of the state's lawmakers are not willing to trust the judgment of voters of the state on this issue. That's true even in face of the fact that 41 states of the American Union have removed this millstone around the necks of so many thousands of citizens, of whom far more are white than black. Black Belt politicians, long in the saddle in Alabama, are still riding high, and many North Alabama legislators docilely tag along. If we're ever to get relief from poll tax, it looks as if it will have to come from federal action. Speed the day when that will come by amendment to the federal constitution.—DeKalb Times (Fort Payne).

6-7-45

LEGISLATURE FAILS TO LIFT YOKE

Members of the State Legislature failed again to lift the yoke of the poll tax from the necks of Alabamians last week when they listened to the politicians and defeated Mark Hodo's poll tax amendment. Hodo's amendment would have eliminated the cumulative features of the poll tax and would require those who have allowed their poll tax to remain unpaid for a number of years to pay only two years to make them eligible to vote.

The poll tax law became part of the Constitution of Alabama in 1901, with the proceeds from this going into the school fund. After 44 years, with only about one-third of our people voting each year, it seems to us that the old system is outmoded and should be replaced with a more modern law. We talk about living in a democracy and fighting to preserve it, but some of our state politicians seem to forget this when they say that unless the voter pays $1.50 per year he is not allowed to have a voice in this democracy by the ballot. There is one answer to this kind of legislation. Those who now hold office or are controlling our public offices are afraid of the additional voters electing someone in their place. 6-1-45

We are in favor of the schools receiving the $1.50 per year that is paid by those who vote, but the per cent that pay this tax is so small the schools' part is practically nil. If the Legislature had been willing to allow all those who proper owe several years' poll tax to pay the years, the schools would have been helped substantially and many thousands of Alabamians who have allowed their poll tax to accumulate over a period of years would be able to vote again. It is not likely that many of our state's poorer class of people will ever pay several

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Algbama's Jim Crow Vote Under Fire In U.S. Court

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Illinois 9-1-45

By JOHN LeFLORE
(Defender Staff Correspondent)

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—A vote suit charging the Macon County Board of Registrars with refusal to register Negroes for voting was filed in the Federal District court here recently.

It was instituted by Atty. Arthur D. Shores of Birmingham, in behalf of William P. Mitchell of Tuskegee, an employe of the Veterans' hospital there, and "the Negro citizens of the United States and the state of Alabama . . . who are qualified electors." 9-1-45

The complaint which was actually filed on Aug. 10, avers that Mitchell and other Negroes were systematically denied the right to register solely because of race, and contends that the policy of racial discrimination practiced by the Macon County Board of Registrars to be in violation of the Constitution of the United States.

The petition asks that an injunction and damages of $5,000 in a declaratory judgment be granted. The injunction would restrain the board from continuing the practice of denying Negroes the right to register.

The board is charged with having refused Mitchell the right to register on July 5, 1945, merely "because of his race, color and previous condition of servitude."

Mrs. George C. Wright, Tuskegee, and Virgil M. Guthrie of Notasulga, both white, members of the board, are named as defendants in the action.

The complaint also charges:

"The defendants have established and are maintaining a policy, custom and usage of denying to the plaintiff and others on whose behalf this suit is brought protection under the laws by requiring them to submit to tests not required by white electors.

"White persons with less qualifications than Negroes have been registered.

"White persons are not required to have two persons vouch for them, as are Negroes."

The suit was described as a "class action" in view of the large number of Negroes of Macon county who have been denied the right to register as voters, and the impracticability of bringing them all before the court.

Mitchell's suit will be heard at Opelika, which is the seat of trials for Federal cases in Macon county. On Aug. 1, Negroes of Macon county filed 25 vote discrimination cases against the board of registrars in the Circuit court of that district at Tuskegee. 9-1-45

The Tuskegee Civic association, headed by Charles G. Gomillion, an assistant to Dr. F. D. Patterson, at Tuskegee institute, is leading the fight to break down this time-worn trick of Boards of Registrars in Alabama to deny Negro citizens the right to suffrage.

Shores stated that only about five of every 100 hundred Negroes in Macon county are permitted to register, regardless of their fine educational qualifications.

The county is in the state's Black Belt, with about an 80 per cent Negro population. The fact that the same trick is used by Boards of Registrars in counties where less than 50 per cent of the people are colored disputes the contention that fear of so-called "Negro domination" is the question involved. The consensus of opinion among people familiar with the practices of Southern politicians is that they do not want Negroes to vote in large numbers because they do not want Negroes to have sufficient political strength to be in position to hold the balance of power in elections. A desire to keep the Negro at the bottom rung of the economic, educational and social system of the South is regarded as the primary motive to cheat him of his right to vote.

damages in a declaratory judgment, he seeks a court injunction to restrain the registrars from continuing such a practice.

Off-the-Record Opinion

Before taking the case under advisement Judge Kennamer expressed an off-the-record opinion that he thought he would deny Mitchell's petition but believed that "the way should be left open" for the plaintiff to have access to the U. S. Supreme court.

Attorneys Artnur D. Shores of Birmingham, and Thurgood Marshall of New York, NAACP special counsel, represented Mitchell. Asst. Atty. Gen. W. W. Callahan, Attorneys Richard T. Rives of Montgomery, and E. C. Boswell of Geneva, all white, were the legal minds who carried the torch of the white supremacists at the hearing.

The petition filed by Shores in behalf of Mitchell was described as a "class action" and included "the Negro citizens of the United States and the state of Alabama . . . who are qualified electors." Its scope covered the complaints of "the large number of Negroes of Macon county who have been denied the right to register as voters . . ."

Lack Jurisdiction

State attorneys contended that the "federal courts lacked jurisdiction because the plaintiff had not exhausted his remedy in state courts;" that the suit should not be considered a class action "because voting registration under Alabama law is an individual matter inasmuch as every voter must meet certain qualifications," and "registrars are judicial officers and cannot be held liable for judicial acts."

Shores and Marshall countered that it was not necessary to go through state courts when rights under the federal constitution also were an issue. They also assailed the state's argument that denial of registration was not state action.

In the recent session of the Legislature E. C. Boswell was the author of a proposed constitutional amendment which he has openly admitted was concocted to keep Negroes from voting. It would give a board of registrars the right to disqualify any person or persons not wanted to vote. The requirement would compel an applicant to meet an intelligence test to the "satisfaction" of the board or any member thereof. The amendment would also nullify the present optional right to qualify to vote by owning $300 worth of real estate or personal property.

BATTLE OF THE BALLOT

The Chicago Defender

U.S. Judge Hears Ala. Vote Suit

Chicago, Illinois 9-29-45

By JOHN LeFLORE
(Defender Staff Correspondent)

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—A federal district judge here must decide whether his court will permit a Negro to sue for damages in protest against the denial of the right to register as a voter.

Following arguments last Thursday on a motion of the state of Alabama to dismiss a suit for $5,000 damages filed against the Macon County Board of Registrars, Presiding Judge C. B. Kennamer reserved his decision on the important question involved. He took under advisement the state's motion in the case instituted by William P. Mitchell of Macon county, who is an employee of the Veterans' Facility at Tuskegee. The defendants are Mrs. George C. Wright and Virgil Guthrie, white, the two members of the county's board of registrars.

Mitchell charged in his peition that it was the policy of the Macon county board of registrars to deny Negroes the right to vote, and in addition to his asking $5,000

Lawyer Offers Free Service To Restrict The Franchise

Atlanta Daily World, Atlanta, Georgia
9-21-45

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—(SNS) — One of Alabama's leading constitutional lawyers, E. C. Boswell, offered his services without charge to the Macon County Board of Registrars who are being sued for damages by William P. Mitchell in the federal court here for denying him the right to vote.

Boswell, who is regarded here as among the old line "white supremacy" leaders, is a member of the Alabama legislature and author of the Boswell amendment, which is supposed to clearify and harmonize the state's registration laws. He wrote to the two defendants in the case, Mrs. George C. Wright, of Tuskegee, and Virgil M. Guthrie, Notasulga, to offer his free assistance.

"I have been expecting some test case to be filed in this connection for sometime," he said..

Alabama political circles charge that the case is being pushed by CIO and PAC as part of a campaign to break down Alabama's election laws and qualifications in order to secure race fraternization and the destruction of white supremacy.

Negro Civic League Backs Amendment

The Montgomery Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
9-22-45

The Negro Civic and Improvement League, at a meeting last night at which 40 members were present, unanimously endorsed the proposed constitutional amendment to channel income tax revenue into the State treasury, it was announced afterwards by a committee headed by R. L. Battle, president.

The issues involved in the amendment proposal were presented to the gathering by T. H. Randall, principal of Loveless school. After he had spoken, President Battle said, the League unanimously endorsed the amendment and authorized a committee to ask all negroes who are qualified voters to go to the polls Tuesday and vote for the amendment. Also on this committee are the Rev. F. E. Churchill, Dr. C. T. Simpson, C. T. Smiley, Eunice Simpson, and J. E. Pierce.

Tuskegeeans Denied Registration Right

Baltimore Md.

TUSKEGEE—(ANP) — Tuskegee's colored citizens faced the sharp retaliation of whites here Oct. 9 and 10, official registration days, when they found the doors of the local registration office in the court house building closed.

In an all-out effort to break down the barrier which has prohibited colored citizens in this community from obtaining any degree of political power, civic organizations urged all citizens to pay their poll tax and register. 10-20-45

The drive grew out of the William Mitchell case which came up in the Federal District Court, in Montgomery, Sept. 20.

Negro Vote Move Starts In Alabama

Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution
12-30-45

MOBILE, Ala., Dec. 29.—(AP)—The chairman of the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee says he will ask the committee to let qualified Negroes vote in Alabama's primaries next spring.

The committee meets Jan. 12 in Montgomery to make plans for the primary. Gessner T. McCorvey, of Mobile, is chairman of the committee. 12-30-45

McCorvey said he would oppose any move to "get around" the U. S. supreme court decision that Negroes can vote in the south's white primaries by returning to the old convention system.

The state Democratic chairman said he didn't think letting Negroes vote in Alabama primaries would make much difference now, as there are few Negroes "properly qualified" and who have kept their poll tax paid.

This, he added, could be accomplished through adoption of a constitutional amendment changing Alabama is one of the seven states retaining the poll tax as a registration requirements. voting requirement. The tax in this state is cumulative.

The U. S. supreme court decision he referred to was the decision in the Texas case. Similar McCorvey said his idea of the way to handle the Negro voting cases now are in federal courts in problem is to see that "only properly qualified persons are permitted to register." 12-30-45

Plan Drive to Win Ballot For Birmingham Negroes

The Daily Worker New York, New York 9-22-45

Special to the Daily Worker

BIRMINGHAM, Sept. 21.—The battle for the ballot in Alabama's most important county will go into full swing during October when the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will open its campaign to register 3,000 Negro voters in Birmingham by Dec. 31.

"We will operate 14 Voters' Clinics sponsored by NAACP branches in the main areas of the city," said J. J. Green, chairman of the registration committee of the local NAACP. "Their purpose is to inform citizens concerning the registration procedure and prepare them to answer questions and present the proper credentials before the Registration Board."

The Registration Board sits in the County Court House rigidly entrenched in a discriminatory policy which has systematically excluded Negroes from the voters' lists.

During the August registration period, according to Emory Jackson, editor of Birmingham's leading Negro newspaper, more than 250 Negroes applied to the Board and only 79 were registered. (200 white persons were registered during this period.) 9-22-45

Some Negro citizens with master of arts degrees were turned down on the "literacy test" which included ridiculous questions such as "What would be the proper place for a candidate for governor to make his first speech?"

Others who brought tax receipts to meet the optional $300 property requirements were told that their papers were inadequate.

The shameful conduct of the Registration Board was assailed in a recent editorial in the **Birmingham News**, which on the basis of Jackson's disclosure, stated that "something should be done to improve our system of registration as well as the conduct of our registrars." 9-23-45

VICIOUS AMENDMENT

The editorial by implication attacked the infamous Boswell Amendment, passed by the 1945 State Legislature, which will be submitted to the voters in 1946. Under the terms of this vicious amendment, applicants will be required to "understand" as well as read the Constitution and the registrars will have unlimited authority to keep the electorate small and "safe" for minority rule in this State.

"Instead of setting up qualifications which are relevant and democratic," states the editorial, "and instead of insisting that these qualifications be enforced without fear or favor, there seems to be a movement on foot to make matters worse by doctoring requirements to enable registrars to defy the federal constitution."

Negro leaders in Birmingham are determined to pile up pressure on the Registration Board and to keep the lines of Negro applicants at the Jefferson County Courthouse long and persistent.

Negro Nurse Wins Alabam Vote Case

New York Amsterdam News

BIRMINGHAM (ANP)—The Jefferson County Board of Registrars composed of Dr. J. B. Vines, R. J. Creel and Mrs. Eva M. Whitefield must stand trial for allegedly illegally refusing to register Mrs. Pastorah Vinson as an elector here on April 10. That is the substance of the opinion of Federal Judge Clarence Mullins, who on November 29, overruled the state's motion to dismiss the suit in which Mrs. Vinson, a registered nurse, asked $5,000 damages, a declaratory judgment and a permanent injunction to enjoin and restrain the registrars from alleged use of racial yardsticks in determining voter qualifications. 12-22-4

Mrs. Vinson charges that the registrars subjected her to registration tests not required of white applicants who were registered forthwith and rejected her application solely because of her race and color.

9-22-45

Fight for Ballot: **Four of Birmingham's leading Negro citizens are shown outside the Board of Registrars office discussing plans to get Negro citizens in the city registered despite Jimcrow practices. They are left to right) Emory O. Jackson, editor of the Birmingham World; W. H. Hollins, president, Negro Business League; J. J. Green, chairman of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People executive and registration campaign committees, and Hartford Knight, representative, District 20, United Mine Workers.**

Negro's Vote Suit Weighed By Kennamer

The Montgomery Advertiser

U.S. Judge Is Undecided Whether He Should Hear Damage Action

Birmingham, Alabama 9-21-45

Whether a negro is entitled to sue for damages in Federal court for alleged denial of the right to register for voting in Alabama remained undecided last night following a hearing before U. S. District Judge C. B. Kennamer.

Judge Kennamer took under advisement the State's motion to dismiss a suit by William P. Mitchell, Macon County negro, against two members of the county board of registrars.

The suit, which also asked for a declaratory judgment and a court injunction, contended Mitchell was denied registration last July 5, and alleged further that it was a "policy" to turn down members of his race who sought to register.

The petition, filed by Arthur D. Shores, Birmingham attorney, was drawn up as a "class suit" in behalf of other negroes.

Judge Kennamer, before taking the case under advisement, said he thought he could not properly issue the declaratory judgment or an injunction, but added that was not final.

He was uncertain, however, he said, whether the plaintiff was entitled to bring damage action in his court.

The State, through Asst. Atty. Gen. W. W. Callahan, contended the U. S. court lacked jurisdiction because the negro had not exhausted his remedy in State courts.

The State also contended:

1. The suit should not be considered a class action because voting registration under Alabama law is an "individual" matter inasmuch as every voter must meet certain qualifications.

2. The registrars are "judicial" officers and cannot be held liable for judicial acts.

Mitchell, the plaintiff, was represented by Shores and Thurgood Marshall, of New York, special counsel for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. 9-21-45

They contended it was not necessary to go through State courts when rights under the Federal Constitution also were at issue, and disputed the State's argument that denial of registration was not State action. Callahan said the Alabama Constitution safeguarded the negro's rights and that registrars violated State law if they denied registration solely because of race or color. 9-21-45

Marshall countered with the assertion that an officer acting under color of law was acting on behalf of the State.

Supporting the State's stand were Richard T. Rives, of Montgomery, and E. C. Boswell, of Geneva, attorneys for the defendants, Mrs. George C. Wright and Virgil Guthrie, members of the Macon County Board of Registrars.

6 Trials Trying To Register

Atlanta Daily World 12-22-45

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—(SNS)—After six trials, he has failed to become a registered voter. Noah Patterson, of 212 11th Court West who spent 45 months in the Army, 20 of which were overseas reported this week that

Alabama, Georgia Negro Ballot Fight Gets Court Hearings

Daily Worker New York, N.Y. 10-9-45

Special to the Daily Worker

BIRMINGHAM, Oct. 8.—The battle for the ballot is being waged today in Southern court rooms as well as in Congress and the state legislatures. 10-9-45

In September, two Negro plaintiffs, representing thousands of voteless citizens in Georgia and Alabama, filed suit in Federal Court, charging election officials with conspiracy to deprive them of the right to vote under the 13th, 14th, 15th and 17th Amendments to the Constitution.

In Georgia, the "white primary" came up for a frontal attack. In an argument that lasted more than seven hours before the U.S. District Court in Macon, Attorney Harry Strozier, representing the Rev. Primus E. King, gave documentary evidence showing that the "white primary" is an integral part of the state's election machinery and that the right to vote in such primaries is secured by the Constitution.

Only a week before the case was heard, thousands of Negro voters in Atlanta had been turned away from the polls during the primary election of city officials, even though the voters' lists had been sent to the polls by the board of registrars.

A favorable decision in the case would mean that the court would order the state to allow Negroes to vote in the Democratic primaries, and Rev. King, the plaintiff, would win $5,000 in damages. In the event of an unfavorable decision, the case will be carried to the Circuit Court of Appeals and to the Supreme Court.

ALABAMA CASE

In Alabama the fight centers around the refusal of the boards of registrars to register qualified Negro citizens.

On Sept. 20, Arthur Shores, Negro lawyer of Birmingham, and Thurgood Marshall of the NAACP, presented the case of William Mitchell, Negro employe of the Veterans Administration in Tuskegee, before the U.S. District Court in Montgomery. 10-9-45

The complaint charges that Mitchell was denied registration because of his "race, color and previous condition of servitude" and stated that the board of registrars "have established and are maintaining a policy, custom and usage of denying to the plaintiff and others on whose behalf this suit is brought protection under the laws by requiring them to submit to tests not required of white electors." Mitchell is also asking for $5,000 damages. Counsel for the state, Richard Rives of Sen. Lister Hill, fought for a motion to dismiss the case. No decision has been rendered.

The Mitchell case is a cardinal point in the struggle of Alabama Negroes to win the vote. All over the state, registration boards are refusing to register Negroes on threadbare and preposterous pretexts. 10-9-45

In 1946 the infamous Boswell Amendment to the state constitution, which would grant even further powers to the registration boards to discriminate against all applicants, will come before the voters. This amendment is being championed by "white supremacists" throughout the state. State Representative Boswell, author of the amendment, offered his services to the state in the Mitchell case.

In Birmingham a similar suit against the board of registrars has been filed by Attorney Shores on behalf of Miss Pastorah Vinson, Negro graduate nurse. In Mobile the NAACP has asked the Department of Justice to prosecute election officials for barring Negro voters from the polls in the Democratic primaries in May, 1944.

Negro Vote Suit Thrown Out Of Federal Court

Montgomery Advertiser Advertiser

Judge Kennamer Holds Litigant Didn't Exhaust Rights In State Courts

A suit charging members of the Macon County, Ala., board of registrars with refusing to register a negro for voting was dismissed in U. S. District Court here yesterday on the grounds the court lacked jurisdiction.

Judge C. B. Kennamer held that the negro, William P. Mitchell, failed to exhaust his rights in State courts, and declared: 10-13-45

"Action such as this cannot be maintained in the Federal Courts until the plaintiff has availed himself of that administrative remedy afforded by the laws of Alabama."

The State constitution provides right of court appeal from a decision by the board of registrars.

In Birmingham, Arthur D. Shores, attorney for Mitchell, said the case would be taken to the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals.

In dismissing the complaint, Judge Kennamer sustained a motion filed by the State of Alabama as an intervenor, after the suit was instituted against two members of the Macon County board, Mrs. George C. Wright, and Virgil M. Guthrie.

The negro alleged he was denied registration on or about last July 5, because of what he termed a policy of the board to reject members of his race. He filed the suit as a class action in behalf of other negroes, and asked:

1. A declaratory judgment.
2. A permanent injunction against denying negroes the right to register "solely because of race or color."
3. $5,000 damages.

In granting the State's motion to dismiss the proceedings as a class action, Judge Kennamer asserted that "registration is an individual matter, each case is considered on its own merits or demerits . . . . The question of unconstitutional discrimination cannot be determined by groups or classes but must be determined as to each individual."

Denial of registration to a prospective voter, the court held, is "but the first step in the procedure set up by the laws of Alabama by which his request for registration must travel before it becomes final."

The plaintiff did not contest the machinery established by State law for registration of voters, the opinion continued, "but on the contrary took advantage of the initial step in such machinery to present himself to the board of registrars . . . .

"However, after he was denied registration by the board, he forsook the remaining parts of the machinery . . . . and shifted his request for registration from the administrative machinery of the State of Alabama, to the Federal District Court . . . ."

The negro makes no charge, Judge Kennamer added, that he would not be registered if he followed the course open to him under State law.

In conclusion, the judge declared: 10-13-43

"The court is of the opinion that the plaintiff is precluded from shifting from the initial step of the State machinery to the Federal court and must avail himself of that administrative remedy afforded by the State laws of Alabama."

Judge's Dismissal Pushes Case Toward Higher Court

Atlanta (Ga) Daily World 10-16-45

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — (SNS) — Dismissal in Montgomery October 2 by Federal Judge C. B. Kennamer the registration denial suit brought by William P. Mitchell against the Macon County Board of Registrars shot the case toward the United States Supreme Court.

Attorney Arthur D. Shores, brilliant (Birmingham attorney, said last Saturday that the case would be taken to the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals. He indicated that it would travel the entire judicial Road until a final decision is reached the court of last resort, if need be. 10-16-45

In dismissing the case, the court upheld the contention of Judge W. W. (Speed) Callhan who presided at one of the "Scottsboro Case" trials and Attorney Richard Rives of a famous Montgomery law firm that the case was in the wrong court because the plaintiff failed to exhaust state remedy.

In addition to this case, 25 appeals were filed prior to it in the State Court, but they have not been placed on the Circuit Court docket. 10-16-45

Ironically, this dismissal came when the front pages of the daily press told the story of General McArthur giving the vote to Japanese women for the first time.

Judge Kennamer, often reported in the press as seeking retirement, wrote a rather lengthy opinion. The largest amount of space was devoted to clearing up what was and what was not class action.

The plaintiff asked for a declaratory judgment, that the court issue a permanent injunction and a judgment for $5,000 damages.

The opinion said in part: "Registration is an individual matter, each case is considered on its merits or demerits, and whether a person is entitled to be registered or not, is determined solely by weighing his qualifications and dis qualifications, if any, by the stand ard outlined in the Constitution and Statues of the State of Alabama, which standard are not questioned by the plaintiff in this action. The question of unconsitutional discrimination in registration cannot be determined by groups or classes but must be determined as to each individual."

"....There is a clear distinction in the mind of this court as between "Negro (spelled with small "n") school teacher' and a 'portion of a race, unclassifield and without furrace, identification and without furl entitled to be registered as qualifield voters, if they possess certain qualifications and do not possess certain disqualifications. One school teachers' is specific and definite, easily recognizable as a group or class, whereas, the other Negro citizens of the United States and residents and citizens of the State of Alabama and Macon County, Ala., who (as alleged in this complaint) possess all the qualifications to be reregistered as voters and possess none of the disqualifications of voters,' is indefinite, unclassified, and is not recognized by the public or anyone as a group or class."

Then the opinion questions: "What marks them as a class? What characteristics do they possess that sets them apart as a class? Where and how are they identified as a class?"

The opinion said that that to determine "that refusal to register said person or persons by the defendants was solely on account of race discrimination, which can only be done by considering all of the facts and circumstances of each particular case, and only after such finding, if true, would that person become a member of such class." 10-16-45

"In the opinion of this court," the decision said," is not a matter for the court to organize a class in order for a class action to be prosecuted."

Close Door On Tuskegee Registrants

The Savannah Tribune
Savannah, Ga.

Tuskegee. (ANP) — Tuskegee's Negro citizens faced the sharp retaliation of whites here, Oct. 9 and 10, official registration days, when they found the doors of the local registration office in the court house building closed.

In an all-out effort to break down the barrier which has prohibited Negroes in this community from obtaining any degree of political power, civic organizations urged all citizens to pay their poll tax and register. The drive grew out of the recent William Mitchell case which came up in the federal district court, Montgomery, Sept. 20. Mitchell, an employe of the Veterans administration, Tuskegee, filed suit because he had allegedly been refused a proper registration certificate by the Tuskegee board of registration. The defense (Macon county, Ala.) claimed among other things, that Mitchell had not made proper use of the lower court in Tuskegee, Alabama, before going to a higher one.

On Wednesday, many were given leave from their jobs to register. However, when they reached the court house they could find no signs or obtain any information as to where the registering was being held. It was reported that the few who registered were forced to wait in the lobby for several hours until some whites entered. Then closely following them, they found the official registration room and entered with the others. 10-18-45

Most people were discouraged from registering by the long wait and lack of information, and unless further action is taken to alleviate the situation, Tuskegee's Negro vote will remain nil.

Tuskegee's Citizens Face Ire of Whites

The New York Amsterdam News — New York, N.Y.
10-27-45

By DEWILDA BUSH HARRSTON

TUSKEGEE, (ANP) — Tuskogee's Negro citizens faced the sharp retaliation of whites here, Oct. 9 and 10, official registration days, when they found the doors of the local registration office in the court house building closed.

In an all-out effort to break down the barrier which has prohibited Negroes in this community from obtaining any degree of political power, civic organizations urged all citizens to pay their poll tax and register.

Tennessean Hurls Charges At Alabama's Voting System

Birmingham, Ala.
Bham. Ala.

BY MARGUERITE JOHNSTON
News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, D. C., Oct. 30 — Alabama's voting system is less democratic than that of many foreign governments now being criticized by the United States.

This point was made in Washington Monday by Jennings Perry, managing editor of The Nashville Tennessean, speaking at a two-day action conference of the national committee to abolish the poll tax.

"We are discussing with some doubt whether or not we should recognize the proposed elections in Yugoslavia," Perry said, "because only a part of the people are to be allowed to vote—those who fought the Axis with Tito's Partisans.

"But even if this be true in Yugoslavia, still a much larger percentage can vote in Yugoslavia than do actually manage to take part in elections in the State of Alabama.

"The qualifications for voting in the projected elections in Yugoslavia do make some sense, since only those who have collaborated with the Nazis will be barred from the polls.

"But in Alabama, thousands are barred from voting by the poll tax requirement who are not only utterly loyal citizens of the United States, and of Alabama, but who have joined with all the strength at their command in supporting the war against totalitarianism and in defense of democracy which has just been won.

10-30-45

"BY THE SAME TOKEN, the United States is refusing to recognize governments in friendly parts of the world which do not have the support of the freely expressed will of the people who live under them.

"Perhaps the United States, having taken this attitude abroad, should reexamine its recognition of the governments of Virginia, South Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas and Texas, where there has been no free expression at the polls upon any public affair in the past 50 years."

Perry, who is chairman of the national committee to abolish the poll tax, points out that in his own state of Tennessee, fewer than one citizen in three can vote.

"There are 1,800,000 persons of legal voting age in Tennessee," he said, "the biggest number ever to come to the polls is 500,000."

A right cannot be taxed constitutionally, Perry urges. "You cannot tax freedom of speech and have freedom of speech," he said. "You cannot tax freedom of religion and have freedom of religion. Our constitution names the right to vote as a right—not as a privilege which must be bought by a tax."

* * *

THE COMMITTEE IS IN TWO-DAY ACTION session designed to persuade the United States Senate to action on anti-poll tax legislation during November.

Since the Senate has disposed of the income tax bill, its docket for the next two weeks is comparatively clear.

Proponents of HR 7, which would abolish the poll tax, as a requisite to voting in federal elections, hope the senators will turn their attention to this bill. 10-30-45

The bill was reported out of the judiciary committee Oct. 1, along with a constitutional amendment offered by Sen. Joseph O'Mahoney, of Wyoming. Since that time, no action has been taken by the Senate on the issue.

The United Council of Church Women, representing some 10,000,000 church women in America, endorsed the bill last week and are now actively urging the Senate to act upon it.

Sen. Homer Ferguson, of Michigan, will be chief speaker at the Monday night meeting.

REGISTRARS WIN VOTE SUIT POINT

The Birmingham Age-Herald

A ruling that Pastora Vinson, Negro, cannot act on behalf of other Negroes in bringing suit to compel the Jefferson County registrars to register qualified Negro voters without asking them to meet a special test that, it is charged, whites do not have to meet, was handed down here yesterday by Federal Judge Clarence Mullins in United States District Court here.

Judge Mullins made this decision in a hearing on a motion brought by the plaintiffs, the registrars, to dismiss the suit. Judge Mullins granted only that part of the motion that referred to other Negroes. This does not prevent the plaintiff from continuing her suit, it was pointed out. Birmingham, Ala

The motion for dismissal was asked by A. B. Vines, Sva M. Whitfield and R. J. Creel, the registrars. The plantiff charged that on April 10 of this year she applied to register and was asked to take a test that she said was not asked of white applicants. In bringing suit she stated she was asking action on behalf of other qualified Negroes as well as herself. 12-1-45

State Faces Non-White Primary Call

Supreme Court Decision In Texas Case Says Color Line Forbidden

Montgomery, Ala. Advertiser

First In History

If State Pays Expense Of Voting, Mandatory That Rule Be Followed

Ala.

By ATTICUS MULLIN

The Alabama Democratic Executive Committee, when it meets in Montgomery Saturday, January 12th, cannot follow forty or fifty years precedent and call "white primary" according to Committeeman E. C. Boswell, of Geneva. 12-26-45

And this is all because of the fact that since the committee met last and called a primary, the Supreme Court of the United States (with Hugo Black, of Alabama as a member) it was decided in the Texas case that a primary called for white voters only was illegal if the State paid the expenses of the primary. In Alabama the State pays the expenses of the primary.

"No we cannot call a white primary as democratic committees have been doing for more than a half century," said Committeeman Boswell. "The Texas decision by the Supreme Court held in effect that where the State paid the expenses of a primary, there must be no bar to voters whether white, yellow red, black or otherwise. So we cannot do it here in Alabama because our primary is paid for by the State. I have talked in the past with Chairman Gessner McCorvey about the matter and there seems no way around as long as our State law stands as it does.

Word "White" Out

The fact that the committee in Montgomery will call a primary without using the time-honored word "White" does not mean that Negroes will vote in the primary. That is, Negroes will not vote in discriminately in the primary. There will be qualifications to the effect that only voters who have voted for democratic nominees or who are Democrats, will participate.

Committeeman Boswell ruled out the idea that the committee ought to bar as voters those pollywogs who at the last general election voted against Franklin D. Roosevelt. Thousands of Alabamians did that because they did not feel that a fourth term was necessary. 12-26-45

Way to Be Found

Committeeman Boswell expressed the belief that the committee will have to find a way for Democrats to proceed in the future, that is Democrats who want to keep their party in the hands of the whites. He has frequently pointed out in the past that the Texas ruling of the Supreme Court of the United States would not apply to white primaries in Alabama where the candidates paid for the primaries by assessment. For many years that was the rule in Alabama. And of course the Texas decision could not preclude white Democrats of Alabama from meeting in convention and naming their candidates. And right here it might be mentitoned that the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee has the authority itself to nominate all Democratic candidates. So there are ways out. 12-26-45

But the forthcoming primary next May will be the first primary in Alabama history since the constitution of 1870 when the word "white" will have to be left out of the call. Or that is the opinion of Committeeman Boswell, who is also chairman of the recess legislative committee on the constitution of the Alabama legislature and one of the ablest lawyers in Alabama.

61e-1945

Alabama

Alabama Governor Asks State Poll Tax Reform

Chicago Defender

By JOHN LeFLORE
(Defender Staff Correspondent)

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — Alabama's poll tax system, worst of all among the seven remaining poll tax states, may be due for a trimming if Gov. Chauncey Sparks' recommendation to the legislature is followed. 5-12-45

In his message to the General Assembly which convened here last Tuesday, the governor declared the cumulative feature of the state's poll tax "a deterrent to the exercise of the franchise," and called upon the legislature to submit a constitutional amendment abolishing that obstacle to a free ballot in Alabama.

At the same time he urged a "strengthening of our registration statutes in order that our election rolls shall be as 'pure' as we can make them," which is believed by many to be intended as a means of making Negro voting more difficult under the discriminatory intelligence test prerogatives exercised by Alabama boards of registrars.

Election Law Changes

In closely veiled words he also asked the legislative body to give thought to "any revision of our election laws, both general and primary, which recent developments may require."

In touching upon this subject he requested the change in connection with "lately announced rulings of the Supreme Court of the United States." 5-12-45

The recent decision rendered by the court in the Texas white primary case gave Negroes the right to vote in Democratic primaries in that state. A statement made by Gov. Sparks earlier in the year indicated that he favored "qualified" Negroes voting in Alabama primaries.

In addition he recommended better educational facilities for Negroes and a regional educational program to meet the "problem" of a "two-race school system."

Registration Key to Bans

In his plea for poll tax reform, the governor said:

"In my judgment the cumulative feature . . . is a deterrent to the exercise of the franchise by many of our best people. It keeps from voting many good men and women. Many of our citizens neglect or forget to pay their poll tax. Several successive years of neglect or forgetfulness pile up a very real barrier. 5-12-45

"The poll tax is not a qualification to voting, but rather a condition precedent to use of the ballot."

Gov. Sparks gave assurances that, "The procedure through which the ballot is kept 'pure' is registration, not the payment of poll tax."

He then urged the legislative body to give "careful consideration to the strengthening of our registration statutes in order that our election rolls shall be as 'pure' as we can make them."

A compromise southern regional educational plan for higher learning, which would not comply with the ruling of the U. S. Supreme Court in the Gaines vs. Canada, University of Missouri case, but would probably satisfy many Negro leaders in the South, was advocated by the governor. 5-12-45

He asked the legislature to set up a regional educational program "to meet the problem in states which, as does Alabama, have a two-race school system, generally limited education facilities, and moderate money resources."

He suggested a regional interchange of facilities "until such time as Alabama will be securely equipped financially to make its system complete."

The Defender has been advised that the governor's plans for regional education would include white as well as Negro students. There are a few courses in higher education not available to whites in this state. 5-12-45

Subsequent to the governor's message, anti-poll tax proposals to submit a constitutional amendment to erase the tax completely were introduced by Rep. Moody Redd, of Florence, and Sen. John Sherrer, of Dallas. Rep. Mark Hodo, of Jefferson, who is said to be a liberal, put a bill in the hopper to permit voting after payment of two years' back taxes.

Gov. Sparks, in commenting on the anti-poll tax bills offered by Rep. Moody and Sen. Sherrer, said while he doubted that the legislature would pass an outright repeal measure, he would approve such a bill if enacted. A bitter fight is ahead on the poll tax reform.

Sen. V. L. St. John, of Lawrence, has introduced two bills representing the governor's regional education plan and his projected views for providing better educational facilities for Negroes.

Alabama Press

Birmingham News PINIS

The poll tax issue has again gone down in defeat by an Alabama Legislature, and this is our contribution to the final reverberations.

It was defeated by prejudice, sectionalism and Heflinotic oratory, not by cool, analytical argument or discussion. The vote was on the past, not of the future. 6-11-45

Witness this defense:

"I say that Alabama is the greatest state in the Union—and one of the reasons is our poll tax law."

"This bill is against the peace and dignity of the Black Belt."

"This is a dangerous bill. A Negro once occupied the House seat in which I sit today."

No, the poll tax issue was not defeated—it wasn't even discussed.—Sylacauga News.

* * *

DOWN BUT NEVER OUT

The poor old poll tax is down again, but we have not heard the last of it. The bill to abolish the poll tax, sponsored and abetted by Gov. Sparks, failed to get very far in the Legislature, killed, we believe, by the "politicians' lobby," who fear that their individual and collective "machines" will become unmanageable if more "untrained" citizens are allowed the constitutional privilege of balloting for their "public servants." 6-11-45

While this paper did not favor outright repeal of the poll tax at this time, preferring and advancing the theory that we wait two, three or possibly five years to study the effect of repeal in Georgia, we would like to see the absentee ballot and the cumulative sections of the law thrown in the trash can. However, as far as the law is concerned, it will have much better chance of being repealed if outsiders refrain from giving directions.

As long as absentee ballots can be "counted" by the ins, especially in an election where few ballots are cast, the outs don't have a helluva lot of chance to succeed the ins.—Pell City News.

No Poll Tax 'All Right' With Sparks

Atlanta Constitution 5-3-45

By ELMO GREENE
Constitution Staff Writer.

MONTGOMERY, Ala., May 2.—It is believed that Gov. Chauncey Sparks, who yesterday asked the 1945 legislature to remove the "cumulative feature" of Alabama's poll tax, would like to see the levy abolished entirely.

Although he did not say as much in his message to the assembly, he told a Constitution reporter that "if a bill passes to repeal the poll tax law, it will be all right with me."

STEERS WARY COURSE

The Georgia- educated Governor had been expected to recommend all-out repeal, which would require a constitutional amendment, but strong legislative opposition to it doubtless made such a move unfeasible.

Nevertheless, capitol observers predict that repeal legislation will be introduced.

In an interview, Gov. Sparks was asked about the prospect of a new state constitution to replace the present, oft-amended document. There has been talk suggesting legislative appointment of a committee to revise the constitution. 5-3-45

"RATHER ARCHAIC"

Declaring Alabama's basic law "is rather old and archaic," Sparks said:

"There are a great many changes in our constitution that we ought to effect, but possibly we can do that by amendment and not by rewriting it."

The Governor, reminiscing of his Georgia days, was interested to learn of a former Mercer University schoolmate—Col. J. J. Copeland, of Dalton, Ga., president of the Bank of Dalton.

Copeland once defeated Sparks for the editorship of the Mercerian, literary publication at Mercer.

BACKWARD ALABAMA

Birmingham News

To the Editor of The News-Age-Herald:

I would like to add a few words concerning the poll tax question which has been touched upon from time to time in your paper, and editorials from other papers have been carried on the subject. It involves the disfranchisement of the poor white man and the Negro.

I believe everyone should have the right to vote. If democracy will run true, this is its essence, and we do not have that measure of democracy in Alabama. The very fact that a man does not have $1.50 a year with which to pay poll tax should not disfranchise him of the right to help select those who administer and those who enforce the laws under which we all must live. 6-12-45

I thank God for men like Senator Lister Hill, who are progressive in their thinking, and have the courage to come out and state their position. He, like other representatives, should represent the viewpoint of the people, and he, as our national representative, knows that Alabama is one of the very few states which has the payment of poll tax as a prerequisite of the right to vote.

I am always interested in and note that those who favor continuation of the poll tax make reference to "outside interference," leaving the impression that the citizens of Alabama are satisfied with the situation that now exists. It is a disgraceful situation as far as Alabama's record is concerned because we are one of the very few states that now maintain the poll tax.

Speaking of outside interference and applying that to the world situation today, could it not be readily said by those who opposed our country's entering the World War, that we should not meddle with other people's affairs? In other words, we are the outside interference. Being interested in labor, my thought is that the workers in Alabama would have remained in the status they were in back prior to the NIRA days if it had not been for so-called "outside interference."

Alabama is a part of the great United States, and we should not stand alone in our opposition to proper legislation that will put Alabama in the same status as other states in the union. Let us rid ourselves in Alabama of the antiquated rules and regulations which are not maintained in other states.

Alden, Ala. JOHN W. BENSON.

Poll Tax Is Not Essential, Sparks Tells McCorvey

Montgomery Advertiser
5-12-45

State Chairman's Appeal To Keep Law As It Is Draws Reply From Governo

GOV. CHAUNCEY SPARKS yesterday affirmed his faith in Alabama's "ability and genius to keep our election lists clea without poll tax, although h not recommend outright repe the voting levy. 5-12-45

The Governor reiterated stand in a letter to Chairm Gessner T. McCorvey of the Stat Democratic Executive Committee, who earlier in the day called on the legislature to maintain the poll tax "in full force."

Upholding his request for abolition of the cumulative feature of the tax, Gov. Sparks wrote Mr. McCorvey:

5-12-45

"Frankly, I think we have the ability to keep our election lists clean and on a reasonably intelligent plane without a poll tax.

"If that be so, I think it is up to us to adopt a plan which will more nearly meet our standards of justice and democracy, rather than to retain something which memory forces us to cling to long after it has become unnecessary and in fact reasonably harmful."

The poll tax at present "affects in very ly white citiz d, add- will tain of the d, we must ualified accord- ndard set by our to exercise an un- ed vote."

The poll tax is not a qualification for voting, the chief executive's letter continued, pointing to Section 178 of the Constitution as an indication that "our constitution makers considered the fact of registration as being the qualification most necessary under our system." 5-12-45

The State's basic law provides, the Governor said, that after a voter has registered he "shall have paid on or before the first day of February next preceding the date of election at which he offers to vote, all poll taxes due from him for the year 1901 and for each subsequent year."

Gov. Sparks said his recommendation for abolition of the cumulative feature of the tax would "not affect the payment of any poll taxes heretofore due."

Past Poll Tax Abolishment Asked by Alabama Governor

Atlanta Constitution

By ELMO GREENE,
Constitution Staff Writer.

MONTGOMERY, Ala., May 1.—Although legislation to abolish Alabama's $1.50-per-year poll tax doubtless will be submitted to the 1945 assembly, Gov. Chauncey Sparks took a compromise position on the controversial issue today by asking removal of the levy's "cumulative feature." 5-2-45

That would obviate the necessity of paying past due poll tax before one could vote.

In his message to a joint session of the senate and the house of representatives, which convened today for a 60-day session, the 60-year-old bachelor Governor also urged creation of a single board to "supervise all educational activities of the state from the primary schools through the institutions of higher learning."

A similar plan for Georgia has been publicly advocated by M. E. Thompson, executive secretary to Gov. Arnall and former educator.

GEORGIA EDUCATED

Gov. Sparks—who received his early education in the public schools of Quitman county, Georgia, and was graduated in 1910 from Mercer University, at Macon, with the bachelor of laws degree—had been expected by many political observers to call for all-out repeal of the poll tax law.

Repeal, to which there is considerable opposition, would require a constitutional amendment.

Alabama's lawmakers — there are 141 in all—listened attentively as the state's chief executive outlined his legislative program in the house chamber. 5-2-45

"In my judgment," Gov. Sparks said, "the cumulative feature . . . is a deterrent to the exercise of the franchise by many of our best people. It keeps many good men and women from voting. Many of our citizens neglect or forget to pay their poll tax. Several successive years of neglect or forgetfulness pile up a very real barrier."

RUN BY MINORITY

Although not advocating poll tax repeal, the Governor made this admission: "Our state is run by a minority of its people, and many of those who are not permitted to vote for failure to pay the poll tax are among the best."

The chief executive, in discussing an over-all education board, said its creation "does not contemplate the abolishing of existing constitutional and statutory boards for institutions of higher learning. These boards can be retained to function in the management and control of their respective institutions as the law now provides."

Alabama does not have a university system.

Pointing out that approximately 140,000 Alabama workers have no protection under the federal wage-hour statute, Gov. Sparks called on the legislature to provide a state wage-hour law "to a height approaching that established by the federal government."

WAGE-HOUR LAW 5-2-45

Continuing, he said:

"If it were not for the existence of a federal wage and hour law, I would not recommend a wage and hour law for Alabama. But there can be no excuse for making fish of one and fowl of the other."

Gov. Sparks also recommended a constitutional amendment removing the limitation on the use of state income tax, a retirement law for state employes, creation of a state veterans' assistance department, strengthening of registration and absentee voting laws, making it easier for soldiers to vote, and placing of the general fund surplus into a building fund.

STATE ISSUE ONLY

Birmingham News 6-18-45

The every-other-year poll tax fight is on again in Congress.

An anti-poll tax law which would abolish the levy in every state has been forced from the House judiciary committee. It will be debated on the floor of the House and then be passed, going to the Senate.

In the Senate it won't be passed, of course. Southern senators will filibuster it to death if necessary.

This means a lot of time will be consumed when Congress and the nation can ill afford to waste hours and days wrangling over an issue that can never be solved by Congress itself. This time could and should be devoted to more pressing problems concerning the war effort and preparation for the peace and post-war reconversion.

This repeat performance of the anti-poll tax law in Congress comes within a few weeks after the Alabama Legislature rejected proposals to abolish the Alabama poll tax or to eliminate its cumulative features. At that time we heartily favored repeal of the tax. We still do.

But then, as now, we favored repeal by the Alabama Legislature—not abolition by Congress.

Since the Legislature's action some of the Alabama opponents of the poll tax, Alabama opponents who live in Alabama, have linked that rejection with resurrection of the abolition bill in Congress. They say: "See what's happened. Because the Legislature refused to do anything about it, the foes of poll taxes are getting busy in Congress. The Legislature's action gives them ammunition."

One of the arguments they advanced for legislative repeal was the criticism directed at Alabama in Congress. That criticism is indeed annoying and a perennial irritation and we probably would be better off without it. But that is not the point involved in repealing Alabama's poll tax on Alabama initiative.

The tax should be repealed because Alabamians want it repealed and because it is the right thing to do. That it would please outsiders is only incidental. Alabama is no more concerned with pleasing outsiders on this issue than it is with aggravating them. This is our problem and one we shall settle, eventually with repeal.

The Legislature's action may have spurred the outsiders on in their congressional fight. We don't know, but doubt it, because they were harping on the subject long before it was discussed in Alabama.

The poll tax question in Congress is one thing and in the Alabama Legislature it is distinctly another. To threaten the Alabama Legislature with what may happen in Congress will serve only to destroy or weaken the state's internal opposition to the levy.

Though many Alabamians want the tax repealed, they don't want it done by congressional interference. Something more important in principle than the tax is involved. It is a state's right to handle such a problem, a right granted by the federal constitution.

Congressional opponents of the tax will not find any support or any sympathy among Alabamians who are urging repeal by the Legislature. On the contrary, those outside will find that Alabamians—even though divided among themselves on the issue—will unite in the cause of opposing federal meddling.

If the outsiders are as sincere as they profess to be they will attend to their knitting, stop the hopeless congressional wrangling and let this thing be thrashed out by the people of this state. The people of Alabama are the ones who are affected and the ones who have the right to work out this much of their destiny.

The same thing applies to the six other Southern states that have not as yet abolished the tax.—Dothan Eagle.

61e-1945

THE CONGRESS.

Chicago, Ill. Sun

Southerners Aroused

One thing sure to arouse a Southern Congressman, besides affronted Southern womanhood, is the perennial anti-poll tax bill. Last week Southern Congressmen were thus aroused. They spoke their usual bitter words, went down to their usual defeat when House Republicans joined with Northern Democrats and passed the measure, 251-10-165. 6-25-45

But the Southerners had nothing to worry about. Twice before the House had passed the anti-poll tax bill, twice before the Senate had killed it. The Senate would now do it again, if necessary by filibuster. And every Congressman knew it.

The Southerners also went their peculiar way in another matter. Ignoring an earnest plea by Harry Truman, the potent, Southerner-packed House Rules Committee bottled up a bill to create a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission.

Anti-Polltax Bill Gains Support

Daily Worker New York, New York

As H. R. 7, the federal anti-poll tax bill, moves from the Hatch subcommittee to the full Senate Judiciary Committee for consideration, the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax announced that a majority of Senators already is committed to support of the bill, and that further pledges of support are expected this week. 9-24-45

Senator Hatch informed the National Committee to Abolish the Poli Tax on Thursday that the subcommittee would report the bill favorably to the full committee to-

morrow, without additional hearings. 9-24-45

Although it has passed the House repeatedly by substantial majorities, the Senate has never been able to vote on the bill on its merits because of filibuster by a minority.

Anti-Polltax Bill Reported Out In Senate; To Fight Filibuster

The Daily Worker New York, New York

10-2-45

Daily Worker Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Oct. 1.—The Marcantonio anti-polltax bill was reported out by the Senate Judiciary Committee today for Senate action.

The committee, headed by Sen. Pat McCarran (D-Nev) took no record vote.

Fifty Senators, a majority, are pledged to passage. The real fight will come against the filibuster, which Sen. Theodore Bilbo (D-Miss) has frequently asserted he would lead again.

The committee complicated the issue today by also reporting out Sen. Joseph C. O'Mahoney's (D-Wyo) proposal for a Constitutional amendment against the polltax. This plan, which is also actively supported by Sen. Carl A. Hatch (D-NM), would delay action for years.

Senator Wagner, 5 Others Join Bipartisan Anti-Polltax Group

Daily Worker N.Y., N.Y.

Daily Worker Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, July 25. — Sen. Robert F. Wagner (D-NY) and five more Senators have joined the bipartisan group headed by Sen. Claude Pepper (D-Fla) that will lead the fight for the Marcantonio anti-polltax bill, which passed the House last May.

Twelve Senators are now members of the committee, whose formation was announced by Pepper's office last week. 7-26-45

The committee's first job is the tough task of getting Sen. Carl A. Hatch (D-NM) who opposes the bill on "constitutional" grounds to take it up in a special Senate judiciary subcommittee, of which he is chairman. N.Y

The final task will be to smash the next Bilbo filibuster, when the bill comes on the floor, by a successful two-thirds vote for cloture—that is the limitation of debate.

New steering committee members include: Elbert D. Thomas (D-Utah), Wayne L. Morse (R-Ore), George D. Aiken (R-Vt), Joseph H. Ball (R-Minn) and William Langer (R-ND).

The first six members included: James M. Mead (D-NY), Homer Ferguson (R-Mich), Arthur Capper (R-Kan), Harley M. Kilgore (D-WV), Warren G. Magnuson (R-Wash) and Pepper.

Senate Group's OK Sets Off Annual Battle Over Poll Tax

PM, 9-21-45 New York, N.Y.

Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Sept. 21. — A favorable report from a Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on the bill to abolish the poll tax will set off the annual Senate battle over this controversial legislation next Monday.

The National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax announced yesterday that Chairman Carl Hatch (D., N. M.) has promised to submit the Subcommittee's report to the Full Judiciary Committee Monday.

The Committee quoted Hatch as saying the Subcommittee vote for reporting the bill would be 3-2, the same margin by which it has been approved in past years.

Mrs. Katherine Shryver, executive secretary of the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, hailed the Subcommittee action as "wonderful progress" and said she had been assured by Chairman Pat McCarran (D., Nev.) that the full Committee would consider the legislation promptly. 9-21-45

Recalling the filibusters that have blocked Senate action on the anti-poll tax bill in past years, Mrs. Shryver expressed confidence that this time "the Senate will adopt cloture, if necessary, to insure the right of the majority to vote for a bill and decide the issue on its merits." 9-21-45

"Senators are aware, as they have never been before," she said, "of the tremendous power and responsibility that reside in the Senate of the United States. I do not believe they will again submit to frustration of majority government by a handfull of obstructionists."

The cloture rule is the Senate rule for breaking filibusters. It can be adopted by a two-thirds vote, but it has failed in past years because many Senators who have claimed to be for the anti-poll tax bill have voted against cloture.

Barkley Appeasement Perils Genuine Anti-Polltax Bill

the Worker

By ART SHIELDS

WASHINGTON.—A decision that Sen. Alben W. Barkley (R-Ky), Senate Majority Leader, must make this month or soon after will affect the battle for full employment, high bracket taxation, unemployment compensation, veterans' legislation and every other people's measure in a most vital way.

That is Barkley's decision as to whether to call up the Marcantonio anti-polltax bill or the sham substitute plan for a constitutional amendment to abolish the polltax that Sen. Joseph O'Mahoney (D-Wy) has proposed. N.Y.

SEN. BARKLEY

The Senate Judiciary Committee reported the bona fide measure and the fake substitute out at the same time last week. And Barkley has the power to say which gets the floor first.

O'Mahoney was assisted by Carl A. Hatch (D-NM), one of the sponsort of the union-busting Ball, Burton, Hatch bill, in drafting the tricky amendment provision.

DIXIE'S THIRTEEN

O'Mahoney and Hatch know that the amendment hasn't a chance of passage in the measurable future. Thirteen states can block an amendment—and there are 13 states in the South. That arithmetic leads to a deadly conclusion.

Hatch knows also that his hopes of passing his bill to cripple the Wagner Labor Relations Act depend on the poll tax bloc in the Senate and House. N.Y. N.Y.

He knows that the whole political picture in America will begin to change fundamentally when democracy comes to the South.

The fight against the polltax is indeed at a crossroads today. Barkley is under heavy pressure to call up the bogus amendment first, and Barkley yields to such pressure too easily. He bent before Bilbo in the FEPC fight and put through the $250,000 budget compromise, halving the agency's funds. Barkley's argument is always that this is the best he can get and he can't hold up the work of Congress too long.

BETTER BE STRONG

The Kentucky senator, however, is sensitive also to pressure from the people, when the pressure is strong. And it had better be strong now or the hopes of enfranchising the people of Texas, Mississippi, Arkansas, Alabama, Tennessee, Virginia and South Carolina may be blighted for years.

Chances of passing the permanent FEPC bill, of course, are gravely weakened, if the polltax issue is sidetracked.

The Marcantonio bill has a big, parliamentary advantage in the contest for priority on the Senate floor. It passed the House by a 251 to 105 vote—and the O'Mahoney-Hatch amendment has only been passed by a Senate committee. But logic and justice must be backed by the organized pressure of the people to win.

The polltax bloc, with Rep. John E. Rankin (D-Miss) himself in the chair, and Republicans assisting, is fending off labor amendments to the GI Bill of Rights in the World War Veterans Committee hearings meanwhile. 10-14-45

FIGHT FOR VETERANS

A CIO veterans' conference from major unions this week worked on plans to mobilize the movement behind amendments to extend the age limit for GI's getting government education, and raising the financial maintenance provisions at the same time. Also plans for after-war medical care for all veterans and for veterans' housing.

Rankin would have the Veterans Administration loan ex-servicemen $2,000 with the tricky provision that the property be appraised by private interests. What the housing loan shark and the realtor can do to the veteran under these conditions is obvious. Labor insists on government appraisals.

As to unemployment compensation—hopes for reviving the $25 a week benefit provision, or indeed a bill of any kind, depend first on a petition drive to rescue the measure from the Ways and Means Committee, which is sitting upon it. Rep. Michael J. Bradley (D-Pa) is the leader in this movement against the "bull-whipping" gang.

JOBS FOR ALL

The polltax bloc continued to bog down the Murray-Patman full employment bill in the House Committee on Expenditures in Executive Departments this week. Chairman Carter Monasco, Alabama Democrat, moved the hearings at a snail's pace with the help of Rep. William M. Whittington, Mississippi Democrat and Rep. Clare E. Hoffman, pro-fascist Michigan Republican. These three were a majority of the five (out of 21) committee members who took part in a typical session this week.

A parliamentary movement to solve the full employment deadlock is expected from the steering committee of nearly 120 House members, that has mobilized for the bill behind the leadership of Rep. George Outland (D-Cal).

The fight for the jobs-for-all bill is greatly assisted by the CIO delegations that have been coming to Washington several times a week. But they are terribly handicapped at the same time by the existence of 18th Century political conditions in the South, which furnishes the Rankins and Bilbos.

Arkansan Proposes Separate Primaries

Atlanta World 2-2-45 p2.

2-24-45

NEW YORK—(ANP)— Sen Jno. I. Moore of Helena last week introduced a bill in the senate, which is proposed both to secure white supremacy in Arkansas Democratic primary elections and prevent Negroes from voting for state offices. Should the measure become law Negroes will longer participate in primary elections as they did last summer when several hundred colored were permitted to cast their ballots. Arkansas' Gov. Laney favors the act.

2-24-45

According to Sen. Moore, the proposed bill would separate the primaries to nominate candidates for federal and state offices. Arkansas Democrats would vote in one election for U. S. senators, congressmen and Democratic national committeemen and committeewomen and in another for state county and township offices.

According to the Arkansas senator the bill had strong support especially from Eastern Arkansas counties where Negroes outnumber white; he said that 30 of 35 senators signed the bill with two absent.

2-24-45

Another bill, a companion measure, was also introduced; this measure would provide that persons who swear falsely to an election judge with reference to his qualifications would be charged with being guilty of a misdemeaner.

However, a companion bill was to be introduced simultaneously proposing that the people of the state vote on the question of repealing the preferential primary law.

Sponsors of the proposal say it has gained strong support in eastern Arkansas counties where Negroes outnumber whites.

New Poll Bar To Negroes Asked In Arkansas

Atlanta Constitution 2-15-45 Ga.

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., Feb. 14. (AP)—A bill which would divorce Arkansas primary elections from regular elections for state and federal officials so as to restrict Negro voting was to be introduced in the state senate today.

Democratic party leaders who are sponsoring the bill view the measure as a counteractant against a United States supreme court ruling that Negroes could not be barred because of color from elections involving federal offices.

Under the present state double primary system, the measure divorcing elections would require the holding of four primaries,

61e-1945

D.C.

Suffrage in D. C. Blocked By Fear of Negro Voting Power

Black Dispatch

WASHINGTON. — (A N P) — Fear of the Negro's political strength here is said to be one of the factors behind the strong opposition to granting suffrage rights to residents of the District of Columbia. Oklahoma City Okla

Extension of voting to the district will mean that approximately one-fourth of the voters will be Negroes. That, according to political observers, means that colored citizens will likely be the balance of power. 12-22-45

Pres. Truman favors the granting of suffrage rights to the district, along with Pres. Andrew Jackson, who made a plea before congress on Dec. 6, 1821. on granting political representation to residents here. The only President to oppose the franchise was William Howard Taft.

61e-1945

Florida

Two Negroes Register As Democrats In Fla

New York Age
2-17-45

PENSACOLA, Fla — Two Negroes won the right to register and vote as members of the Democratic party in Escambia County, Saturday, when Circuit Judge L. L. Fabisinski issued a writ of mandamus ordering Ben L. Davis, Escambia registration officer, to register them as Democrats.

The writ was opposed by the State Democratic Executive Committee and Attorney General J. Tom Watson.

Florida considering letting Negroes vote as "affiliates"

Los Angeles Tribune

TALLAHASSEE—A plan to admit Negroes as "affiliates" of the Florida Democratic party, with the right to vote in primary elections but not to seek the party nomination, has been proposed here by a special assistant to Attorney General Tom Watson. 4-9-45

The proposal was presented at a meeting of groups studying what, if any, revisions of the State election laws should be recommended to meet a United States Supreme Court decision in a Texas case, applicable throughout the South, that Negroes have the right to vote in Democratic party primaries.

It was taken under consideration along with suggestions to abolish completely all laws relating to primaries, leaving the selection of nominees entirely to voluntary party organizations without legal supervision of the nominating processes. 4-9-45

William Blount Myers of Tallahassee proposed the "affiliation" bill, and was backed up by Attorney General Watson, who restated his belief that Negro voting in Democratic primaries is "inevitable."

Under the Myers plan, the Democratic party executive committee would be given specific authority to prescribe qualifications of its members and candidates. For years the party in Florida has confined its membership to white persons.

The committee could deny party membership to any person not meeting its qualifications, but the right to vote in party primaries could not be denied "on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude." 4-9-45

Negroes could register as "affiliates" of the party in separate books, and unless the county commission decided otherwise they could cast their Democratic votes in separate polling places.

Party affiliates would receive special ballots containing names of candidates for nomination to all offices except purely party positions.

They would be allowed to vote on candidates for delegate to the Democratic National Convention, where Presidential nominations are made, but not for State and local party officials.

Floridan balks at registering Negro

Los Angeles Tribune Col.

TALLAHASSEE, Fla.—The mulish stubborness of this state's Democratic party leaders will resolve itself into decisive action today on the crucial question of Negro voting and registration with the Democratic party. 3-26-45

Meeting today to set the course of future action in regard to the Supreme Court's decision eliminating the white primary, state Democratic leaders will decide on one of three steps:

One, to submit to what Attorney General Tom Watson calls the "inevtitable" and permit Negroes to participate in the primaries, but to segregate them in registering and voting and prevent them from being candidates of the Democratic party;

Two, to submit to the state legislature provision for a popular party membership vote on nominations, and liberalization of methods by which minority groups place the names of their candidates on the general election ballot;

Or three, to abolish the primary system entirely and return to the party convention method of nomination. Both of the last would effect Negro exclusion.

Expected to influence the choice of a course of action will be the outcome in Jacksonville of an order by the circuit court to Fleming Bowden, county supervisor of registration, to register Dallas J. Graham, Negro embalmer, by today, as a member of the Democratic party, or to appear to show why he refuses to do so. 3-26-45

Bowden stated that on Mar. 1 he refused to register Graham as a member of the party of his choice, and gave him until today to do so. Bowden declared he would continue to refuse to register Graham as a Democrat.

Bar Race Voters

4-19-45 Daily World - Atlanta Ga.

TALLAHASSEE, Fla. — (ANP) — An attempt to throttle a resolution in the state legislature's joint committee that would not only circumvent a recent supreme court decision allowing Negroes to vote in Democratic primaries but would revert the selection of state officers back to the old convention system, is gaining statewide objection and draw opposition fire among the solons themselves.

This piece of political pettifogery is the brainchild of State's Atty. Gen. Tom Watson, whom political observers charge as trying to kill two birds with one stone—to completely eliminate the possibility of Negroes participating in state democratic primaries and set up a state political machine that can ultimtaely control the election of state officers. 4-19-45

Fire against the proposed demagoguery started when Otis Mundy, recently president of the Negro Citizen's Service league, directed a resolution to Tom Watson and Gov. Caldwell in stiff opposition to the move. Daily papers carried stories on the resolution and leaders throughout the state envisioned the setting up of a political machine that might throw Florida into a bedlan of public corruption. 4-19-45

A group of political organizations held a meeting in Jacksonville several weeks ago and mapped plans to defeat the proposal.

Expert observation here and in other urban sections of the state is that the reputation of Florida politics is at stake in any such attempt to place the power of selecting state candidates in the hands of a streamrolling convention just to keep Negroes from voting in Democratic primary elections.

Florida Seeks To

61e - See 156
61e-1945

Florida Rep. Urges Negro Vote In Primary

Philadelphia Tribune 4-7-45

Indications that Florida may set a precedent and break the solid front which the South still presents colored voters were seen this week when a member of the State legislature issued a public statement urging that colored citizens be allowed to vote in the nitherto "white" Democratic primary.

Florida Primary Bars Negroes

New York Age 5-26-45

TALLAHASSEE, Fla. — The The Florida Senate Committee on Elections and Privileges has approved a bill which would abolish all laws relating to primary elections in this State.

Sponsors of the measure say that divorcing such election and party affairs from state control would be a means of preventing Negro participation in Florida Democratic Party elections. Such legislation, they say, would enable democrats to conduct their own affairs and prescribe their own membership qualifications without court interference.

The Supreme Court ruled last year that Negroes could vote in Texas Democratic primaries.

~~Primaries~~ Florida
WORCESTER, MASS.
GAZETTE
Cir. D. 90,878

JUL 31 1945

Negro Voting in Florida

Florida will now admit Negro voters to the Democratic primaries. They were already permitted to vote in Republican primaries and in the general election. But the state law left the question of primary voting in the hands of the political parties, and the Democrats barred them out.

In deciding that this cannot be legally done, the State Supreme Court has applied the ruling made in a Texas case by the United States Supreme Court. This holds that a primary is an integral part of an election, in which the Constitution guarantees all citizens the right to vote.

During the recent session of the Florida Legislature bills were introduced to abolish all primary election laws, and to leave the party primaries without state supervision. Though they were not considered on the floor, these bills may be revived.

Yet even if the primaries were abolished, and the parties went back to conventions, it would be difficult to avoid state supervision of the election of delegates to a convention. Southern Democrats have their own methods of keeping Negro voters from participating in elections. But recent court decisions are narrowing the limits within which these methods can be legally applied.

Florida Primaries Open to Negroes

The Worker N.Y.

TALLAHASSEE, Fla.—The Florida Supreme Court has ruled that Negroes have the right to vote in this state's Democratic primary elections. The ruling is based on the United States Supreme Court opinion in the Texas primary case of 1943.

The Florida case grew out of the refusal of a registration supervisor of Escambia County to register Essau Chavis and R. A. Cromwell of Pensacola as Democrats. Taking the case first to the Escambia County Circuit Court, the men received a favorable verdict. This verdict was appealed, however, by state Attorney General Watson, who carried it to the Florida Supreme Court.

8-3-45

Florida law does not specifically prohibit Negroes from voting in party primaries, but it has left to the Democratic Party the right to prescribe qualifications of its members as belonging to a "club."

Negroes throughout the state attempted to register after the Texas primary case became known. As a result, several suits were filed in the State Circuit Court. This court ruled also that Negroes were permitted to vote in Democratic primaries.

8-3-45

A Negro organization has been formed to enlist Democratic voters for next year's elections. Attorney General Watson has agreed to arrange a joint meeting of the group with the state Democratic executive committee early next year.

Watson admits that he has a scheme which, while allowing Negroes to vote in Democratic primaries in accordance with court ruling, would bar them from membership in the Democratic Party or from being candidates for office on the Democratic ticket.

Georgia Press Hails Court Ruling Against 'White Primary'

Special to the Daily Worker — Daily Worker

BIRMINGHAM, Nov. 5.—The decision by Federal Judge T. Hoyt Davis declaring the Georgia "white primary" unconstitutional marked a major triumph in the battle of the Southern people for the right to vote.

New York

The historic decision was handed down Oct. 12 after 22 days of study of evidence introduced during hearings on the suit of the Rev. Primus King, Negro plaintiff, who, on behalf of himself and others, sought the right to vote in all Georgia elections and charged the Muscogee County Democratic Party officials with denying him the ballot on July 4, 1944. The case was heard in Macon, Ga.

11-6-45

C. A. Scott, Negro leader of Atlanta, stated:

". . . Georgia is facing a situation similar to that existing after the end of the Civil War. . . . A great responsibility is thrust upon us. We must grasp it as a great opportunity to display our eligibility to first-class citizenship rights."

PRESS BACKS DECISION

A survey conducted by the **Scott News Syndicate**, of which Mr. Scott is president, shows that leading Georgia newspapers spoke out in support of the decision.

The Atlanta Journal editorialized: ". . . If we are to live under the Constitution of the United States and invoke its safeguards for our liberties, we must endeavor sincerely to conform to its requirements in all respects. . . ."

The **Macon News** stated: ". . . It is the decision of this newspaper that Federal Judge Davis is right in his judgment in the Columbus election that Negroes cannot be debarred from voting in Georgia primaries without violating rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States.

"Let's be honest with ourselves and admit the obvious facts. The Democratic primary in Georgia is a state institution; there is nothing 'private' about it. . . . The right of the citizen—white, black or yellow—to vote is a fundamental right of democracy. The question really is whether the people of Georgia are going to make democracy effective in this state. . . . We must get rid of our foolish fears and make up our minds to practice the preachments of democracy. . . ."

Said the Columbus **Ledger-Enquirer**: ". . . Actually we know of few people who would question the moral right of Negroes to participate in primaries which in practical effect select the officers who govern him. . . . Perhaps the time has come when tradition must bow to the compelling mandate of Constitutional law. . . . For ourselves, we yield gladly and with no fear of the outcome. . . ."

It is regrettable that Georgia's young Governor, Ellis Arnall, who has won national renown as a Southern progressive, has expressed hope that the decision will be appealed. Georgia's new constitution has no reference to primary elections. If the Legislature, under pressure from reactionary forces, moves to repeal the present Neill primary law, there will be no statute left which makes the primary part of the election machinery.

Florida Primary Open To Negroes, State Told

Chicago Ill. Defender
11-10-45

By JOHN LeFLORE
(Defender Staff Correspondent)

TALLAHASSEE, Fla. — Florida's Attorney General J. Tom Watson declared this week that Negroes should be registered as Democrats and permitted to vote in Democratic primaries in this bastion of white supremacy.

His opinion was rendered in reply to an inquiry from Secretary of State R. A. Gray of Tallahassee, with regards to the momentous question of Negro suffrage in the state. The Secretary of State turned over to the Attorney General for an opinion a letter from Boland X. Droit, supervisor of registration of Highlands County, who sought guidance as to whether he should permit Negroes to register and vote as Democrats.

In his reply to Gray the Attorney General said in part:

"You are referred to two recent cases of our Supreme Court: Davis vs. State ex rel. Cromwell, 23 So. 2d. 85, and Davis vs. State ex rel, Chavis, 23 So. 2d. 87. Cromwell and Chavis are Negroes, residents of Escambia County. Upon refusal of Mr. Ben L. Davis, supervisor of registration of Escambia County, to comply with the request of such Negroes that they be registered in the primary election books of such county as Democrats, these Negroes instituted action in mandamus to require said officers to so register them.

Supreme Court Mandate

"This office participated in the defense of said county officials in these suits. Upon final hearing the trial court issued peremptory writ of mandamus which, in effect, directed that said supervisor of registration so register such Negroes. The cases were appealed to our Supreme Court, and we participated in such cases on appeal. 11-10-45

"It was our contention in the trial court and in briefs filed and argument made in such cases in the Supreme Court that the registration officer of Escambia County was not required to register these two Negroes in the primary registration books as Democrats.

"In both the Cromwell and Chavis cases, the Supreme Court affirmed the Circuit Court of Escambia County. Thus, the above contention so made by us with respect to the right of such supervisor of registration to refuse to register these Neroes, as aforesaid, was unsuccessful.

"In view of the foregoing, it appears the above question properly is answered as follows:

"The registration officer of Highlands County should be guided with respect to the application of Negroes to be registered in the primary registration books as Democrats by the decisions of the Supreme Court of Florida in the above noted Cromwell and Chavis cases, which is that they are entitled under the law to register as members of the party of their choice, and having so done, to vote in the primary of that party."

Follows Ga. Victory

Until victory was scored a number of months past in the Escambia Circuit Court at Pensacola in the Davis' and Chavis' cases, and subsequently in the State Supreme court in the same cases, Negro voting in Florida had been confined to the Republican party. The State Democratic Executive committee of Florida had barred Negroes from membership in the Democratic party in the state and from participation in Democratic primaries. 11-10-45

Attorney General Watson's opinion that Negroes are entitled to register and vote as Democrats in Florida politics, follows a sweeping victory against political disfranchisement in Georgia. There several weeks ago, Middle District Federal Judge J. Hoyt Davis ruled that Negroes have a right to vote in the Democratic primaries of that state.

In Alabama subtle efforts to circumvent the U. S. Supreme Court's mandate in the Texas white primary case are being made through a proposed constitutional amendment to give Boards of Reistrars unlimited power in determining a person's qualification to register. The legislation was sponsored in the recent session of the Legislature by Rep. E. C. Boxwell who admitted it was aimed toward curbing the Negro's privilege to vote. It passed both houses by an overwhelming vote. If ratified next year by the state's electorate it will become law.

Liberal forces in the state headed by the CIO and the Birmingham Age-Herald and Birmingham News, daily newspapers, are opposing the scheme to deprive citizens of the right to vote through powers which would be vested in the Boards of Registrars. State Democratic Executive Committee Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey is said to have first offered the proposal to an interim committee of the legislature.

State Attorney General Favors Primary Voting

Memphis World
Memphis, Tenn.
11-2-45

Says Supervisors Must Register Negro Democrats

TALLAHASSE, Fla. — (SNS) — Secretary of State R. A. Gray was advised by Attorney General Tom Watson Wednesday that supervisors must permit Negroes to register as Democrats and vote in the primaries in Florida. This directive came as a result of inquiry by Gray for a supervisor of Highlands county on the point.

Negroes in Florida won the right to vote as Democrats in that state's primary elections July 27, 1945, in a decision by the state supreme court.

The high tribunal's decision was based squarely, and with little discussion, on a ruling by the Supreme Court of the United States by which Texas Democratic primaries were opened to Negroes on the theory that a party is an integral part of an election in which the constitution guarantee all citizens the right to vote.

Justice Rivers Buford wrote the initial opinion in two companion cases in which he affirmed Escambia county circuit court orders directing Registration Supervisor Ben L. Davis to register, Rev. R. A. Cromwell and Effau Chavis as Democrats. 11-2-45

Florida had no law specifically prohibiting Negroes voting in the primary. The law left to the Democratic party the right to prescribe qualifications of its members. However, following the southern pattern Florida conducted primaies in which only white electors participated.

Federal Dist. Judge T. Hoyt Davis of Middle Georgia Division declared unconstitutional the rules and regulations of the Executive Democratic Committee of Georgia which deny to any group the right to vote on account of race and color October 12. Judge Davis' decision folowed the arguments on the primary held at Macon September 13, 14 and 15 in which the Rev. Primus E. King, Columbus Negro minister through his attorneys sought damages of $5.000 and the right to vote in all elections, as a result of his denial of a ballot in the July 4, primary elections, conducted by the officials of Muscogee county.

Attorney General Rules Supervisers Must Permit Negroes to Register, Vote

New Orleans, La.
Louisiana Weekly

(By The Associated Negro Press)

Tallahassee, Fla., Nov. 14.—Secretary of State R. A. Gray was advised by Attorney General Tom Watson last week that supervisors must permit Negroes to register as Democrats and vote in the primaries in Florida. The directive came as a result of inquiry by Gray for a supervisor of Highlands County on the point. 11-17-45

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The Florida tribunal's decision was based squarely and with little discussion on a ruling by the Supreme Court of the United States by which Texas Democratic primaries were opened to Negroes. The theory was that a party is an integral part of an election in which the Constitution guarantees all citizens the right to vote.

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Florida had no law specifically prohibiting Negroes from voting in the primary. The law left to the Democratic Party the right to prescribe qualifications of its members. However, following the southern pattern, Florida conducted primaries in which only white electors participated. 11-17-45

New Constitution, Poll Tax Repeal Highlights State Politics for '45

Atlanta, Constitution

By M. L. ST. JOHN

Highlighted by adoption of the new constitution and repeal of the poll tax, 1945 was one of the most active years in state government.

The year saw the ballot opened to everyone, including Negroes in the traditional Democratic primary. It saw the United States supreme court take jurisdiction of the freight rate suit.

It saw the state amass enough money on hand to pay off its debts for the first time in history, and make moves toward paying teachers on a 12-month basis and improving the physical plants of state institutions. It saw Robert Elliott Burns, famed fugitive, receive a commutation.

Much was accomplished in 1945, but the politics of the year ended just as they began—with statesmen, politicians and laymen still in the dark as to who will be the candidate of the progressive forces for governor in 1946.

Facing the 15-day session of the legislature next month will be the same issue that faced the regular session last January: Will the general assembly lift the constitutional ban on a governor succeeding himself. Facing the January session also will be the same two issues of providing home rule and a merit system for Georgia.

ARNALL ON POLL TAX

The legislature convened last January and immediately jumped into a bitter fight on repeal of the poll tax. Finally Gov. Arnall told the solons he would kill the poll tax by executive order if they failed to do so by legislation. They repealed the poll tax the next day. As the new constitution has banned the poll tax as a voting tax, thousands of citizens heretofore disfranchised will be able to vote next year. Federal Judge Hoyt Davis (who succeeded the late Judge Bascom Deaver) ruled that the Negroes can vote in the Democratic white primaries, and they did so in the Athens city primary, without any trouble.

The house and senate worked double-time to redraft the constitution. The house passed the new constitution unanimously, and the senate indorsed it, 38 to 9.

The people adopted the new constitution Aug. 7. It follows the fundamentals of the document of 1877, but it provides for a constitutional penal board, some merit system, and some home rule. The new charter also creates a constitutional veterans' service department, the office of lieutenant governor; adds a sixth justice to the supreme court, raises the pay of the justices and of superior court judges, raises the Governor's pay and the legislators' pay; puts school financing, outside independent city systems, on a county basis, and raises the maximum school tax levy to 15 mills; permits cities and counties to operate power plants; ends tax favoritism for some corporations, and safeguards the budget law.

CONSTITUTION

RE-ELECTION BATTLE

Georgia goes into the new year with only two candidates stating that they are campaigning for the governorship. DeLacy Allen, of Albany, and Hoke Willis, of Blue Ridge, have announced their candidacies. The battle to permit Arnall to run for re-election looms for January. Former Gov. Rivers, former Gov. Talmadge and Speaker Harris are considered candidates, but there is still talk of a "dark horse." Senate President Gross is the only candidate for lieutenant governor.

All during the legislative session last January and February there were bills in committees to lift the constitutional ban on a governor succeeding himself. In opening the session, Arnall asked the solons to lift the ban on future governors—but not on the incumbent. Near the close of the session, Arnall asked the legislature to take no action on the amendment.

12-30-45

Rep. Ben Fortson and Sen. W. H. Wall led a successful move for legislature to convene itself and draft Arnall for a second term. Session resulted in Arnall and Harris staging one of Georgia's bitterest political fights since days of Tom Watson and Tom Hardwick, with Arnall fighting for the amendment and Harris opposing it. Arnall charged Georgia Power Company and railroads were fighting Georgia's progress; power company said it had no interest in amendment. The amendment passed in the senate and failed in the house. A short time later Arnall and Harris made up at a Cracker party dinner in Augusta, and Augustans interpreted Arnall's lovetalk as an indorsement of Harris for the governorship. However, a few weeks late, Arnall made a similar backslapping talk for Ed Rivers atop Lookout mountain. As the weeks passed by, and state employes started looking for new bandwagons to jump on, Arnall indicated he might be a candidate on a building program, if the legislature lifted the ban in January. It now looks like Arnall will tell the legislature that he will agree to serve another term if it will lift the ban. Despite rumors, Harris still plans to vote and speak against the amendment.

When the amendment failed, the people started looking around for a new candidate. Jimmy Carmichael, Mayor Charlie Bowden, Congressmen Steve Pace and Paul Brown, Judge Dave Atkinson, Wilmer Lanier, Wiley Moore, and Scott Candler were mentioned.

While the discussion of who will be Georgia's next governor was going on, the issue of whether Arnall would continue to be Georgia's present governor was suddenly tossed into the political field. President Truman offered him the post of United States solicitor general. Arnall rejected it because he did not want to throw Georgia into a special gubernatorial election and jeopardize the accomplishments of his administration.

Many changes were made in the state official family during the year. Attorney General Grady Head succeeded the late Justice Warren Grice and Superior Court Judge Tom Candler was appointed to the newly created post on the supreme court. Revenue Commissioner Eugene Cook became attorney general, and was replaced by Executive Secretary M. E. Thompson. Major Ivan Allen Jr. was named executive secretary to the governor. Highway Director Ryburn Clay resigned, and was replaced by Engineer George McDonald. Stonewall Dyer and Frank Forrester switched from the workmen's compensation board to the rural housing administration, and Crawford Pilcher left the attorney general's office for a similar job with State Treasurer George Hamilton's housing setup. Ralph Ramsey, teacher retirement system director, died, and was succeeded by Y. L. Yaden. Mrs. Frank Dennis succeeded her late husband as a member of the highway board. Mrs. Henry Troutman succeeded Mrs. Will Schley Howard on school board. Frank Hammack tried to quit as penal director, but the new constitutional board insisted that he stay.

ALICE ARNALL

There was an addition to the official family. Alice Arnall was born to Gov. and Mrs. Arnall. She is the second child; Alvan being 7 years old.

12-30-45

The major vacancy, which still exists, was caused by the death of Chancellor S. V. Sanford.

Educationally, the legislature handed school teachers four and one-half million dollars, and Gov. Arnall said he would ask the January session to put teachers on a 12-months pay basis. The legislature passed a compulsory school attendance law. The regents approved a long-time ten-million-dollar building program for Tech; heard Dean Lombard Kelly ask removal of the University Medical School from Augusta because of political interference by Cracker Party (a situation that eventually was ironed out), and has spent a long time seeking a successor to the late Dr. Sanford.

A legislative committee, appointed to investigate CIO charges of mismanagement at the Milledgeville State hospital, spent the summer gathering data on the needs of all state eleemosynary, educational and penal institutions. It recommended a $27,000,000 building program, the most expensive items being improvements at Milledgeville, a tuberculosis sanatorium and state prison improvements. The committee found Milledgeville "needs many things, but a labor Young Democrats was rejected by Mrs. Roosevelt when two members protested her ideas on racial issues.

Atlanta, Ga.

The agricultural and industrial board completed broad plans for Georgia's development, moved toward creating actual jobs out of the plans; and cut its budget for the new year in half.

Congressman Ramspeck announced his plans to resign Dec. 31. Among candidates for his post are State Labor Commissioner Ben Huiet and Mrs. Helen Mankin, Fulton legislator.

12-30-45

The public service commission repudiated Chairman Walter McDonald's statement which Gov. Arnall said criticized Georgia's freight rate suit. The ICC announced plans to half-way equalize freight rates, delayed them, and then indefinitely postponed them when a New York federal court granted northern states an injunction. The supreme court appointed a master to hear Georgia's suit.

The Constitution asked for a special session of the legislature and aid of churches and civic clubs to solve the housing crisis; a governor's conference named Lon Sullivan housing expediter.

As the year 1945 becomes history, Dade county is back in the union, and Georgia is operating on uniform time.

61e-1945 Georgia

By Jennings Perry

Georgia's Decision Will Echo in South

P.M. 2-13-45

Jennings Perry, editor of the Nashville Tennessean, *is chairman of the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, a leader in the campaign to abolish the poll tax in his home State and throughout the South. He also is author of a book,* Democracy Begins at Home, *a study of the suffrage issue in the South.*

P.M. 2-13-45

The sudden entrance of Georgia into the political faith and fellowship of the American Republic is an event of resounding importance in the seven Southern States which still tax most of their people out of the voting places. Not only is Georgia of the "Deep South" that is supposed to be irrevocably wrapped in magnolia-wreathed toryism, but never before have its citizens been permitted to exercise free manhood suffrage.

The event will have time-fused consequences in the other poll tax States and should produce a more immediate reaction in the poll tax fight on the National front. This is because what happened in Georgia is the complete answer to those who question the desire of the people to have a free vote as well as to the selfish plea of poll tax Senators that the suffrage issue be "left to the States."

Perry

Great credit goes to Gov. Ellis Arnall for repeal of the Georgia vote tax, and none should be denied him. At the same time, it should be appreciated that repeal in Georgia really was accomplished by force of popular will, which the Governor was able to bring into play at long distance.

2-13-45

People's Will

When, two weeks ago, the issue first thrust to the surface in the Georgia Legislature, it met the traditional hostile reception that was to have been expected from members who never in their lives had faced a free electorate and counted upon never having to face one. The House voted down, 105 to 60 and with loud clamor against "outside agitators" and "Communists," a mild bill extending free suffrage to veterans.

It was then that Gov. Arnall, addressing a joint session, informed the legislators that, though he could not kill the vote tax, he could suspend it until another Legislature should be elected—that he had the power to give the people of Georgia, who never had one, one free election if they never had another.

2-13-45

It meant that the legislators, as they voted for, or against the vote tax, would be judged at the next election with, not the usual fraction, but all of the people free to pass judgment at the polls.

Just how well the members apprehended the real sentiment of the people was beautifully evidenced by their response to the prospect of this free election. At last the whole people would be able to hold them to account.

Promptly reversing all past attitudes, they voted the poll tax out of Georgia—the Senate by 31 to 19, the House by 141 to 51—and proceeded to strike even the roots of the poll tax out of the new State Constitution now being formulated.

Sen. Roy McGinty, publisher of the weekly Calhoun *Times,* pronounced the people's verdict on the poll tax: "I am no Communist, nobody's behind this move but the right-thinking people of Georgia."

2-13-45

Said Gov. Arnall: "The voice of the new South will become more audible as the months and years go by. Georgia spoke today for democracy."

Given one free election the people of Virginia, South Carolina, Tennessee, Arkansas, Mississippi and Texas would kick the poll tax down the drain forever. Unfortunately, the people of these States still have no elective means of getting at their disfranchisement.

P.M.

Tennessee's Plight

Even as Georgia was "speaking for democracy," the people of neighboring Tennessee, whose attempt to free their vote of the tax yoke by legislative act two years ago was frustrated by an indefensible but binding veto in the courtroom, were being shut out of any relief from poll tax by a Legislature in the tight and desperate grip of the State's political dictator Boss Ed Crump of Memphis. And in none of the other poll tax States could the poll tax be brought before the popular will, either by executive act or by legislative submission.

2-13-45

True, the leaven of democracy is working in the thinking of the people of these States, and the demand for the restoration of free suffrage is ever more audible even in the ranks of the pitiful electorate the tax has left to them. In South Carolina, for example, where only one citizen in twenty ever knows what it is to vote in a Presidential election, a constitutional amendment to kill the vote tax has just been proposed in Legislature. The fact that Georgia has got out from under the tax device that vitiates the whole structure of popular government is cheering to the people whose franchise still is a joke, but actually their only real hope of regaining the free vote lies in their "other Legislature," the Congress of the United States."

What Georgia has proved, for all to behold, is this:

2-13-45

That the poll tax is anathema to the people who live under it and will be exterminated wherever and whenever the people can get at it. In Georgia, be it noted well, the question was left not "to the States" but to the people. It is the duty of the Nation to contrive a means for the presently disfranchised majorities of the remaining poll tax States to get at the question by a free elective expression. One free election—which, however, the people of these other States cannot procure for themselves—will (see Georgia above) do the trick.

Whores, Hi-Jackers, Disfranchisement

Black Dispatch Oklahoma 1-6-45

The candor and frankness with which Southern writers and editors discussed suffrage in an Atlanta conference is refreshing. "Honest confession is good for the soul." It was indeed a revealing moment when speaker after speaker took the floor and told in unvarnished detail the methods by which poor whites and blacks have hitherto been denied ballot privileges in the South.

One speaker, who hailed from Louisiana, said that in order to discourage Negroes from voting they placed the registration places in pool halls, bar rooms and houses of prostitution. We are sure Negroes would be reluctant to enter such places offering to qualify for suffrage, but while the speaker talked we wondered why it should not occur that such places of infamy and iniquity are also undesirable places for decent white people to frequent and vote.

We thought of the philosophy of Booker T. Washington, who said, "One cannot hold another man down in the ditch without getting down in the ditch himself." Huey Long politics and the putrid condition of Louisiana public life is easily understood when we discover the election machinery of the state is placed in the hands of hi-jackers and whores in order to disfranchise Negroes.

Elimination of the secret ballot in South Carolina, peddling of "black satchel" poll tax receipts and the turning over of the state of Alabama to the big corporations were all exposed as the pattern of evasion and hypocrisy that has crept into government down in Dixie. Unquestionably, Mark Etheridge was right when he announced at the close of the meeting that the whole affair is humiliating and exposes a complete denial of the democratic process.

The refreshing and helpful thing about the entire meeting was the fact that all of the forty-odd editors and publishers who joined in the conference were united in the opinion that this condition must be abated and that democracy must be extended to the millions of Negroes residing in the Southland. In the day the South decides to clean its own house, the house will be cleaned.

1-6-45

The unfortunate phase of the conference developed in the fact that the Associated Press and the Atlanta journals refused to tell in their news columns about the ugly skeletons dragged from the closets of disfranchisement. Would it not have been helpful to the cause of liberalism and democracy for millions of white people to know that disfranchisement was the hand-maiden of prostitution, and the poll tax has permitted big corporations to snatch opportunity and chance from working class white people? This is the story that was told in the Atlanta Biltmore, but untold in the daily newspapers of Atlanta and the Associated Press.

While no resolutions were passed and no attempt was made to form a permanent organization, the information presented Southern editors and publishers at the Atlanta conference will do untold good in the months to come. The good will be reflected in the editorial columns of many newspaper men who participated.

POLL TAX REPEAL

New York AGP 2-10-45

FROM Atlanta, Ga., comes the surprising word that both branches of the Georgia Legislature have voted overwhelmingly for repeal of the State's $1 a year poll tax as a prerequisite for voting. At the same time also

came announcement from Moss A. Plunkett, attorney of Roanoke, Va. and president of the Southern Electoral Reform League, that his organization has withdrawn its contest of the election of ten Georgia Congressmen last November as a result of the Georgia Legislature's action.

But, while we are elated over the poll tax Negroes from voting, and it's going to take a lot of fighting on the part of Negroes to be able to go to the polls and cast their votes. Repeal of the poll tax in Georgia is but one reason to be-a lot of fighting on the part of Negroes to be able to go to the polls and cast their votes. There will not be ex- should. Those solons have in- step. The next has got to be the elimination of ten Georgia Congressmen last No- are ways which the Georgia solons have invented, or will invent in the future, to keep of other discriminatory qualifications.

2-10-45

GEORGIA LEGISLATURE DESERTS UNPLEASANT COMPANY OF SISTER STATES UPHOLDING POLL TAX LAW

Threat of Arnall to Issue Executive Order Brings Death to Voting Ban

WHITE PRIMARY REMAINS TO DISFRANCHISE BLACKS

By CLIFF MACKAY

ATLANTA.—(ANP)—Georgia, Wednesday deserted the unpleasant company of seven sister poll tax states when the state house of representatives voted 141 to 51 to abolish payment of a $1 poll tax as a prerequisite to voting.

The state senate only the week before had placed its approval on the measure sending it to the house for action. The bill now awaits only the signature of the state's liberal governor, Ellis Arnall, before the evil of poll taxes is banned in Georgia.

The governor the week before in a joint session of the general assembly had warned the legislators unless they repealed the poll tax, he would suspend payment of the tax through executive order, a move interpreted by many political observers as an answer to former Governor Eugene Talmadge's sudden conversion to the religion of poll tax repeal.

Talmadge had asserted that the poll tax "needs repealing so that every white man and woman in Georgia could vote," adding, "I'm still agin Nigras voting."

Repeal victory came only after a majority of the legislators had been assured that passage of the bill would in no way affect the white primary. Leading off the debate, Adie Durden of Dougherty county, arguing on this line, said "Repeal will mean simply that we will be able to put 25 per cent more white voters on the registra-

Bars Negroes In Atlanta Primary

ATLANTA. (ANP)—A wave of indignation swept over Atlanta's Negro residents Saturday with the announced plan to bar their participation in the non-partisan city primary election scheduled for September 5. The primary in Atlanta as in most of the south is tantamount to election.

Moving to challenge the newly formed city executive committee's rule restricting the primary to white voters, a special committee has been named by C. A. Scott, president of the Citizens Democratic club of Fulton county, to "explore possibilities and devise ways by which qualified Negroes may find relief from the ruling."

Chief resentment of Negro registered voters centered around the obvious efforts of the new city executive committee, an offspring of the old city Democratic Executive committee, to circumvent the clear-cut decision of the United States Supreme court outlawing the so-called white primary.

GEORGIA EDITORS SAY:

ABROGATE THE POLL TAX

(Bainbridge Post-Searchlight)

For many years the poll tax has been a "bone of contention" between the national congress and several southern states. In fact the pressure in congress has been so intense and so consistent that all but seven states of the union have abolished the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting—Georgia is one of the seven states where the payment of the poll tax is still required.

The proponents of the bill to abrogate the poll tax came very near to success in the last congress, and if it had not been for the facilities of a filibuster, the measure would have passed. That there is opposition to abolishing the poll tax in Georgia, none will deny, but why is this opposition? The rank and file of our people have never understood why a poll tax was enacted into law in the first place, and misrepresentation, political expediency and personal prejudice have taken the place of good sound reasoning. The advocates of the poll tax give the impression that on account of the poll tax the Negro is prevented from voting—that is not true—the poll tax has never prevented a Negro from voting in Georgia or in any other state requiring the payment of such a tax—but the poll tax has prevented thousands of our white people in Georgia from exercising the franchise. North Carolina and Florida do not require a poll tax, and the good people of those states are enjoying everything we Georgians are privileged to have, plus a much better reputation.

The revenue derived from the poll tax and allocated to the school fund under the law is negligible and its collection is a nuisance. In addition, the national congress will abrogate the payment of a poll tax one of these days, and since this is our own problem, we should take immediate action and correct the evil ourselves, rather than have federal legislation rammed down our throats. The Carpetbagger days are over in Georgia, and the fellow who clouds a progressive issue by bringing out the race question and yelling, "Negro, Negro" is living in the past and is courting political oblivion. The race question is also one of Georgia's problems and we hope will be settled by the people of Georgia in the near future. Until it is settled we are willing to rely on the judgment of our intelligent people for the solution.

61e-1945

Georgia

Rights and Duties In A Democracy

Journal & Guide
Norfolk Va. 11-24-45

By LUTHER P. JACKSON

Drive For Registered Voters In Atlanta

LIKE the old adage which says "you may lead a horse to water but you can't make him drink," so in like manner I say "you may abolish the laws which disfranchise a race but you can't make it vote." The suffrage laws create one obstacle; the absence of the will to vote creates another. In some southern states the white primary has been abolished; in others the poll tax has been abolished, but regardless of which of the suffrage laws is smashed, the effect is about the same. The mass of Negroes (and many whites) will simply not register of their own free will in order to cast ballots on election day. These indifferent citizens will register, but it takes a "drive" to do it. Many leaders must get in behind them and drive or take them to the registrars' offices, there to fulfill this one requirement common to all of the states. The drive for registered voters which holds the spotlight in the South today is the one now operating in Atlanta, Georgia.

DR. JACKSON

In Atlanta there are sixty thousand Negroes of voting age. Of this number five thousand have already registered at some time in recent years, which leaves fifty-five thousand who are unredeemed. By the first of January the leaders in this metropolis hope to save five thousand of these lost souls, and by the end of the drive they are seeking ten thousand more. Will they succeed? I think so, because of the number of organizations which are behind it and because of the caliber of their leaders.

* * * *

Enrolled in this effort to get the Negroes of Atlanta registered are the NAACP, under the veteran C. L. Harper; the Atlanta Civic-Political League, under John W. Dobbs; the Citizens Democratic Club, under C. A. Scott, editor of the Atlanta Daily World; the West Side Civic League, under J. C. Long, retired Atlanta University employee; the Atlanta Urban League, under Mrs. Grace Townes Hamilton, worker in many welfare movements; and Atlanta University, with a corps of community-minded professors, the chief of whom in this particular effort is my friend Clarence Bacote, professor of history.

Working irrespective of organizations are two prominent citizens, Maynard Jackson and William H. Borders, and two ministers, the Rev. B. J. Johnson and the Rev. M. L. King. A number of ministers have been won over to the voting cause in Atlanta, but the one who has put his soul in it, and the one about whom I wrote last spring is the Rev. B. J. Johnson. If there were a B. J. Johnson in every community of the South, Negroes everywhere would become vote-conscious in a little while. Preachers can aid immensely in this righteous cause. 11-24-45

The line of attack in the Atlanta drive is summed up in their small handbill, 35,000 copies of which have been circulated in the homes and in the churches. REGISTER NOW, this handbill commands, "in order to get more and better schools, streets and lights, and police protection. Registration does not cost a penny. It is the duty of every citizen to register and vote."

The handbill also directs how to register, where to register, and when to register. The place to register is on the main floor of the court house, and there, says the handbill, "you will receive courteous treatment from the registrar." The time to register, the applicants are told, is Monday through Friday from 9 to 5 and on Saturdays from 9 to 12. To stage this drive the entire Negro section has been divided into districts, precincts, and blocks, and all over is a general director.

* * * *

Strange to say, there are many Negroes in Atlanta, as in every other city, who do not "have time to register." Therefore, with them it is not the white man's opposition which keeps them from performing this civic duty; it is their own lethargy. In Atlanta and throughout Georgia there is no present or past poll tax to pay, and no property qualification. Registration is actually easier in Georgia than in Virginia. Here we have to make application in our own hand writing; there the applicant has only to answer questions as to his name, address, age, and so forth.

Negroes are still barred in Georgia, however, by the primary. But these crafty leaders in Atlanta hope to make their race so strong that they will bypass the primary by voting in large numbers in the general elections and, above all, in the special elections—those elections involving bond issues for schools and other financial undertakings.

The drive for registered voters in Atlanta needs to be observed very closely by leaders in political affairs everywhere, and it needs to be repeated by all cities in the deep South. The Atlanta effort is especially significant in that it has the strong backing of a noted university. In most institutions of higher learning, in the old days, the professors held themselves aloof from the masses.

But it is not so today. The generalissimo in this drive is Clarence Bacote. For his services and those of the other "high degreed" men of this faculty in all sorts of drives in Atlanta, the race today must be thankful. With a combination of the professors and preachers our advancement is certain.

Form State-Wide Political League At Macon, Ga.

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.
11-30-45

Citizens From 45 Counties Present; Dobbs, President

BY RUTH L. CORNELIUS

MACON, Ga. — (S N S) — The called non-partisan meeting by the Atlanta Civic-Political League for colored citizens of Georgia in Macon had between 500 and 600 representatives from more than forty-five counties at Stewart Chapel Thursday afternoon and ended by organizing the Georgia Civic-Political League, having the following officers: John Wesley Dobbs, Atlanta, President; Frank Hutchins, Macon, first vice-president; Rev. W. L. Griffin, Ocilla, second vice- president; Rev. W. H. Shields, Amercus, secretary; Mrs. V. A. Edwards, Fort Valley, assistant secretary; Dr. Thomas H. Brewer, Columbus, treasurer.

Mr. Dobbs, president of the Atlanta Civic-Political League, in giving the Negro's historical background in the south cited instances where the Negro participated in political affairs along with the white man of the region by being members of the militia, by representing districts in state and national legislatures, by holding high offices of state, city and the nation, all of which grew out of the Negro's power of the ballot.

In contrast to the above situation Mr. Dobbs showed the political status of the Negro after disfranchisement until the present day, all of which led the thinking of those present to the necessity of the ballot for full participation in the political growth of the nation. "The time is ripe to get the ballot back. No poll tax need to be paid, no property tax need to be paid, the only thing necessary to register is your ability to write your name and be of sane mind and legal age," declared Mr. Dobbs and he ended his plea for full cooperation in the effort to get the ballot for all Negro citizens in Georgia.

In stating the purposes of the called meeting Mr. Dobbs, stated that its purpose was to help the Negro in the struggle for his rights and at the same time to advise him to work in peace and harmony with the white majority group of our state. He further said, "We wish to explain your duty on election day and how to do it in an honorable way."

Mr. Dobbs made a plea for unity throughout the state as Negroes worked for political freedom and further emphasized the non-partisan aspect of the league.

Among Atlantans there were Rev. L. A. Pinkston, Rev. M. L. King, Rev. and Mrs. Maynard Jackson, Joseph Crawford, W. S. Hollomon, W. G. Shaw, and Melvin Gaston. Rev. King headed the committee on organization.

PERTINENT STATEMENTS

"The time has come for the bridging of all gaps for the solidarity of racial freedom. Ambitious leadership has kept the race back long enough".—Rev. L. A. Pinkston, president of Georgia Baptists.

"There is no need of Negroes in Georgia being at cross purposes, we need each other. We must lose sight of personalities and strike at the ugly head of discriminaton wherever it is found."—Dr. Ralph Mark Gilbert.

"Color is no barrier to greatness —culture knows no race. We do not ask mercy because we are black, but we ask justice because we are men. If a man is competent enough to help in the search for Hirohito and run him off his throne, then he knows enough to vote."—Rev. Allen R. Cooper, pastor of Stewart Chapel, Macon.

J. O. Jefferson, president of the Hub in Savannah related the efforts and successes of the various groups in Savannah to become registered. There are 10,000 Negroes registered there.

The Georgia Civic-Political League adjourned to meet in Macon April 17, 1946 at Stewart Chapel.

Vote In Primary Without Incident

Memphis, Tenn. 11-30-45
Memphis World

ATHENS, Ga.—(SNS) Negroes voted without incident last Friday in the Athens Democratic Primary. It was estimated that upwards of 75 per cent of the reported nearly 500 registered Negro voters cast votes in the primary balloting which is tantamount to election. Mayor Robert L. McWhorter was chosen for the third time.

This was the first time in more than 40 years that Negroes had voted freely in a Democratic Primary of Georgia.

COMMITTEE RULING

Decision to permit Negroes to vote in the Athens city primary came last Monday when the Clarke County Democratic Executive Committee voted 9 to 1 to comply with federal election laws as decided in a ruling by Judge T. Hoyt Davis of U. S. District. Judge Davis had ruled that the Muscogee Democratic Committee had erred in barring the Rev. Primus King from voting in the July, 1944, Columbus primary on the basis of his color and race and a fine was assessed with interest against the defendants. Judge Davis in the ruling said the State of Georgia could not bar Negroes from voting in the vital elections on the basis of rulings in the Texas and Louisiana cases by the U. S. Supreme Court and Constitutional Law.

11-30-45

The Athens Committee's ruling followed a heated session in which officials let it be known they would not "hold the bag," in defying Judge Davis' ruling. It was pointed out that Judge Davis had the power to hold the Committee members in contempt of court and to fine and imprison them, or impose both punishments, if the Committee should fail to comply with the law.

POLICE ON DUTY

Police were on duty at the various polling places. The Mayor, Robert L. McWhorther, himself running for re-election, had promised to permit no incidents at the polls. He said on the eve of the election that there had been "some slight remarks" on the Negroes' participation.

Other candidates in the mayoralty nomination race, tantamount to election, included B. Ed Massey and H. L. Seagraves.

The Athens' Committee action is significant in that it is the first compliance with Judge Davis' ruling on Georgia primary elections

Complete text of the account of the action by the Clarke County committee, as carried in the Monday, November 19, Athens Banner-Herald, follows:

COMMITTEE VOTES TO COMPLY WITH U. S. ELECTION LAW

ACTION IS TAKEN TO AVOID CONFUSION ON ELECTION DAY

At a called meeting of the Clarke County Democratic Executive Committee this morning a resolution was adopted instructing and authorizing Managers and Clerks of the November 23 City Primary to make provisions stance of Vice-Chairman A. G for complying with federal election laws as decided in a decision by Judge Hoyt Davis of U. S. District Court.

It was pointed out at the meeting that defiance of federal law by the Committee would subject its members to fine or imprisonment or both, and cause confusion on election day.

The Committee asked City Clerk A. G. Smith to furnish a complete list of qualified voters for the Election, which is expected to exceed 5,500.

The meeting was called by Chairman T. S. Mell at the in- Dudley and Committeeman Reese Carnes of the 1st Ward. Mr. Dudley yesterday asked the Secretary of the Committee, Bryan Lumpkin to meet him and Mr. Carnes down town at which time Mr. Dudley told Mr. Lumpkin that he and Mr. Carnes were of the opinion that the law requires that Negroes be allowed to vote in Democratic Primaries. Mr Dudley said that some provisions should be made by the Committee to comply with the law. He said the provision might be made by a sub-committee.

INFORMS CHAIRMAN

Secretary Lumpkin then informed Chairman Mell that Mr. Dudley and Mr. Carnes believed provisions should be made to permit qualified Negro voters to cast ballot in the Primary. Chairman Mell, stating that he would not take any steps without the authority of a majority of the Committee, instructed Mr. Lumpkin to call a meeting of the whole Committee for ten o'clock Monday morning. Mr. Lumpkin then informed Mr. Dudley of the time for the called meeting and the latter said he would be present. Subsequently Mr. Lumpkin discussed the meeting with Committeemen Ed Wier and Carnes telling Mr. Wier of the talk between Mr. Carnes, Mr. Dudley and Mr. Lumpkin earlier in the day. Mr. Carnes confirmed what Mr. Dudley had said in the earlier dicussion. Mr. Wier said he would be out of town Monday morning but gave his proxy to Mr. Carnes. Mr. Wier then called T. W. Morton and told him of the purpose of the meeting and asked that he send a proxy or be present in person. Mr. Morton he would comply.

CARNES CONFIRMS STORY

As the meeting opened this morning Secretary Lumpkin related his conversation with committeemen Dudley and Carnes on yesterday and how Chairman Mell at the suggestion of Mr. Dudley, had set in motion the steps leading to the call meeting. Mr. Carnes, who was present at the conversations yesterday confirmed what Secretary Lumpkin related. Mr. Lumpkin said that there are two courses "this Committee can flow: It can make provision for complying with the law, in an orderly manner or it can defy the law and invite confusion."

11-30-45

Committeemen T. W. Morton and Robert Hamilton both declared that it was the duty of the Committee to make it possible for the Primary to be held with the least possible confusion in compliance with the law. Mr. Dudley, who said yesterday Judge Davis' decision made it necessary for the Committee to allow all registered voters to cast ballots in the Primary today said he was not so sure that the U. S. District Court's ruling was mandatory.

Mr. Dudley advocated that the Committee take no action at all but a majority of the Committee contended that what the Committee does or does not do cannot alter the federal law, and that if the Committee declined to make provision, it might cause confusion

It was asserted that the Committee would be shirking its responsibility if it closed its eyes to the facts and refused to act in away as to conduct the Primary in an orderly manner. "It makes no difference how we personally think about this matter," Committeeman Morton declared. "We must be realistic and discharge or responsibility. And I believe it is our responsibility to make it possible for this Primary to be held withou for this primary to be held without confusion and friction.'

It was then pointed out that Judge Davis has the power to hold the Committee members in contempt of court and to fine and imprison them, or impose both punishments, if the Committee should fail to comply with the law.

"WON'T HOLD THE BAG"

Secretary Lumpkin pointed out that the meeting today was not to decide who is qualified to vote, but to decide whether it would make provision to comply with the federal law, as suggested by Vice-Chairman Dudley, yesterday. "I want the Committee to know," Mr Lumpkin said, "that on the day of the Primary I am not going to act for the Committee without specific authority. I am not going to hold the bag in this matter. The Committee itself must decide what it is going to do."

Some of the members cited the fact that Negroes already vote in General Elections and there has been no friction and that several voted in the recent school bond election and have always voted in such elections here.

VOTE 9 TO 1 11-20-45

Committeeman Robert Hamilton moved that the "Clarke County Democratic Executive Committee make provision for complying with the Federal election laws permitting all registered voters to vote in Democratic Primaries." Those voting in favor of the Hamilton resolution follow: Chairman T. S. Mell Reese Carnes, Allen D. Wier, Robert Hamilton, T. W. Morton, W. I Hopkins, Bryan C. Lumpkin, Ed D. Wier and I. P. Crawford. The vote of the two latter were cast by proxy. Mr. Dudley voted no and then asked to be excused since he had scheduled to trip out of town.

61e-1945

Georgia

Map Plans To Challenge New City Primary Rules

Memphis World — Tenn.

4-10-45

Meeting Of Leaders Called For Monday Night At Butler Y

ATLANTA, Ga.—(SNS)—
A wave of indignation swept over Atlanta's Negro residents Saturday with the annonced plan to bar their participation in the city primary election scheduled for September 5. The primary is tantamount to election.

4-10-45

Moving to challenge the newly-formed city executive committee's rule restricting the primary to white voters, a meeting of the executive committe's of the Citizen's Democratic Club of Fulton County has been called for Monday night, it was announced by C. A. Scott, president. The meeting will be held at the Butler Street YMCA at eight o'clock.

Stressing the fact that the meeting will embrace leades of all political faiths, Mr. Scott disclosed that an invitation has been extended C. L. Harper, president, Atlanta branch, NAACP; Mrs. Julia Pate Borders, president, Atlanta chapter, National Council of Negro Women; John Wesley Dobbs, president, Atlanta Civic and Political League; J. C. Long, president, Young Men's Republican Club of Fulton County; Warren Cochran executive secretary, Butler Street YMCA, J. H. Calhoun, president of the Atlanta Pan-Hellenic Council, in addition to members of the Democratic club's executive committee.

4-10-45

Chief resentment of Negro registred voters centered around the obvious efforts of the news committee to circumvent the clear-cut decision of the United States Supreme Court outlawing the so-called white primary.

4-10-45

The new primary rules drawn up by a special sub-committee of the so-called city executive committee, omits any reference to party designation. The sub-committee s headed by T. Elton Drake, who is attorney for the City Democratic Executive Committee.

Post to be filled in the primary include those of mayor, city attorney, 2 recorders, 18 aldermen and councilmen, and 6 board of education members.

4-10-45

A belief prevailed Saturday that the announced intention of the city executive committee bar participation of one third of the city's population in an election to name officials who will rule over all of Atlanta's residents. was a clear violation of the United States Constitution, and would be so ruled if carried to court.

ARNALL TO SEE BIDDLE ON NEGRO FRANCHISE

N.Y. N.Y.
N.Y. Times 3-14-45

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, March 13—Governor Arnall of Georgia is expected to arrive tomorrow to confer with Attorney General Biddle in connection with Negro voting in the Georgia primaries. The purpose of the Governor's visit has not been revealed, but it is expected to relate to the time when prosecutions arising from barring Negroes at the polls should be instituted.

Department of Justice officials said that cases involving Negro rights to vote had progressed to the extent where they could be started in three Southern States, which they did not name, and serious consideration was being given to the value.

Complaints concerning denial of the right to register, or to vote in the primaries in five Southern States have come to the department in recent months. Negroes, it is alleged, have been barred from exercising these privileges in Georgia, Florida, Alabama, North Carolina and Louisiana.

3-14-45

In some instances Southern officials or political organizations have reaffirmed their "lily white" regulations for primary voting, refusing to concede that the decision of the Supreme Court in April, 1944, regarding Texas practice, was compelling upon other States.

Arnall Replies to Colored Leaders

AFRO-AMERICAN
Balt., Md.
3-3-45

ATLANTA. (ANP) — Protests by a group of colored leaders against the legislature's removal of all legal reference to primary elections in the new constitution will be placed before legislative leaders, Gov. Ellis Arnall disclosed in letters to the group last week.

3-3-45

The governor was replying to a telegram sent him February 14 by C. L. Harper, local NAACP president; A. T. Walden, president of Georgia Association of Democratic Clubs; J. W. Dobbs, Atlanta Civic and Political League, and C. A. Scott of the Atlanta Daily World.

3-3-45

The telegram urged the governor to exercise his influence in the retention of laws protecting the primary. The action of the legislature in removing them was interpreted as an effort to evade the decision of the Supreme Court in the Texas primary case.

Ga. Suit Asks Curb On 'White Primary'

Chicago Defender

Chicago, Ill.

By CLIFF MACKAY

ATLANTA, Ga.—(ANP)—Georgia's Negro Democrats, almost a year after they had been denied ballots in the last July 4 statewide primary, moved Wednesday in one bold stroke to smash the so-called "white primary" with the filing of a suit before Federal Judge Marvin E. Underwood.

6-23-45

Delay in bringing the civil action, according to officials of the Georgia Association of Citizens Democratic clubs and the NAACP, sponsors of the suit, was caused by the belief that Atty. Gen. Francis E. Biddle would act on numerous affidavits sent to Washington by Negro Democrats after their rebuff in last summer's primary. Thus far, the attorney general's office has failed to institute criminal action.

The petition, naming T. E. Suttles, tax collector and registrar of Fulton county (Atlanta) as defendant, would permanently enjoin him from "making any distinction as to race, creed or color in the sending of precinct lists of voters for use in Democratic primary elections in Fulton county."

Filed by Atty. A. T. Walden, president of the Georgia Association of Citizens Democratic clubs, the action, if sustained by Judge Underwood, would have the effect of forcing Suttles to send the lists of all registered voters to precinct places for both primary and general elections.

6-23-45

Only Whites Listed

This was not done last July 4, the petition filed in the name of Wallace Van Jackson, secretary of the Citizens Democratic club of Fulton county, points out. Suttles, complying with the regulations set up by the State Democratic Executive committee, forwarded only the lists of white voters to the various polling places.

Walden and Thurgood Marshall, special counsel for the NAACP, acting as attorneys for Jackson, contend that Suttles' action and that of the Fulton county Democratic committee and the Georgia Democratic Executive committee were clear violations of the 14th, 15th and 17th amendments to the United States constitution.

The suit, though specifically naming Jackson, also would enjoin similar action of registrars all over Georgia from violating the rights of all "Negro citizens of the United States and residents and citizens of the state of Georgia similarly situated, who are duly qualified electors under the constitution and laws of the United States and the state of Georgia."

Though directed against Suttles, the action, the petition states, would also serve as a "declaratory judgment for the purpose of determining a question in actual controversy . . . whether the practice of the defendant in enforcing and maintaining the policy, custom and usage by which the plaintiff (Jackson) and other Negro citizens similarly situated who are qualified electors are denied the right to cast ballots at the democratic primary elections in Georgia, solely on account of their race, or color, violates, the 14th, 15th and 17th amendments of the constitution of the United States."

Texas Primary Recalled

Following closely the pattern of the suit which resulted in the United States Supreme court's historic and precedent-breaking decision in the Texas white primary, the Jackson petition contends that nomination in the Democratic primary in Georgia for the past 30 years has been tantamount to election and that denial of participation of Negro citizens in the primary is in actuality denial of the right to vote.

6-23-45

The same qualifications, the petition points out, are required for a voter to participate in the primary elections as are required in the general election. Negro voters are permitted to vote in Georgia's general elections.

Asserting that Plaintiff Jackson and "others similarly situated are suffering irreparable injury and are threatened irreparable injury in the future by reason of the acts herein complained of they have no redress other than this action" the petition asks Judge Underwood to give the case "speedy action" and issue a permanent injunction restraining and enjoining the "defendant from making any distinction as to race, creed or color in the sending of precinct lists of voters for use in Democratic primary elections in Fulton county."

In addition Judge Underwood is asked to "enter a judgment or decree declaring that the policy, custom or usage of the defendant in denying plaintiff and other qualified Negro electors the right to vote in the Democratic primary elections in Georgia solely on account of their race or color is unconstitutional."

Besides Walden and Marshall, the petition is signed by William H. Hastie of Washington, and Edward R. Dudley of New York City.

The Georgia Association of Citizens Democratic clubs, organized last year in a state meeting in Macon, boasts a combined membership of more than 16,000 Georgians, who have pledged themselves as duly qualified Democrats.

Opportunity

Atlanta Constitution

Editor Constitution: Leaders of the Democratic party in Georgia have an opportunity now to show whether they believe in democracy for all peoples, or whether they wish to keep the state under the domination of a system which is injurious to the rights of all citizens. The fact that the right to vote is being denied to nearly one-third of the population of the state creates conditions that prevent leaders from reaching places of national prominence to which they are justly entitled and keeps the state from receiving its fair share of federal benefits.

Ga.

The principal reason given for keeping Negroes from voting in primaries is that they are ignorant and would become dupes for unscrupulous politicians. Permitting Negroes to vote in primaries, however, is not as serious a threat to the democratic processes as eliminating all laws in regard to primaries from the state constitution. Furthermore, the reason given does not take into consideration the progress which Negroes have made since slavery. There will never be a return of the "carpetbagger" days. Negro leadership will help to see to that. Then, too, with the primary as tantamount to election, the choices of voters are limited in a way that is undemocratic.

8-21-45

How can we honestly attempt to enforce the operation of democratic principles in Germany and Japan if we do not permit these processes to operate at home? We have a fine governor, and he could be the next president of the United States if Georgia could convince the rest of the country that the majority of her citizens believe in democracy for all peoples.

The Democratic leadership of Georgia has an opportunity to free the state from political slavery.

J. H. CALHOUN JR.

Atlanta. Ga.

Registrar Is Named Defendant

Suit Follows Pattern Of Similar Case In Texas

By CLIFF MACKEY
For Associated Negro Press

ATLANTA, Ga.—Georgia's Negro Democrats, almost a year after they had been denied ballots in the last July 4 statewide primary, moved Wednesday in one bold stroke to smash the so-called "white primary" with the filing of a suit before Federal Judge Marvin E. Underwood.

Delay in bringing the civil action, according to officials of the Georgia Association of Citizens Democratic Clubs and the NAACP, sponsors of the suit, was caused by the belief that Atty. Gen. Francis E. Biddle would act on numerous affidavits sent to Washington by Negro Democrats after their rebuff in last summer's primary. Thus far, the attorney general's office has failed to institute criminal action.

OBJECT OF PETITION

The petition, naming T. E. Suttles, tax collector and registrar of Fulton county (Atlanta) as defendant, would permanently enjoin him from "making any distinction as to race, creed or color in the sending of precinct lists of voters for use in Democratic primary elections in Fulton county."

Filed by Atty. A. T. Walden, president of the Georgia Association of Citizens Democratic Clubs, the action, if sustained by Judge Underwood, would have the effect of forcing Suttles to send the lists of all registered voters to precinct places for both primary and general elections.

This was not done last July 4, the petition filed in the name of Wallace Van Jackson, secretary of the Citizens Democratic Club of Fulton county, points out. Suttles, complying with the regulations set up by the State Democratic Executive Committee, forwarded only the lists of white voters to the various polling places.

Walden and Thurgood Marshall, special counsel for the NAACP, acting as attorneys for Jackson, contend that Suttles' action and that of the Fulton County Democratic Committee and the Georgia Democratic Executive Committee were clear violations of the 14th, 15th and 17th amendments to the United States Constitution.

ALL REGISTRARS AFFECTED

The suit, though specifically naming Jackson, also would enjoin similar action of registrars all over Georgia from violating the rights of all "Negro citizens of the United States and residents and citizens of the state of Georgia similarly situated, who are duly qualified electors under the Constitution and laws of the United States and the state of Georgia."

Though directed against Suttles, the action, the petition states, would also serve as a "declaratory judgment for the purpose of determining a question in actual controversy . . . whether the practice of the defendant in enforcing and maintaining the policy, custom and usage by which the plaintiff (Jackson) and other Negro citizens similarly situated who are qualified electors are denied the right to cast ballots at the Democratic primary elections in Georgia, solely on account of their race, or color, violates the 14th, 15th and 17th amendments of the Constitution of the United States."

FOLLOWS PATTERN

Following closely the pattern of the suit which resulted in the United States Supreme Court's historic and precedent-breaking decision in the Texas white primary, the Jackson petition contends that nomination in the Democratic primary in Georgia for the past 30 years has been tantamount to election, and that denial of participation of Negro citizens in the primary is in actuality denial of the right to vote.

The same qualifications, the petition points out, are required for a voter to participate in the primary elections as are required in the general election. Negro voters are permitted to vote in Georgia's general elections.

Asserting that Plaintiff Jackson and "others similarly situated are suffering irreparable injury and are threatened irreparable injury in the future by reason of the acts herein complained of they have no redress other than this action," the petition asks Judge Underwood to give the case "speedy action" and issue a permanent injunction restraining and enjoining the "defendant from making any distinction as to race, creed or color in the sending of precinct lists of voters for use in Democratic primary elections in Fulton county."

In addition, Judge Underwood is asked to "enter a judgment or decree declaring that the policy, custom or usage of the defendant in denying plaintiff and other qualified Negro electors the right to vote in the Democratic primary elections in Georgia solely on account of their race or color is unconstitutional.

Besides Walden and Marshall, the petition is signed by William H. Hastie of Washington, and Edward R. Dudley of New York City.

The Georgia Association of Citizens Democratic Clubs, organized last year in a state meeting in Macon, boasts a combined membership of more than 16,000 Georgians, who have pledged themselves as duly qualified Democrats.

State Decides It Will Not Enter Georgia Primary Case

ATLANTA (ANP)—Georgia's Atty. Gen. T. Grady Head announced Wednesday that the state law department will not intervene in the litigation over the right of Negroes to vote in the white primary in Fulton County.

Mr. Head had been requested by Gov. Arnall to render such assistance as might be proper in the action which was brought against T. E. Suttles as tax collector and registrar of Fulton county in behalf of Wallace Van Jackson, who was barred from participation in the democratic primary of last July 4.

Wrote to Governor

The attorney general wrote the governor: "I have procured a copy of this petition and after study I am convinced that while the action purports to be against Suttles as tax collector and registrar of Fulton county, the parties really at interest are the officials and members of the Fulton county Democratic executive committee. It does not appear at this time that the state has any interest in such litigation or any cause to intervene."

Mr. Head's position was in line with the contention made by Democratic officials that the primary is a private affair, just like a church or club, and they have the right to bar anybody they please.

Many Savannah Negroes Register

SAVANNAH, Ga., Oct. 9.—(AP) The Savannah Morning News said today that a majority of the persons now registering to vote in the election here are Negroes.

A check of the tax collector's office showed a steady stream of Negro registrants to the Chatham county courthouse during the past two weeks. Names of 65 Negroes were added to voting lists yesterday while the number of white registrants during the past two weeks has been negligible.

A Negro church has been interesting its members in becoming registered voters. A recent bulletin issued by the Second Baptist church carried the following:

"There is a grand rush for the registration office preparatory to voting. This is the duty of every intelligent citizen. Let this be done with the right spirit. 'Not by Might Nor by Power But by Spirit With the Lord' was the subject of the pastor's message a few Sundays ago and should characterize every prospective voter. Such will solve our racial problems in the right spirit."

Another group evidently arousing the interest of its members in voting is the Longshoremen's Union. A large number of registrants list this as their occupation.

New Times

Worker New York

Gov. Ellis Arnall,
State Capitol, Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Gov. Arnall: 2-10-45

IT IS with great personal pride that I congratulate you, the State Legislature and the State of Georgia upon the abolition of the undemocratic and feudalistic poll tax.

You hit the nail squarely on the head when in describing this achievement as a "testimonial to democracy," you said: "The voice of the new South will become more audible as the months and years go by. Georgia spoke today for democracy."

I have watched the last two years of developments in the State of Georgia with admiration and hope. In this short time during your administration, Georgia has risen from the bottom-most position among Southern states to the leadership of the South. The educational system has been cleansed of the unprincipled politics which the previous Gubernatorial administration imposed upon it. Georgia was the first state to extend suffrage to 18-year-old youths, who, if they are old enough to die for their country, are certainly old enough to vote.

Your own public support of President Roose-

by Benjamin J. Davis, Jr.

Negro Leader

velt's appointment of Henry Wallace as Secretary of Commerce puts to shame those Northern politicians, particularly of the Republican Party, who pose as liberal and who claim they are for 60,000,000 jobs, but who are now trying to cut the political throat of the man who would bring those jobs into reality.

* * *

INDEED, we in New York have not been able to get the Governor of this state to take his eyes off the White House long enough to concern himself very much with the burning issues of the day. Georgia is ahead of New York on the 18-year-old vote. So far as Mr. Wallace is concerned, I wish we could get our Governor and the company he keeps to rave against Hitler as bitterly as they rave against Mr. Wallace and the democratic, patriotic principles for which he stands. We in New York are ashamed of this state of affairs and hope to correct it in 1946.

The action of the Georgia State Legislature in abolishing the polltax shows that it can be done in the other seven polltax states. The Negro and white people of the South are ready for the type of leadership you have displayed. That much is evident from the fact that, even with the polltax in some states, they retired from public office several of those officials who have tried to stem the march of progress in the South. All the situation needs is the courage and determination on the part of leaders to boldly step forward. The people will support them.

2-

IT IS again evident that progressivism in the South is not something imposed upon the South by the North. It is native to the South. Perhaps I can personally appreciate that fact for I was born and reared in the State of Georgia, as were my parents before me.

If Georgia has taken the lead in the field of universal suffrage, it can also take the lead in abolishing that fetter upon the welfare and advancement of all the people of the South—that is, the myth of "white supremacy." When that is done, industry, business, agriculture, labor—and the interests of the Negro and white citizens of the South—will flower as never before.

The test is when some Negro citizen—maybe myself—can run for the City Council in my former home city, Atlanta. In fact, I am almost tempted to return and run against Sen. Walter George, whose opposition to Mr. Wallace and whose support of the polltax are bringing shame and not credit upon my native state.

Sincerely yours,

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, Jr.

Full Franchise Sought in Georgia

AFRO-AMERICAN 2-24-45 Bal.

ATLANTA—Commending Gov. Ellis Arnall and the Legislature for the elimination of the poll tax, representatives of colored political and civic groups this week asked that laws governing party primaries be restored to the Constitution.

2-24-45

In a telegram to the governor, C. L. Harper, John W. Dobbs and C. A. Scott said that omission of such laws "will invite all kinds of corrupt and eventual loss of confidence in elections."

Stating that those persons interested in voting will be loyal to their moral obligations, they urged that reasonable qualifications be set for all citizens, regardless of race.

Georgia's White Primary Attacked In Court Suit

Birmingham News

ATLANTA, June 14—(AP)—The Supreme Court of the United States, which has already ruled Negroes can vote in Texas primaries, may soon have to rule on the so-called "private" white primary in the South. 6-14-45

A suit was filed in the United States District Court here yesterday contesting the constitutionality of the white primary in Georgia, where the regulations are prescribed by the State Democratic Executive Committee.

Harold Sheats, Fulton County attorney, commenting on the suit, termed the committee a "private political organization"—just like a club. Any group, he said, could hold a similar primary.

So far as the state's constitution goes, the only reference to the primary is: 6-14-45

"No person shall be allowed to participate in a primary of any political party or a convention of any national party in this state who is not a qualified voter."

White Primary

Atlanta, Georgia Constitution

Editor Constitution: In the recent primary, 17,000 persons enjoyed their natural right of participation in government by voting. Colored citizens were denied this privilege. The injustice of the situation impels me to protest.

We, like Hitler, stand condemned because of racial discrimination. The writer does not advocate social equality between the races. However, common decency should constrain us to hold no minority group in political bondage. What possible justification is there for such conduct? Apparently our talk concerning democracy is vain chatter. The white primary is a shameful scheme. It disfranchises qualified voters on account of their color.

1-1-45 ORA W. EADS.

Atlanta.

The Showdown Has Come

Atlanta Daily World

With calm, restraint and dignity several hundred Atlantans who were registered went to the polls to vote yesterday, but were denied the right to do so for the one reason "this is a white primary." July 4th, 1944 the excuse for not premitting Negroes to vote was "your name is not on the list." A hearing in Federal District court August 15th, practically assumed the sending of the list of Negro voters for yesterday's city primary election.

Tax Collector and Registrar T. E. Suttles stated to a committee of Negro representatives that the complete list of voters, including Negroes, would be given election officials for the September 5th election. Some precinct officials admitted they had the full list of voters while others would not admit or deny they had the Negro list, merely refusing ballots on the ground "this is a white primary and we have instructions not to let any Negroes vote."

9-6-45

Last year the situation was not clear we admit. The question was raised by the Department of Justice as to who was responsible—the Registrar for not sending the list or the election officials who conducted the election. But this time—yesterday— there can be no question as to who is responsible for not letting Negroes vote and exercise one of the most important rights of an American citizen. Several citizens who attempted to vote have stated they saw their names on the list at the precincts with (col.) after them. Some light complexion Negroes were permitted to sign application forms for ballots only to have the forms withdrawn after their racial identity was ascertained.

The case is crystal clear. The issue now is squarely in the laps of the Department of Justice. We know the question of the white primary is a rather important matter with some white people because of the great advantage it gives them. And, yet, we believe there are a substantial number who feel the Negroes should have a right to vote without discrimination. But be as it may, this important issue must be met and we cannot hope for our city or state government to meet it for obvious reasons.

Therefore, we join the request of other thoughtful citizens in asking the Department of Justice to make its position known in reference to enforcement of the Texas primary decision in reference to the vote denials in yesterday's election. Delay on this matter can only result in increase tension between the two racial groups.

The showdown has come and let us hope the Federal Government will promptly and courageously meet it.

NEGROES EXPECTED TO SEEK VOTE IN PRIMARY

Atlanta Negroes are expected to present themselves by the hundreds at the polls in Wednesday's city Democratic primary, but election officials said they would have to be refused the privilege of voting in a "white primary."

Negroes have been seeking to vote in primaries here since the Supreme Court ruled nearly two years ago that Negroes could vote in the Texas Democratic primaries, and a suit is now pending in Federal Court to allow them to vote in Georgia Democratic primaries.

C. A. Scott, editor of the Atlanta Daily World, Negro newspaper here, said that 500 Negroes at Wheat Street Baptist Church last Friday night decided unanimously to present themselves at the voting precincts and seek to cast their ballots.

T. Elton Drake, secretary of the city Democratic executive committee, and other party officials explained that under the party set-up here Negroes had the right to hold their own primary if they wanted, but that the Democratic primary is purely a party affair.

In other words, the primary is held by the party, rather than the state. Under Georgia's new constitution no reference at all is made to the primaries, leaving them subject to party regulation.

The pending suit, which was brought by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People a few months ago, seeks to have the federal courts rule on the so-called party-regulated "white primary."

Macon Hearings Ended; Evidence Being Pondered

The Atlanta Daily World

Interest High As Citizens Await Judge's Decision

Atlanta, Georgia 9-15-45

By V. W. HODGES

MACON, Ga.—(SNS)—Hearings in the celebrated primary test-suit ended over by federal Judge T Hoyt Davis of the Middle Georgia Division, ended here Friday afternoon, with Negro leaders, who sat through the lengthy three-day proceedings guessing two to one that the case will be decided in their favor. Judge Davis is the successor to the late Bascom S. Deaver, whom it will be remembered, presented the brilliant defense in the Robert Hall ease which sent Sheriff M. Claude Screws and two deputies to federal prison with fines of $1,000 each.

The case involves damages of $5,000 with a plea to participate in local and state elections, a right federally secured under the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution, and instituted by Rev. Primus E. King, Columbus Negro Baptist minister, following denial of a ballot in the July 4, 1944 primary elections held by officials of the Democratic party of Muscogee County.

Named as defendants in the case are, J. E. Chapman, Jr., W. E Swinson, T. J. McGee, S. J. Gibson, Sim Garrett, Danna C. Cartledge, A. W. Jenkins, W. W. Moye and Wilbur Glenn, all of Muscogee County, Columbus, Georgia.

Counsel for the plaintiff included Harry S. Strozier, brilliant Macon, Georgia lawyer and liberal; Arthur D. Shores, able Birmingham, Alabama Negro lawyer, and O. D. Smith, Columbus, Georgia lawyer and friend of Negroes. Lawyers for defendants included A. Edward Smith of Columbus, Charles J. Bloch, Macon lawyer and president of the Georgia Bar Association, and Attorney Ellsworth Hall, also of Macon.

Harry S. Strozier, presenting the main argument for the plaintiff, introduced documentary evidence supporting the contention that the laws and machinery of the state are inseparably tied in with and are an integral part of the machinery of the State Democratic White primary. As such, the primary law "is an integral part of the procedure of choice, where in fact, the primary effectively controls the choice." Mr. Strozier stated further that the "purpose of the primary law is to allow the voters to choose their candidates, and to put their rights in so doing under the protection of the law," and that the determinative factor in an election for public office, whether that be a primary or a general election, is the vote of the electors.

Defense attorneys, represented in the main through the pleading of Charles J. Bloch, rested their case on the contention that in Georgia, unlike the state of Louisiana in the Classic case, or Texas in the Smith-Allwright decision, Georgia does not have any statutory laws governing primaries; that it does not require the holding of primaries as in those two states, and that it makes no real difference if the primary election is tantamount to the election, since there is no statutory rules compelling the holding of primaries by any political parties. "In Georgia," continued Mr. Bloch, regulations and restrictions as are exercised over political party primaries are in no sense different from those regulations and restraints placed upon railroads, liquor stores, and other businesses." The state acts only as a police power "whenever these primary elections" are held.

Because of the great mass of evidence introduced into the case for consideration by counsel for both sides, Judge Davis is reserving opinion in the eagerly watched case, until such times as will be required to take it under due advisement, predicted by some to be probably some 8 to 10 days hence.

Headed by Dr. T. H. Brewer, Columbus, Georgia physician and respected civic leader, more than a score of prominent Negroes laid aside their business to attend the hearings. Prominent in this group were Dr. K. H. Terry, oldest Columbus dentist and man of substantial wealth; Dr. T. H. Brewer, who was instrumental in getting the suit started; Rev. H. I Bearden, pastor, St. James AME church, Columbus; Rev. Primus E. King, pastor, Mt. Pleasant Baptist church, Columbus; B. H. Strickland, well-to-do business leader; John L. Sconiers, A. J. Thomas, W .M. Thomas, Carl Haygood, Henry Jackson, E. E. Farley, C. B. Marshall, retired business man; P. L Taylor, publisher of the Columbus World and business leader; Gus Couch, Mrs. Lizzie Lunsford and her daughter, Mrs. Lula Allen, joint owners of a chain of successful businesses in Columbus; Mr. Sam Cannon, retired from the 24th Infantry; W. S. Grady, Jr., veteran of World War II.

Other Georgia leaders included: Rev. G. H. Carter, pastor, Trinity CME church of Augusta, and the president of the Augusta NAACP chapter, and Mrs. S. S. Johnson and Mr. W. C. Nixon, district manager, Augusta branch, Atlanta Life Insurance Company, together with hundreds of local Macon citizens, who evidenced a genuine local interest in the developments.

Similar primary suits are either in progress or being contemplated in other southern communities.

Poll Tax Repeal Restores Voters

Atlanta Daily World, Atlanta Ga.

10-3-45

A ruling which will add between 200,000 and 300,000 voters to the lists of the state was made by Attorney General Eugene Cook Tuesday.

Mr. Cook ruled that Georgians whose names were struck from the registration lists for nonpayment of poll taxes were automatically restored to such lists when the poll tax was repealed.

Thousands of Negro men and women, prevented from re-registration and voting by the accumulative feature of the outlawed poll tax, will now find their names on the list of voters in the wake of Mr. Cook's ruling. 10-3-45

The ruling read:

"Since the poll tax is no longer a prerequisite for voting, a person who is otherwise qualified as an elector is entitled to have his or her name placed on the qualified voters' list and to participate in all elections," the ruling read.

REMAIN REGISTERED

"As I construe the law, when a person has once registered he remains registered until and unless the General Assembly provides for a re-registration.

"Where a person has become registered and has taken the oath of a voter as prescribed by law, he cannot be required without proper statutory authority to re-register and again subscribe to the voter's oath in order to become a qualified voter, simply because he was formerly a delinquent poll tax payer.

"The very fact that the word "permanent" is used clearly indicates that the Legislature intended such registrations as are contained in the permanent qualifications of voters' books to be of an enduring nature. 10-3-45

"It was one of the paramount purposes of the framers of the new amendment to the Constitution, as well as of the people who adopted it, to liberalize the voting laws of this state and not to build up barriers to prevent qualified citizens from exercising their right of the elective franchise.

"To hold that the re-registration of electors was placed within the discretion of the board of registrars would be to circumvent the will of the people since they have lodged such discretionary authority only with the General Assembly of this state."

CITES COURT DECISION

The Attorney General 10-3-45 cited a decision of the Georgia Supreme Court holding that an act of the Legislature in 1915 delegating the authority to establish a system of local registration in Chatham County was unconstitutional. He also cited numerous other high court rulings. State Revenue Commissioner M. E. Thompson had asked for the ruling.

10-3-45

In Fulton County, Tax Collector T. E. Suttles said an estimated 8,000 persons will be reinstated to the voting register for elections in 1946. Fulton County is an exception, however, in that the ruling does not restore persons who have not registered since 1941, because in that year there was a special act of the legislature applicable to "counties of more than 200,000 population" requiring voters to re-register.

Fulton residents, therefore, who have not re-registered since September 1, 1941, should do so at the courthouse in order to be qualified for future elections.

10-3-45

Persons who failed to vote in two years and whose names were stricken for failure to do so should have received a notice from Sutties' office, which they should return or go to the courthouse and re-register in person.

Georgia

Atlanta, Ga.

New Constitution Poll Tax Repeal Highlight State Politics for '45

Atlanta Constitution

By M. L. ST. JOHN

Highlighted by adoption of the new constitution and repeal of the poll tax, 1945 was one of the most active years in state government.

The year saw the ballot opened to everyone, including Negroes in the traditional Democratic primary. It saw the United States supreme court take jurisdiction of the freight rate suit.

It saw the state amass enough money on hand to pay off its debts for the first time in history, and make moves toward paying teachers on a 12-month basis and improving the physical plants of state institutions. It saw Robert Elliott Burns, famed fugitive, receive a commutation. 12-30-45

Much was accomplished in 1945, but the politics of the year ended just as they began—with statesmen, politicians and laymen still in the dark as to who will be the candidate of the progressive forces for governor in 1946.

Facing the 15-day session of the legislature next month will be the same issue that faced the regular session last January: Will the general assembly lift the constitutional ban on a governor succeeding himself. Facing the January session also will be the same two issues of providing home rule and a merit system for Georgia.

ARNALL ON POLL TAX

The legislature convened last January and immediately jumped into a bitter fight on repeal of the poll tax. Finally Gov. Arnall told the solons he would kill the poll tax by executive order if they failed to do so by legislation. They repealed the poll tax the next day. As the new constitution has banned the poll tax as a voting tax, thousands of citizens heretofore disfranchised will be able to vote next year. Federal Judge Hoyt Davis (who succeeded the late Judge Bascom Deaver) ruled that the Negroes can vote in the Democratic white primaries, and they did so in the Athens city primary, without any trouble.

The house and senate worked double-time to redraft the constitution. The house passed the new constitution unanimously, and the senate indorsed it, 38 to 9.

The people adopted the new constitution Aug. 7. It follows the fundamentals of the document of 1877, but it provides for a constitutional penal board, some merit system, and some home rule. The new charter also creates a constitutional veterans' service department, the office of lieutenant governor; adds a sixth justice to the supreme court, raises the pay of the justices and of superior court judges, raises the Governor's pay and the legislators' pay; puts school financing, outside independent city systems, on a county basis, and raises the maximum school tax levy to 15 mills; permits cities and counties to operate power plants; ends tax favoritism for some corporations, and safeguards the budget law.

Georgia

61e-1945

White Primary Attacked In Legal Action Here

Atlanta Constitution-Ga
6-14-45

A suit attacking the Georgia white primary has been filed in the United States district court in Atlanta by A. T. Walden, Atlanta Negro lawyer; Thurgood Marshall, of New York; William H. Hastie, Washington Negro lawyer, who recently resigned a position in the War Department, and Edward R. Dudley, of New York.

The suit, brought against T. E. Suttles, tax collector and registrar of Fulton county, alleged that Wallace Van Jackson, a Negro, was denied the right to vote in the white Democratic primary of July 4, 1944, "solely because of race, to his irreparable damage."

Thurgood, general counsel of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was said to be the same lawyer who filed and won a suit in the United States supreme court last year. In that case, the supreme court decided that Negroes had the right to vote in the Democratic white primary in Texas.

Lawyers here at the time reported that in Texas the Democratic primary was established as an institution by both the state constitution and state law and that fact was the basis of the decision. They said, however, in Georgia, the white primary was an affair of a political party, similar say, to a church or fraternal organization and that the rules establishing the primary were made by the State Democratic Executive Committee, a private organization.

The Texas decision, nevertheless, caused defenders of white supremacy to drop all reference to any primary in the new state constitution and to study the advisability of repealing the Neal primary law.

6-14-45

The only reference to the primary in the present constitution follows:

"No person shall be allowed to participate in a primary or any political party or a convention of any political party in this state who is not a qualified voter."

The Neal primary law merely prohibits fraud in any primary. Neither it nor the state constitution, according to County Attorney Harold Sheats, takes control of the primary out of the hands of the private political organization. Any group, he said, can hold a similar primary.

1937 CASE

Sheats noted that in 1937, in a case questioning the constitutionality of the poll tax, brought against the Fulton county registrar, the court ruled that it was the province of the states to decide on the qualifications of voters. This was the case of Breedlove vs. Suttles.

6-14-45

In the suit filed yesterday, Walden, Marshall and associates charged that in January, 1944, the state Democratic executive committee adopted rules limiting the right to vote in the primary to whites. Subsequently, they alleged, Suttles sent to polling places only lists of qualified white voters.

Since managers of polling places were prohibited from accepting ballots from any one whose name did not appear on the lists received, Jackson and all other Negroes were denied the right to vote in the primary, the suit said.

The petition stated that under the Georgia code, citizens may vote in the general election "without restriction of race" and that the same qualifications are required in voters in a general election as in a primary.

VIOLATION CHARGED

The suit alleges that the Georgia white primary violates the 14th, 15th and 17th amendments to the federal constitution.

It asks the court enter judgment declaring the "policy, custom or usage" of the defendant in sending only lists of white voters to primary managers is unconstitutional and that he be enjoined from making any distinction as to race, creed or color in the sending of such lists to precinct managers.

Shortly after the Texas decision, a Negro newspaper announced the decision had cost Negroes and their backers the sum of $25,000 in fees and other costs.

Judge Takes Case Under Advisement

Louisiana Weekly
New Orleans La.
6-25-45

Atlanta, Ga., Aug. 22.—Judge Marvin Underwood in the U. S. District Court here took under advisement on August 15 the "white primary" case of Wallace Van Jackson v. T. E. Suttles, tax collector and registrar, after hearing argument of counsel on the plaintiff's motion to strike the case from the jury list and have it tried by a judge without a jury.

Jackson, a registered voter of Georgia, charges in the suit that Suttles refused to forward the list of Negro electors eligible to vote in the 1944 Democratic primaries.

The complaint sets out that Suttles in violation of sections 2 and 4 of Article I and Amendments 15, 15 and 17 of the United States Constitution, kept seperate lists for Negro and white registered voters; that last year in accordance with the state law of Georgia and at the request of the executive committee of the Georgia Democratic party, he sent only the white list of voters to the polls on primary day and refused to send the names of the registered Negro voters.

8-25-45

Attorneys for the defendant argued that the case was one to be tried by a jury because there were issues of fact involved. They argued that it was an equity case seeking an injunction and declaratory judgment—that there were no issues of fact since the defendant admitted in his answer that he had refused to send the list of Negro qualified voters to the primary polls last year.

James A. Branch, representing the registrar, pointed out that in the sworn answer of the defendant it was stated, "The defendant says that it is his purpose and intention to send the list as provided in section 9 of the Act approved April 27, 1941, which has been quoted above in this answer to the election managers on each election day and that said list shall contain the names of all qualified voters for such precincts." Judge Underwood pointed out that the language was slightly ambiguous and suggested that the defendant might want to amend his answer and state his intentions more clearly. Attorney Branch then stated that the defendant intended to follow the statute in all particulars. The statute makes no mention of color but merely requires the registrar to send the lists of all qualified voters.

8-25-45

The judge will rule on the motion in September when he returns from vacation. All interested parties are awaiting the municipal primaries in Atlanta on September 5th to see whether the registrar will send the lists of Negro voters.

Jackson was represented by Thurgood Marshall of New York Special Counsel of the NAACP and A. T. Walden of Atlanta member of the national legal committee of the NAACP.

Ga. Democrats In Tight Spot

8-25-45
Internews-Houston, Texas

ATLANTA — (ANP) — Georgia's Democratic party, which has freely exercised the "white primary" rules in elections tantamount to election for several decades, last week was put in a "tight" spot as Federal District Judge Marvin Underwood took under advisement arguments on the motion against trial by jury of the Jackson vs. Suttles Case.

8-25-45

Wallace Van Johnson, on behalf of himself and other Negroes, is seeking to test the validity and practice of the so-called "white primary" in excluding Georgia Negroes from participation solely on the grounds of "race and color." The suit is the result of refusals to issue ballots to qualified Negro electors throughout the polling precincts over the state on July 4, 1944.

Jackson seeks permanently to enjoin Suttles from making any distinction as to "race, or creed, or color" in sending of precinct lists of voters in the Democratic primary elections of Fulton county.

The action, if sustained by Judge Underwood, will have the effect of forcing the tax collector to send the list of all registered voters to precinct places for both primary and general elections.

The suit has the backing of Georgia Negro Democrats and the NAACP.

GOP Threatens Demos In Ga. Race

The Defender Chicago, Ill.
9-22-45

ATLANTA, Ga.—(ANP)—While Atlanta Negroes, still smarting under their summary rebuff at the polls of the Sept. 5 primary, poured protests to Atty. Gen. Tom Clark and the Department of Justice, several new angles appeared on the political scene.

Long dormant Republicans threatened to enter a full slate in the Dec. 3 municipal general election. Shortly after the announcement, Arthur Johnson, chairman of the City Democratic Committee which refused to permit Negroes to cast ballots in the primary, announced that voters in the Sept. 5 election "are honor-bound to support the nominee."

Further, Johnson declared what may be the basis of new court action in a statement: "The city white primary is non-partisan, being open to all white citizens, whether Democrats, Republicans or otherwise." He accused Henry C. Davis, vice-chairman of the Fulton Republican Committee, of participating in the Democratic primary and of now trying to desert to support a defeated candidate.

Roy LeCraw, former mayor who resigned his post to enter the war after serving a few months of his four-year term, was defeated by incumbent Mayor William B. Hartsfield by over 3,000 votes in the primary, which saw about 20,000 votes cast. It was not stated specifically by Johnson whether LeCraw was the "defeated candidate" referred to in his attempt to solidify "white voters" in the face of a Republican threat.

A coalition of civic and political Negro organizations, meeting shortly after the primary rebuff, reviewed results and heard expressions from those present. The group took definite action on a course to be pursued, but would give out no statement for publication.

Negro Republican leaders were conferring with white leaders of the often-split party on the proposal to enter a slate in the December general election. It was pointed out by some that Davis, who made the Republican slate proposal, had often been identified with the lily-white element of the state central committee which lost out in an attempt to unseat the Georgia Negro-membered delegation to the 1944 Republican National Convention. However, it is believed unity will be developed if a slate is submitted for the general election balloting, since a two-party representation long has been sought here.

Ge-1945 (Georgi

Negroes Refused Ballots In City Primary Sept. 5

Atlanta World
9-6-45
Atlanta Ga.

By WILLIAM A. FOWLKES

Atlanta Negroes, refused the right to vote in the city primary Wednesday, solely on the basis of color and race, immediately began to file affidavits with United States Attorney Tom Clark and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, protesting the ballot denials and asking immediate federal action.

Despite the inclement weather, hundreds treked to the various precinct polling places only to be told that they could not vote "because it is a white primary" and "for white people only."

Hitler, Goebbels and Himmler couldn't have done a better job at completely disfranchising a group of citizens on the basis of color and race, even by decree and brutal obstinance, than did the City Executive Committee and the precinct managers conducting Wednesday's primary. 9-6-45

IT HAPPENED HERE

The only difference was that the Nazi-fascists were in Germany where a pattern of alleged racial superiority of so-called members of the Aryan race was the issue which forged Hitler, Goebbels and Himmler into power and set off a treatment of man by man that the world never before had witnessed, while Atlanta's "white primary" authorities were in America, which used and still is using millions of black Americans to win a fight for democracy and world freedoms, in the meanwhile winking at intolerable condtions at home.

The Atlantans were flaunting a Supreme Court decision which ruled in the Texas case that the white primary is illegal.

EXECUTIVE MEETING CALLED

C L Harper president of the A 'anta branch of the NAACP, has called a meeting Friday evening at 6 o'clock at the Butler Street Y. M. C. A. of the executive committee of the NAACP branch, and to which executive committeemen of the Civic and Political League the Citizens Democratic Clubs and the Fulton County Republican Club are invited.

Mr. Harper also announced that Thurgood Marshall, NAACP nation-al counsel, will be in Atlanta next week on business in connection with action against the primary.

A few minutes after the polling places opened at seven o'clock Wednesday morning, Atlantans of color began reporting for the ballot and were consistently refused until the voting was ended at seven o'clock in the evening. 9-6-45

VOTERS NAMES AVAILABLE

Significantly, the list of registered voters as sent by Fulton County Registrar Suttles to the election managers contained the names of Negro voters. Suttles had told a committee of leaders which approached him last week that he was going to send the list of all voters, Negro and white, to the polls. A suit filed by Wallace Van Jackson in Federal District Court asked that Suttles be restrained from sending out lists of only white voters to the precinct managers.

That the names of Negro voters were at the polling places was established on at least three occasions when persons of light complexion were at the point of voting only to be asked their color and stopped up on the reply that they were Negroes. They saw their names on the lists and had signed the applications for ballot as required in the procedure.

MANAGER'S JAWS DROP

Dr. Ira De A. Reid, of Atlanta University, reported to the polling place of precinct B in Third Ward at 185 Mitchell street with a witness. He reported that the jaws of Box Manager W. R. Owens dropped. Dr. Reid requested a ballot from the manager. He was refused with "this is a white primary." Dr. Reid then requested that the manager look for his name on the voters' list. The manager refused, saying, "No, I ain't going to look at no list. Only white people vote." When Dr. Reid asked if he might sign the voters declaration he was again told "no' by the manager. Owens was then asked his name and wrote down "W. R. Owens," whereupon Dr. Reid left.

John P. Whittaker, registrar of Atlanta Universty and president of the Atlanta Mutual Building and Loan Association, reported to the Lee street polling place of Fourth Ward. Whittaker, light-complexioned, was given a declaration form and was proceeding in the line when the person handing out ballots looked at him intently and asked if he was white or colored. Upon the reply that he was colored, Whittaker was refused the ballot and told the primary was for white persons. 9-6-45

AT HARRIS SCHOOL

Five persons, including C. A. Scott, editor and general manager of the Atlanta Daily World nis wife, Mrs. Ruth Perry Scott; Mrs. Emmeline Scott, J. A. Batts, manager of the Atlanta district of the Afro-American Life Insurance Company and William A. Fowlkes, World managing editor,reported to the polling place of Fourth Ward-C at J. C. Harris School on Lucile Avenue.

The group entered past a courteous policeman and proceeded to the election officials. Editor Scott asked for the manager and W. J. Lambert presented himself.

"My name is Scott," the newspaperman said. "We have come to vote."

"You can't vote. This is a white primary," Lambert informed Scott.

The editor then asked the precinct manager, "Is that the reason we can't vote?"

"Yes,' was the reply.

Mr. Scott then asked, "Does that apply to all these other people?"

"Yes," the election manager appeared more confident.

9-6-45

Lambert was then asked if Registrar Suttles had sent the names of Negro registrants to the polls, and replied, "I don't know."

THE JEERING JIBE

The gorup left quietly, Fowlkes returning after going out the door to ask if any other Negro registrants had appeared at the polls. Lambert, his back partially turned, was grinning gloriously and saying something to the others. He appeared startled with this reporter's return, but composed himself from an apparently "I put it over on 'em" jibe and answered the query.

J. W. Dobbs, president of the Atlanta Civic-Political League, reported that he went to the Forrest Avenue School where Ward 5-F was located and sought a ballot. The election manager replied, "I am very sorry, but this is a white primary."

Dobbs asked the manager, "Does this mean that I'm not allowed to vote?"

"It does under this setup," was the reply. Dobbs thanked the manager and walked out.

COLOR QUESTION

Warren Cochrane, executive secretary of the Butler Street YMCA, reported to the Marion Hotel where his voting place is located and had been handed an application form to fill out when the question of his color arose. After he explained that he was colored, Cochrane was refused the ballot.

Dr. S. M. Lewis, physician, reported that officials and workers at 185 Mitchell street, refused him the ballot, declarng that "We'd just as well see you vote as anyone, but the rules will not allow it."

"YOU'RE NOT WHITE"

Q. V. Williamson, real estate broker, said he was told at the Mitchell street polling place that "it wouldn't make any difference whether it (Williamson's name) is on there (the registration list) or not—you're not white."

Dr. C. A. Talbert, of Gammon Theological Seminary, reported to his 1-B voting place on Lee street, and had been given a ballot to vote when asked his color. Upon clarification that he was colored, Dr. Talbert was refused the privilege to vote because of color. 9-6-45

Nank Wilson, of 632 Houston Street, N. E., refused the ballot at the Forrest Avenue white school. said he was getting 'mighty tired of paying taxes for this kind of crow."

"THAT'S WHAT HE SAID"

A group of five, including Dr. C. A. Talbert, professor of Christian History, Gammon; Dr. R. O. Johnson, professor of Education and Psychology, Morris Brown; Messrs C. A. Scott, Clinton Bronner and Miss Rubye Weaver of the Atlanta Daily World went to the Lee Street School in a body. Upon being asked: "What do you want?", the citizens stated that they wanted to vote. The person in charge answered, "You can't vote; this is a white primary.' When furthered question, 'Is that why I can't vote," the reply was given, "Yes, this is a white primary." An officer standing nearby responded: 'Yes, that's what he told you; you can't vote."

Two incidents occurred which made is very obvious that the issue was truly one of race. One Negro, fair of skin, upon arrival at his polling place stated his mission and was about to be given the ballot when one of the officials with a scrutinous eye asked: "Are you white?" The man answered "No", to which he was given the answer "I am sorry, but this is strictly a white prmary."

A KICK-BACK 9-6-45

The other incident occurred at the Lee Street School, when a large group of Negroes approached the door. A very sun-tanned white man approached the door at the same time, and he was held back by the person in charge, who placed his arm across the door. The person in question stated that he wanted to vote and he, too, was told that he could not vote. He uttered one of two inaudible sentences, after which the man moved his arm, patted the sun-tanned man on the shoulder and apologetically repled "I'm sorry."

A photographer was in the process of snapping pictures of the group as they left the school, when the officer came out and informed him that he could not take pictures on the school's property. The group re-assembled on the sidewalk and the photographer resumed his job

Headway Against the Poll Tax

Progress in Georgia reported by an Atlanta editor, who sees the levy as a blight on Southern democracy

By JOHN PASCHALL

(This is the text of a radio talk over WSB, Atlanta, by Mr. Paschall, who is editor of the Atlanta Journal.)

SINCE 1938 the Georgia League of Women Voters has been waging an educational campaign for the abolishment of the poll tax in Georgia. When the Georgia League announced its stand, there were no loud huzzahs from the press or the populace, and no support whatever from politicians and office-holders. Indeed, I think it may truthfully be said that the League was without competition in its advocacy of this reform, although Georgia was at that time, as now, one of eight Southern States that restricts the franchise of its citizens by this device. We had just made up our mind that the poll tax was part and parcel of our Southern heritage, and that nothing could or should be done about it. But despite the fact that our people on the whole seemed to have closed their mind on this question, it appears that sound ideas, like little acorns, keep on growing when given the slightest opportunity. The Georgia League of Women Voters planted an idea. In six years it has grown in size and importance in an amazing manner.

Some influential Georgia newspapers, including the Atlanta Journal, have taken up the challenge. Gov. Ellis Arnall has started a factual study to determine whether the poll tax should be continued or abolished, and men holding positions of leadership in the State government *now dare* to come out boldly for abolishment. The Georgia League of Women Voters' little acorn has already grown into a sizable oak.

More significant of the trend of thought on this bugaboo subject than the stand of the metropolitan press is the fact that some of our weekly newspapers are advocating poll tax abolishment. Typical of this change of opinion, or abandonment of prejudice, as you may choose to call it, is the recent comment of the Claxton Enterprise, of which Bob Majors, president of the Georgia Press Association, is the editor. "For many years," wrote Editor Majors, "we have opposed the abolition of the State poll tax. But of late we are becoming convinced that it is almost as foolish as the old law that required every male citizen to either work the road or pay a road tax. Both are as out of date as the one-horse shay."

Senators Favor Abolition

THAT statement of Bob Majors, editor of a weekly newspaper in South Georgia, is of comparable importance with the editorial in the Atlanta Journal last September 3, calling for the abolishment of the poll tax. In that editorial the Journal said: "While the Journal will fight to the last against Federal interference in so essential a right of the State, we are convinced that Georgia would serve her best interests by repealing the poll tax on her own authority." The Journal significantly quoted both Senator George and Senator Russell as favoring the abolishment. In an address to the Senate opposing Federal action, Senator George declared: "I think the poll tax should be abolished. I am morally certain, and without a single doubt concerning it, that it should be abolished by the only sovereignty that has any right to create it, or to impose it; namely the State. The Federal Government has nothing whatever to do with it, unless it wishes to interfere with respect to a matter over which it has no jurisdiction. I wish to emphasize: First, that I personally do not favor the poll tax as a requisite to voting in primary, general or special elections.

"Second, that there is no issue of race, and no question of race, color or creed, involved in this discussion, because the poll tax, for instance, in my own State is universal in its application to all classes to which it applies."

In another debate on the same question, Senator Russell declared: "The poll tax is on its way out. It has already been voted out in North Carolina; there is no poll tax in the great State of Louisiana; there is no poll tax in the State of Florida. If a measure to that effect were submitted to the people of Georgia on a vote, as a voter in that State I should vote to repeal the poll tax as a State function. That is one question," continued Senator Russell. "It is another to be compelled to stand on the floor of the Senate at intervals, year after year, and defend your people against legislation which is conceived with the idea of smearing the South and putting the Southern people in the light of being unable to attend to their own affairs."

Narrow Margin of Defeat

THESE editorials and these statements of our two Georgia Senators mark a great stride toward the emancipation of Georgia voters. But even more impressive is the action of the Commission on Constitutional Revision, which voted against elimination of the poll tax requirement from the State's Constitution by the narrow margin of 7 to 9. Significant, too, is the fact that the proposal to strike the poll tax from the Constitution was made by the President of the State Senate, Frank Gross of Toccoa, and was seconded by State Senator Jeff Pope. A few days later we find Representative Ben W. Fortson, Jr., of Wilkes County, writing to the Journal in reply to an editorial, urging him to go all the way on the abolishment of the poll tax. "I have always been against the poll tax as a qualification for voting," wrote Mr. Fortson, "and I have not changed. I shall introduce a bill, as stated in the press, to abolish the poll tax on the returning service men and women of this war. I shall introduce two amendments to this bill: One to abolish the poll tax on all the veterans, men and women, of this war; the other to abolish the poll tax entirely.

"I am doing this for the very purpose you state: To get away from the confused situation by showing just how confused and intolerable it is now and can be. I shall be glad to work with President Frank Gross and Senator Jeff Pope on the poll tax issue. I think they are right."

From all of which it appears that Senator Russell's forecast that "the poll tax is on its way out" is well justified. **At last the question has been forced into the open forum of discussion, and that always means the end of an outmoded idea. The poll tax as a prerequisite to voting has become a real issue in Georgia, as it already had become in some of our neighboring States. The issue can no longer be ducked or dodged by members of the Legislature or candidates for office. It is about time. Indeed, it is remarkable that we in Georgia and seven other Southern States have clung to this undemocratic restriction of suffrage, while all the time urging more citizens to register and vote and participate in government. Some of our Southern newspapers have long been waging a valiant fight for the removal of this blight on democracy.**

Some Newspaper Opinion

THE Louisville Courier-Journal has pioneered this crusade, although Kentucky has not been one of the States suffering from this handicap. In Virginia, the Richmond Times-Dispatch has done yeoman's service in exposing the crime of the poll tax, and in a recent editorial predicted an early repeal of the tax in that State. In Tennessee, a magnificent fight was led by the Nashville Tennessean, under the direction of its brilliant editor, Jennings Perry. This fight of the Tennesseean resulted in a legislative repeal, which was nullified by a court decision that shocked the common sense of the Nation. Editor Perry has written a book, entitled "Democracy Begins At Home," telling of this long crusade against the poll tax and its tragic ending. One point in particular brought out by him should be emphasized here. "The poll tax is not an honest tax," said Editor Perry, "in that nobody undertakes to search out delinquents and make them pay. Actually, nobody wants all the non-payers to pay, because they would be qualified as voters, and the main idea of restricted suffrage by which political organizations maintain their control would be thwarted."

While the Tennessee editor has written a dramatic story of the struggle over the poll tax in his State, I have seen no more effective argument against the poll tax than that presented by Barry Bingham, publisher of the Louisville Courier-Journal, as far back as 1939. "The results of poll tax suffrage in Southern States," said Mr. Bingham, "have been no more disastrous to Negroes than to whites on the lower economic levels. It is estimated that as many as 64 per cent of the white adult voters have been disfranchised in the poll tax States. In every one of those States more whites than Negroes are barred from the ballot box by the tax." He gave the figures for the percentage of adult citizens who voted in each of the poll tax suffrage States in 1936, the year of a Presidential election: Alabama, 20.4 per cent; Arkansas, 18.5; Florida, 37.8; Georgia, 19.6; Mississippi, 16.2; South Carolina, 14.1; Tennessee, 33; Texas, 26.2, and Virginia, 25.7. That worked out, said Mr. Bingham, to an average of 24.1, "the worst voting record shown anywhere in the world under even a pretense of a democratic system of suffrage. Even in Mexico, twice as many people cast their ballots as the 24 per cent who vote in our poll-tax-ridden group of States."

Widespread Disfranchisement

FROM 1896 to 1916, Mr. Bingham pointed out, the total vote of the poll-tax States actually declined 18 per cent, although the population of those States increased 50 per cent. Virginia, the mother of Presidents and the cradle of democracy, polled only 26 per cent of its citizens of voting age in 1936, as against a remarkable percentage of 92.1 per cent of adult citizens voting the same year in West Virginia, where no poll tax barrier exists. "Are the people of Virginia less capable of governing themselves than the people of West Virginia?" asked the publisher.

"In North Carolina the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting was repealed in 1920, and the popular vote immediately soared. North Carolina sent 839,000 people to the polls in 1936 against a mere 115,000 for South Carolina, which has the poll tax. Kentucky and Tennessee are almost exactly equal in population, but Kentucky cast 911,000 votes in 1936 against poll-taxed Tennessee's 473,000."

But let us examine some more recent statistics. In the 1944 Presidential election, Georgia, with a population of 3,123,723, cast a total vote of 328,111. Florida, where the poll tax was repealed in 1936, has a population of 1,897,414, or 1,200,000 less than Georgia, but cast 482,803 votes, or 154,000 more than Georgia. North Carolina, which repealed its poll tax in 1920, with a populaiton of 3,571,623, cast a total vote of 789,554. Louisiana, another State that has repealed its poll tax, with a population of 2,363,880, or about 700,000 less than Georgia, sent 358,506 citizens to the ballot box, about 30,000 more than Georgia. Kentucky, with a population of 2,845,627, or over 200,000 less than Georgia, cast a total vote of 867,921, or more than twice as many as Georgia. Kentucky has no poll tax requirement.

These figures can't be explained away. They show beyond argument that the poll tax, whatever its intention, actually dis-

How long shall we tolerate this outrage against democracy?

A Laudable Effort — Lamentable Failure

Atlanta World 2-6-45

The action of the Georgia House of Representatives in passing legislation outlawing the outmoded poll tax as a condition of voting in this state was a laudable attempt to extending to citizens of Georgia a privilege universally accepted in a democracy. The legislators, in taking this long overdue action, have succeeded in doing themselves what the federal government, under the mounting pressure of public sentiment would have been forced to do eventually. That is as it should be. Too long, we believe, the South has permitted her action, especially with regards to her treatment of its Negro citizens, to be held up to scorn and ridicule by citizens outside the region. To say that the majority of southerners have been responsible for this condition, is to overlook a fundamental fact not generally appreciated. Southern politicians and rabble-rousers have been the chief offenders in creating this impression for the South.

2-6-45

It is they who oppose the extension of the franchise to wider areas of the population. It is they who seek to profit by fomenting discord and distrust between races and classes in the South. And it is they who have a pathological fear of a large, popular vote among the citizens. In all, the abolition of the poll tax is a laudable effort to carry out the wishes of public sentiment in the state, which overwhelmingly supported and inspired the action taken.

On the other hand and on the heels of the same action, the House, in refusing to insert in the new state constitution an amendment regulating primaries, exhibited a lamentable indifference to the constitutional rights and guarantees of fully a third of State's population its Negro citizens. "Just because of the fear that colored might vote, do you think that we ought to take down all the protection we have for our citizens," asked Mrs. Helen Douglas Mankin, of Fulton County, who led the fight to have the safeguard re-inserted into the constitution. That, it would appear, formed the basis of discussion, not only concerning the whole white primary arguments throughout the session, but likewise the fear expressed time and again by one or another of the speakers concerning the poll tax.

The White Primary cannot hope to stand up under the scorn and pressure of enlightened public sentiment. Everywhere there is a growing resentment against it as undemocratic and a great fraud against those whom it debars. Southerners, one by one, are beginning to rise up against it because they know it is a violation of every honest opinion and declaration of aim, not only of the present global war, but the very ends of a democracy.

2-4-45

Moreover, as Mrs. Mankin suggests, to strip the constitution of such safeguards for the primary in an effort to continue to exclude the Negro voter is to open the primary to fraud and corruption. Speaker Roy Harris of the Georgia House indicated this subtle intent to circumvent the United States Supreme Court ruling on the White Primaries when he suggested some weeks previous, to eliminate all reference to the primaries in the new constitution, thus permitting the utmost elasticity in evading whatever decision the Supreme Court may render in prospective litigation from Georgia. Thus, by pursuing a round-robin course, the state can keep an unending chain of suits or appeals to the high federal court by interested Negro citizens who desire to participate in the primaries. Let Mr. Harris and all others of a similar turn of mind make no mistake about it, in taking these props away from the primaries will deceive no one. Negroes know that they are meant to keep the ballot out of their hands. And they do not underestimate the struggle in front of them to remove these barriers. In the meantime, Georgians are subject to the worse type of deception, defraud and dishonesty in government with primaries left unguarded as they stand in danger of being at present. Let us hope the Senate will exercise better judgment than the House.

The Trend Is Against the Poll-Taxers

Courier-Journal 2-2-45

That old Southern custom, the requirement of a money consideration for the right to vote, euphemistically called the poll tax, is somewhat shakier today. The Georgia legislature has completed its approval of a bill which ends the levy of the poll tax in the Cracker State; and now only seven states are remaining in which this tax lingers as a barrier to full and free use of the ballot.

The action in Georgia is important principally as the sign of a trend of enlightenment and popular determination—a determination on the part of the people of the South to show that there is something more than empty and insincere talk in the Southern demand that the states be allowed to handle their own suffrage problems, or in the promise that in this event they will be handled squarely and democratically.

The trick could not have been turned without positive political leadership, and the fact that this leadership developed in both political camps of Georgia is a point of significance. Political leaders are quite aware of the wind's direction.

Governor ARNALL made a flat demand of the General Assembly for repeal of the poll tax, with the alternative that otherwise he would suspend it by executive order, as Georgia law permits. Former Governor TALMADGE, whom ELLIS ARNALL defeated in 1942 and who is laboring amain to come back next year, also spoke his piece for repeal. It may be that there was at least a modicum of politics and competition for advantage in the situation, but no great harm is done thereby so long as the political play demonstrates a responsiveness to public attitudes, thoughts and desires.

2-2-45

If Governor ARNALL was alive to trends, Mr. TALMADGE has proved by more than one utterance in the past that he is aware of the economic barrier to voting that is interposed by the poll tax. The latter learned long ago that his following, of which small farmers constitute the bulk, has been numerous in times of poor crops and depression, because the money for tax-paying, no matter how small the requirement, simply was not there. A simple demonstration of this lies in the fact that in 1928 only 16.2 per cent of Georgia's citizens of voting age cast their ballots in hot Presidential elections; but in 1936, when rural conditions had begun to improve, 20 per cent voted.

Another proof of the iniquity of the poll tax as the price of voting is to be found in the history of the tax and in the recorded motives for its imposition. The tax as a prerequisite to the right to vote was placed in the constitutions of Southern states years ago when the Populist movement and agrarian rebellion were rising, and it was aimed frankly at the disfranchisement of poor whites and Negroes, who composed the great strength of the threatening new school of political action.

2-2-45

In the recent debate in Georgia, there was but a feeble attempt to justify the poll tax as a genuine tax for revenue purposes. Proof to the contrary has been too well established, and the sterility of argument in support of the tax was shown by the fact that its last-ditch defenders resorted to attacks on HENRY WALLACE, Yankees and carpetbaggers as the sources of the reform. And this movement is strictly a home product.

Obviously, something will be made by bitter-enders of the fact that on the same day of Georgia's action, Tennessee's legislature acted otherwise and defeated a move to repeal the poll tax. However, it must be recalled that only two years ago Tennessee repealed its poll tax, in response to widespread demand engendered by a lively campaign of organization and propaganda, only to have the reform thwarted by a dubious decision of the State Supreme Court. The popular sentiment in that state is no different, and the parliamentary devices which accompanied this week's action by the legislature smack too much of machine tactics, taking advantage of technicalities of legislative rules, to suggest that the trend is against them.

2-2-45

Georgia Groups Oppose Poll Tax

$1-a-year poll tax.

Stating that a "fairer expression from the people" would result, he continued, "Colored people as a class don't care to vote anyway unless they are encouraged by some Communistic element."

End Poll Tax, Colored People Will Not Vote, Says Ex-Gov. Talmadge

ATLANTA — Abolishment of the poll tax would not "put the many colored men to voting," declared former Governor Eugene Talmadge in his weekly paper, The State Man, as he recently urged the State Legislature to end the

Poll Finds Most Whites Believe In Superiority

Most Americans believe whites are superior to Negroes, even though they feel that "all men are created equal," the Negro Digest discloses.

Canvassing cross sections of the vast majority in all sections of the country, including the South, stated that their race was the equal of citizens of the white race.

Among Negroes, however, the conclusion of the members as a whole was found in the South where 92 per cent expressed a belief that Negroes were not the equal of whites.

In the same poll, however, when asked "are Negroes equal to whites," those queried showed that 73 per cent felt that whites were superior to Negroes.

The biggest percentage agreeing in the belief of white supremacy was found in the South where 76 per cent of Americans, Negroes, believe in the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence that "all men are created equal."

It appears to have been the conclusion of the members of the poll tax is "unfair and unwise and are denied franchise through poll tax regulations." A federal resolution" of

61e-1945 Georgia Voting

U. S. Judge Rules Negroes Entitled to Vote In Georgia

Courier Journal Louisville, Ky.
10-13-45

Macon, Ga., Oct. 12 (AP)—Negroes were held entitled to vote in Democratic white primaries in Georgia under a decision handed down today by Federal Judge T. Hoyt Davis, of the Middle Georgia District. 10-13-45

Judge Davis ruled that primaries are an integral part of the election machinery.

"The Democratic Party is the dominant and controlling political party in Georgia," his decision said. "No other party has held a state-wide primary during the past 40 years."

The decision was in a suit filed by Primus E. King, Columbus, Ga., against members of the Muscogee County (Columbus) Democratic Executive Committee. King was denied the right to vote in the July 4 primary in 1944.

Rules Constitution Violated.

Judge Davis ruled that King was not permitted to vote because of his race, and that this constituted violation of the 14th, 15th and 17th Amendments to the U. S. Constitution. 10-13-45

Georgia's Constitution was revised recently to remove regulatory provisions governing political parties, in a move to meet court tests over constitutionality of election laws. Sponsors of this action said it made primaries purely private affairs and not subject to regulation by law.

Attorneys for the Columbus party leaders argued in court that they were acting as agents of the Democratic Party and not officers of the state at the time they refused King the right to vote.

Appeal Is Planned.

Counsel for the Muscogee County committeemen said an appeal would be taken from the decision as soon as papers could be drawn.

Judge Davis ordered payment of $100 damages for King "together with future interest thereon at the rate of 7 per cent per annum."

mind you. Louisville, Ky.

After the United States Supreme Court ruled, in the LONNIE SMITH case from Texas early in 1944, that a qualified citizen, white or colored, cannot be barred from voting in a primary election, it was inevitable that the rule would be invoked in other States; and likewise inevitable that the decision would be what Judge T. HOYT DAVIS has held in Macon, Ga. And one may guess that it is inevitable that, after the shock subsides, Negroes will be voting in Georgia for (which is to be doubted) or against (more likely) Mr. TALMADGE for Governor.

Georgia's Democratic primary system was particularly vulnerable to attack on this score. The politicos of Georgia, like those of most other States of the Deep South, were quite sure that they had made disfranchisement legal, some 40 years back, by devising the system of primary elections controlled by parties and subject to any rule of participation that the party officials imposed. If the party wanted to say that only white persons, or blue-eyed persons, or one-legged persons should vote for the selection of its nominees, that, it was argued, was the party's right, because the party was not the Government. 10-14-45

However, in fancied security, Georgia wrote its primary election laws into the State statutes about 20 years ago, to tie them tightly to its "rotten borough" county unit system. And so, it became rather hard to argue that the primaries are altogether outside of State sanction or unsusceptible to fundamental guarantees.

In Georgia, as in the other one-party States of the South, the primaries just conclusively decide who will fill public office. By them, the Democratic nominees are chosen, and there might as well be no Republican nominees because the Democrats are unbeatable. Therefore, if a citizen cannot vote in the primary, he is effectually barred from a real choice of his representatives. This was the point upon which the Supreme Court seized in the Texas case holding quite properly that in such circumstances the primary election is an integral part of the election machinery—"the Democratic Party is the dominating and controlling party in Georgia," as Judge DAVIS held in Macon—and to prevent a man from voting in it is the same thing as depriving him of his right to vote at all.

We guess that there will be a bit of talk about cutting out primaries in Georgia and going back to the convention system; but we also guess that this will happen but once, if at all. Democracy seems to be on its way. Louisville, Ky.

A Georgia Judge Jolts Tradition

Courier-Journal

We can fairly see Georgia's outraged forces of White Supremacy girding for action—whether for offense or defense, though, is your guess—and GENE TALMADGE brushing off his favorite issue of race agitation for the 1946 political campaign. The federal court of the Middle Georgia district has held that Negroes may vote in the Democratic primaries; the "white" primaries in Macon—and to prevent a man from vot-

Judge Rules Negroes May Vote

The Atlanta Constitution—Atlanta Georgia 10-13-45

T. Hoyt Davis Decision Calls Primaries Vital Election Machinery

MACON, Ga., Oct. 12—(AP)—Negroes were held entitled to vote in Democratic white primaries in Georgia under a decision handed down today by Federal Court Judge T. Hoyt Davis, of the middle Georgia district.

Judge Davis ruled that primaries are an integral part of the election machinery.

"The Democratic party is the dominant and controlling political party in Georgia," his decision said. "No other party has held a state-wide primary during the past 40 years."

The decision was in a suit filed by Primus E. King, of Columbus, Ga., who brought suit against members of the Muscogee county (Columbus) Democratic executive committee. King was denied the right to vote in the July 4 primary in 1944.

Judge Davis ruled that King was not permitted to vote because of his race, and that this constituted violation of the 14th, 15th and 17th amendments to the U. S. constitution.

CONSTITUTION REVISED

Georgia's constitution was revised recently to remove regulatory provisions governing political parties, in a move to meet court tests over constitutionality of election laws. Sponsors of this action said it made primaries purely private affairs and not subject to regulation by law.

Attorneys for the Columbus party leaders argued in court that they were acting as agents of the Democratic party and not officers of the state at the time they refused King the right to vote.

Judge Davis referred to the absence of statutory requirements for holding primaries in Georgia and added:

"A fair consideration of the Georgia statutes leads to the conclusion that whenever a political party holds a primary in the state it is by law an integral part of the election machinery.

STATUTES TAKE HOLD

"Once a decision to hold a primary is made, the statutes of Georgia take hold and direct every essential step from registration and qualification of voters to the placing of the names of the nominees on the general election ballot. The state, by statutes, invests the party authorities with the power to formulate rules and regulations for holding the primary and thus empowers the party to provide, by regulation and rules, for details not specifically covered by statute."

Counsel for the Muscogee county committeemen said an appeal would be taken from the decision as soon as papers could be drawn.

Judge Davis ordered payment of $100 damages for King, "together with future interest thereon at the rate of 7 per cent per annum."

"The holding of the said primary," Judge Davis said, "was an action by the state of Georgia, acting through the Democratic party as its instrumentality. Plaintiff's right to vote in said primary election is a right secured to him by the constitution and laws of the United States.

PLAINTIFF DEPRIVED

"Defendants, acting as the duly constituted authorities of the Democratic party, in refusing to permit the plaintiff to vote in said primary solely on account of race and color, deprives the plaintiff of a right secured to him by the constitution and laws of the U. S. and were in violation of the 14th, 15th and 17th amendments."

The decision was based on two cases, the U. S. versus Classic, Louisiana and Smith versus Allwright, Texas. Judge Davis quoted at length from decisions in these cases. The supreme court ruled similarly to Judge Davis in the Texas case.

The court said that since 1900 Democratic nominees for United States senator, members of the house of representatives, governor and other state-house officers nominated in primaries, have been elected in the ensuing general election.

"The nominees at the 1944 primary were so elected. So we conclude from this long established practice that the primary is, in fact, an integral part of the electoral process of this state. It may fairly be said that it is the hub of the process. When the Democratic party holds a primary in this state, the system is substantially the same, in substance and objective, as the Texas and Louisiana systems." 10-13-45

The case was the first of its kind to come to trial in Georgia and was heard several weeks ago by Judge Davis, who went into office Feb. 6, this year. He served as U. S. district attorney before his appointment to the bench by President Truman.

NEGROES GET VOTE IN GEORGIA PRIMARY

New York Times

Federal Judge Sanctions Their Right to Take Part in Democratic Party Contests

N. Y.; N. Y. 10-13-45

MACON, Ga., Oct. 12 (AP)—Negroes were held entitled to vote in Democratic white primaries in Georgia under a decision handed down today by Federal Judge T. Hoyt Davis, of the Middle Georgia District.

Judge Davis ruled that primaries were an integral part of the election machinery.

"The Democratic party is the dominant and controlling political party in Georgia," his decision said. "No other party has held a State-wide primary during the past forty years."

In neighboring Alabama, Federal Judge C. B. Kennamer dismissed a suit at Montgomery against two members of the Macon County (Ala.) Board of Registrars, charging refusal to register a Negro for voting. 10-13-45

The plaintiff, William P. Mitchell, Macon County Negro, charged that he was refused registration last July 5, and asked the court for a permanent injunction against what he said was a policy of the board to deny registration to members of his race.

Judge Kennamer ruled that Mr. Mitchell had not exhausted his administrative remedy in State court.

The Georgia decision was in a suit filed by Primus E. King of Columbus, Ga., who brought action against members of the Muscogee County (Columbus) Democratic Executive Committee. Mr. King was denied the right to vote in the July 4 primary in 1944, it was alleged.

Judge Davis ruled that Mr. King was not permitted to vote because of his race, and that this constituted violation of the fourteenth, fifteenth and seventeenth amendments to the United States Constitution.

Georgia's Constitution was revised recently to remove regulatory provisions governing political parties, in a move to meet court tests over constitutionality of election laws. Sponsors of this action said that it made primaries purely private affairs and not subject to regulation by law.

Counsel for the Muscogee County committeemen said an appeal would be taken from the decision.

Columbus Negroes Again Denied Vote

Atlanta Daily World

atlanta ga.

COLUMBUS, GA. — (SNS) — Negroes were refused the right to participate in the Wednesday city primary involving the election of two city commissioners.

The refusal followed by five days the ruling of Federal Judge T. Hoyt Davis in the case of the Rev. Primus E. King, of Columbus, granting damages to the minister and invalidating the "white primary" practice of the Muscogee County Democratic Committee and Georgia as violation of the federally secured civil rights.

Negroes approaching the polls were refused ballots in the Wednesday's election on the grounds that the Davis ruling did not cover city elections.

The course of action in this new case of ballot refusal was not made known by Dr. T. H. Brewer, who headed the group of citizens pushing the King case through the victory. 10-18-45

APPEAL FILED

According to Dr. Brewer, the Muscogee Democratic Executive Committee has filed an appeal in the New Orleans Federal Court of Appeals against the ruling of Judge Davis.

The action of Columbus Democrats in the refusing Negro ballots in the election of Oct. 17 appeared in the direct defiance to the ruling, Judge T. Hoyt Davis said: judge's ruling. In his October 12, "A fair consideration of the foregoing Georgia statutes leaders to the conclusion that whenever a political party holds a primary in the state, it is by the law an integral part of the election machinery. Once a decision to hold a primary is made the statutes of Georgrgia take hold and direct every essential setup for registration and qualification of voters to the placing of the names of the nominees on the general election ballot. 10-18-45

"Acting as the duly constituted authorities of the Democratic Party in the refusing to permit the plaintiff to vote in said primary solely on account of his race and colored deprived the plaintiff of a right secured to him by the Constitution and laws of the United States and were in violation of the Fourteenth, Fifteenth the Seventeenth amendments."

Hats Off!

Primus E. King, a minister in Columbus, Ga., sued Muscogee County Democratic Executive Committee members after he was refused a ballot in the party primary last July. Now Federal Judge T. Hoyt Davis has upheld him, ruling that he was denied his constitutional rights solely because of his color. Davis ruled the 14th, 15th and 17th Amendments had been violated and fined the Democratic committee $100. King will probably have to face appeals by the party committee to the Court of Appeals and finally the Supreme Court, but his courageous legal fight already has driven a big crack into that outworn Southern structure, the "pure white" Democratic primary. 10-17-45

Reports Show Increased Registration Over State

The Atlanta Daily World Atlanta, Georgia

11-4-45

Spurred by reports of unprecedented registration of Negroes in virtually every Georgia community since July 4, 1944, which, in important respects showed increases ranging as high a 750 per cent; and encouraged by the decision of Federal District Judge T Hoyt Davis, invalidating the White Primary in Georgia, the Georgia Association of Citizens Democratic Clubs re-enforced their efforts Friday to establish the right of qualified Negroes to vote in all elections throughout the state.

Gathered at Macon, Georgia, for for their semi-annual session, club members listened to a comprehensive report from their State President A. T Walden, review the progress in court action over the past year; outline new plans for continuing objectives ,and report on the financial strength of the organization to date, as well as acknowledging the admission of several new clubs into the state body since the last meeting.

LEADERS WIRE MEET

C. R. Alexander, president of the parent branch of Savannah Georgia, which reports registration of nearly 2,000 additional Negroes since July, 1944, wired regrets at being unable to attend the Friday meet, but pledged to have full "representation with our money." Dr. J. F. Carter, president of the Albany, Georgia Club, also wired regrets to the meeting.

In Fitzgerald, Mr. H. D. Heath reported a registration of only 12 Negroes in 1944. Today, he says, there are more than 200 registered Negroes with a steady flow continuing to register. J. M. Atkinson Treasurer for the State body, reports that in 1944, only 175 Negroes were registered in Brunswick. Today, there are over 800 registered. The club reported renewed activity in registration at Griffin, Ga., where A. C. Touchstone, prominent business man and Insuranse agent for The Atlanta Life Insurance Co., has succeeded in registering nearly 350 Negroes within a two days' drive together with the entire community supporting the effort. "In three instances," said one informant, the rural white planters have "volunteered in transporting Negroes to the polls in order that they might get registered."

Democrats Slate Continuing And Full Program

ENDORSEMENTS

As continuing objectives, the body endorsed the following: to perfect the organization, making it fully representative of every section of the state: continue to file additional civil units in all the three federal districts of Georgia; inaugurate plans looking forward to a paid, field organizer of clubs throughout the state; preparations for handling all situations over the state involving the question of Negroes in their rights to register and to vote after they have registered and create a strong Executive Committee, representing every congressional district, whose duty shall be to meet quarterly for the purpose of deciding upon and carrying into effect the total program of the state body in the absence of the total membership.

The organization at the suggestion of Dr. Walton, of Macon gave enthusiastic endorsement to the inauguration and sponsorship of an annual Franklin D. Roosevelt Dinner, the first of which will take place in Atlanta on the late President's Birthday, January 30. The body voted a minimum fee of $10 per plate, so as to permit statewide participation by all who believe the principles espoused by Mr Roosevelt.

The next meeting of the Association is scheduled to be held in Atlanta on the afternoon of January 30, preceeding the Roosevelt Dinner.

Georgia Negro Registrations Zoom 750 Per Cent

The Chicago Defender

Chicago, Illinois

11-11-45

ATLANTA — Registrations by Negroes to vote in Georgia counties have increased 750 per cent it was announced this week.

The gains are attributed in part to the invalidation of the Democratic white primary by Middle Georgia Federal District Judge T. Hoyt Davis, and have spurred the Georgia Association of Citizens Democrat clubs to re-double their efforts to establish the right of qualified Negroes to vote.

Gathered at Macon for their semi-annual session, the Georgia Association of Citizens Democratic club members listened to a comprehensive report on the progress of court action over the past year and heard an outlining of new plans for continuing objectives and a report on the financial strength of the organization to date.

C. R. Alexander, president of the Savannah Democrats, reported registration of nearly 2,000 additional Negroes since July, 1944.

H. D. Heath, of Fitzgerald, reported more than 200 registered Negroes as compared to only 12 in 1944.

J. M. Arkinson reported that where there were only 175 Negroes registered in Brunswick in 1944; there are today over 800 registered.

In Griffin, nearly 250 Negroes are now registered, compared to the comparative handful registered in 1944.

The Negro Democrats endorsed objectives calling for infiltration of their organization into every community of the state and made plans for an annual Franklin D. Roosevelt dinner, the first of which will take place in Atlanta on the late President's birthday, Jan. 30.

Columbus Churches Pledge To Support Primus King Case

COLUMBUS, GA. —(SNS)—

The churches of the city are responding to the need for funds for "Primus King" voting case. Fourth Street Baptist Church pastored by Rev. Harris, has already pledged $100.00 and donated $60.00; Rev. C. C. Cloud of Metropolitan Bap- $100.00; Rev. Fortson and members of Friendship Baptist; Rev. T. W. Smith and members of 1st African Baptist; Rev. W A. Reid, president of Ministerial Alliance and members of Shady Grove Baptist; Rev. J. I. Bearden and members of St. James AME church Rev. Ruben Ferrell and members of Mt. Calvary Bapt. church; Rev. Williams and members of Wynnton Hill Baptist; Rev. J. C. Cook and members of Bealwood Baptist and Rev. Griffin and members of Ward's Chapel Rev. S. A. Havey and members of Galilee have all pledged to raise funds.

All individuals, Civic Organizations and Clubs are invited to contribute through your churches or directly to the Citizens Committee of Columbus, Ga.

61e-1945 Georgia Voting

BATTLE OF THE BALLOT

Court Test Set In Ga. Vote Ban

The Defender Chicago, Illinois

9-15-45

By JOHN Le FLORE
(Defender Staff Correspondent)

ATLANTA—Negro citizens here, barred from the city's mayoralty election Wednesday, have pledged themselves to a bitter end fight in the courts against the party-regulated "white primary" in the South.

In the election the incumbent, Mayor William B. Hartsfield, won over Roy LeCraw, former mayor and army officer, by a vote of 10,153 to 6,894.

Rising to the defense of their civil liberties, colored citizens met at the Butler Street Y.M.C.A. last Friday night to map their strategy to halt the denial of their right to the ballot.

Negroes Map Plans

Negro civic leaders and groups met at the call of C. L. Harper, president of the Atlanta N.A.A.C.P. Represented at the meeting were the Civic and Political league, the Democratic club, the Republican club and the N.A.A.C.P.

It was agreed that first the Attorney General of the United States would be asked to prosecute those responsible for the ban against Negroes. 9-15-45

Secondly, civil suits would be filed seeking damages against the managers of the polling places where Negroes were barred from voting.

Dr. Ira D. A. Reid, of Atlanta university, reported at the polling place in precinct B in the Third Ward with a witness. He asked for a ballot and was told "this is a white primary."

Dr. Reid then requested that the manager, W. R. Owens, look for his name on the voter's list, but the manager refused.

"No, I ain't going to look at no list," Reid was told. "Only white people vote."

White Legislators Warned

Georgia's new constitution adopted by ratification on August 7, makes no reference to the primary elections.

Seizing that as a loop-hole to again try the time-worn trick of finding a "legal" way to prevent Negroes from voting, a committee of 12 white persons "called" the mayoralty election a primary and designated it strictly for white voters. 9-15-45

Negroes here promptly accepted the challenge and warned that if not allowed to vote in the election they would test the question in the courts.

For White Only

In its pending court fight against political disenfranchisement, Negro Atlantans charged T. E. Suttles, county registrar, with refusing to send the names of qualified colored voters to the polling places.

However, in this instance the names were sent to the polls, which relieves the county registrar of the vote ban responsibility in this case. Managers of the polling places will be named in any action to be taken by Negro citizens in the mayoralty primary. 9-15-45

Negroes who attempted to vote last Wednesday were informed that the primary—which is tantamount to election—was for whites only. Primary rules in Georgia are fixed by the Democratic Executive committee.

In the case against Suttles, the defense is insisting that a jury trial be granted rather than have the case tried before a trial judge.

* * *

Denied Ballots in '44; Georgians File Suit

COLUMBUS, Ga. — Another blow at the white primary was struck this week as Negroes here entered a civil suit in the Federal District Court charging they were denied the right to vote in the 1944 state-wide Democratic primary.

The two incumbents failed to receive a majority in the recent white primary. Councilman Butler's vote total was 6,320 and Dr. Cawthon's was 3,713. Alderman Drennon polled 7,583 votes as compared with 4,812 for Mr. Wells. More than 36,000 persons were qualified to vote, not counting the nearly 5,000 qualified Negro voters.

Negroes To Be Missing At Polls In Run-Off Today

With hundreds of qualified Negroes of Atlanta standing on the side lines after being denied the ballot in the primary city elections of September 5 after large numbers of them had made attempts to vote for a mayor and other city officials light voting was expected today in the runover election. There will be only two contests. 9-15-45

Councilman Paul Butler will be fighting it out with Dr. O. B. Cawthon for the fifth ward post and Alderman Raleigh Drennon is opposing Claude E. Wells in the sixth ward. Polls will open at 7 a. m. and close at 7 p. m.

JUDGE STUDIES GA. PRIMARY CASE EVIDENCE

The Louisiana Weekly New Orleans, Louisiana 9-29-45

(By The Associated Negro Press)

Macon, Ga., Sept. 26.—Federal Judge T. Hoyt Davis of the Middle Georgia Division, last week took under advisement evidence presented in the three-day hearing of the suit instituted by the Rev. Primus E. King of Columbus against the Muscogee County Democratic Committee in the vote denial of July 4, 1944.

Judge Davis did not indicate at the close of the hearing when he would render his chamber decision, but it was the speculation of the scores of Georgians from every section of the state that it would be soon and favorable to the plaintiff. Questioning by the judge of the defendants' attorneys indicated a favorable verdict. Judge Davis is successor to the late Bascom S. Deaver and it was he who presented the brilliant prosecution in the Robert Hall case when Baker County Sheriff M. Claude Screws and two deputies were convicted, fined and sentenced to prison.

Rev. King asked damages of $5,000 and the right to participate in Georgia primary elections under federal security of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments. He accused J. E. Chapman Jr., W. E. Swinson, T. J. McGee, S. J. Gibson, Sim Garrett, Danna C. Cartledge, A. W. Moye and Wilbur Glenn, white members of the Musogee County Democratic Committee, Columbus, of discriminating against him and other Negro registrants in preventing their participation in the July 4, 1944, primary.

Representing King were Harry S. Strozier, brlliant Macon lawyer and liberal; Arthur D. Shores, Birmingham lawyer, and O. D. Smith, Columbus lawyer and recognized friend of the group. The defandants were represented by A. Edward Smith of Columbus, Charles J. Bloch of Macon, president of the Georgia Bar Association, and Ellsworth Hall of Macon.

Georgia Democratic Primary Case Argued In Federal Court

9-29-45

Journal and Guide-Norfolk, Virginia

MACON, Ga.—Federal Judge T. Hoyt Davis, of the Middle Georgia Division, last week took under advisement evidence presented in the three-day hearing of the suit instituted by the Rev. Primus E. King, of Columbus, against the Muscogee County Democratic committee in the vote denial of July 4, 1944.

Judge Davis did not indicate at the close of the hearing when he would render his chamber decision. Questioning by the judge of the defendants' attorneys indicated a favorable verdict. Judge Davis is successor to the late Bascom S. Deaver and it was he who presented the brilliant prosecution in the Robert Hall case when Baker County Sheriff M. Claude Screws and two deputies were convicted, fined and sentenced to prison.

ASKS $5,000 DAMAGES

Rev. King asked damages of $5,000 and the right to participate in Georgia primary elections under federal security of the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments. He accused J. E. Chapman Jr., W. E. Swinson, T. J. McGee, S. J. Gibson, Sim Garrett, Dana C. Cartledge, A. W. Jenkins, W. W. Moye and Wilbur Glenn, white members of the Muscogee County Democratic committee, Columbus, of discriminating against him and other Negro registrants in preventing their participation in the July 4, 1944, primary.

Representing King were Harry S. Strozier, Arthur D. Shores, Birmingham lawyer, and O. D. Smith, of Columbus. The defendants were represented by A. Edward Smith, of Columbus; Charles J. Bloch of Macon, president of the Georgia Bar association, and Ellsworth Hall, of Macon.

Atty Strozier, presenting the main argument for the plaintiff, contended that the primary law was "an integral part of the procedure of choice, where in fact, the primary effectively controls the choice."

He stated further that "the purpose of the primary law is to allow the voters to choose their candidates and to put their rights in so doing under the protection of the law," that the determining factor in an election for public office, whether it be primary or general election, is the vote of the electors.

DEFENSE CONTENTION

Defense attorneys rested their case on the contention that in Georgia, unlike the state of Louisiana in the Classic case or Texas in the Smith-Allwright decision, there are no statutory laws governing primaries, that it does not require the holding of primaries as in those states, and that it makes no real difference if the primary election is tantamount to the election since there are no statutory rules.

Georgia's recently adopted constitution makes no mention of the primary, the law being eased out in much the same manner as was done in South Carolina.

The Columbus case was entirely financed by local citizens. Similar primary test suits are planned in other Georgia cities.

61b-1945

Appeal Ruling On Vote --Arnall

The Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, Penna.
10-20-45

MACON, Ga. — Gov. Ellis Arnall Saturday expressed hope that the Muscogee County Democratic Committee would appeal a Federal Court decision that Negroes are entitled to vote in the State's white Democratic primaries. He said the State Democratic Committee has been working with the Muscogee committee in contesting the suit of a Columbus Negro and would continue to do so. Following the court decision in Macon, Friday, attorneys for the Muscogee committee said they were preparing an appeal and the papers would be filed as soon as possible.

Political observers at the capitol, in discussing the Federal Court opinion, called attention to the fact that the Neill primary law remains on the statute books.

URGES REPEAL OF PRIMARY LAW

"The new constitution leaves out any reference to party primaries," one observer said, "Now if the General Assembly will repeal the Neill primary law, there will be no statute left that makes the primary a part of the election machinery in Georgia.

"However, if the Neill law is repealed then the county unit system in Georgia will be abolished. Representatives of small counties in the State should hesitate to abolish the county unit system in the election of State officials."

A State official said repeal of the primary law would place all election regulations solely with the State Democratic committee. This committee, he said, if it so desired, could adopt a rule that a candidate for office would not be entitled to the unit vote of a county unless he received the majority vote.

ALABAMA JUDGE DISMISSES SUIT

Federal Judge T. Hoyt Davis of the Middle Georgia District ruled, at Macon, that Negroes were entitled to vote in the State's white Democratic primaries.

In neighboring Alabama, Judge C. B. Kennamer of the U. S. District Court at Montgomery dismissed a suit against two registrars charged with refusing to register a Negro for voting.

The decision in the Georgia case stemmed from a suit brought by Primus E. King of Columbus against members of the Muscogee County (Columbus) Democratic Executive Committee.

Judg Davis ruled that King was not allowed to vote in the July 4 primary in 1944 because of his race and that this constituted a violation of the U. S. Constitution.

In the Alabama case, Judge Kennamer held that William P. Mitchell, Macon County, had not exhausted his administrative remedy in State Court in his suit against two members of the Macon County Board of Registrars by whom, he charged, he was refused registration last July 5. 10-20-45

Mitchell sought a permanent injunction against what he said was the board's policy of denying registration to members of the Negro race. Arthur D. Shores, Mitchell's attorney, said he planned to take the case to the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals.

Unworthy

Ga. Atlanta Constitution

Editor, Constitution: The decision of Judge T. Hoyt Davis that colored citizens are legally entitled to vote in Democratic primaries will do much to establish justice and promote the general welfare. The shame of the situation is that court action was necessary to secure this blessing of liberty. The right to vote is fundamental. Requiring colored people to pay taxes without having a part in choosing their representatives is intolerably obnoxious.

10-21-45

Heretofore, our actions have paralleled those of the people who said "Lord, Lord," but failed to do the things He commanded. Theoretically, we believe in democracy. In practice, though, we are Fascists at home while fighting dictators abroad. Our enlightened consciences impel us to detest the Nazi conception of a superior race. However, we smugly discriminate against minorities with regard to political, economic and civil rights. With sanctimonious inconsistency, we assert our faith in government of, by and for the people. 10-23-45

We enjoy the privileges of democracy by the grace of the Almighty and blood of our patriots. To make brotherhood and co-operation real, we must extend natural rights to all people. Any public servant resorting to subterfuge in attempting to circumvent these rights is unworthy of his trust. Atlanta Ga.

ORA W. EADS.

Atlanta.

You Don't Have To Make Tax Returns To Register

The Atlanta Daily World
Atlanta, Georgia
10-27-45

You don't have to be property owner nor make tax returns in order to exercise your constitutional right to register and qualify as a voter, ruled Georgia Attorney General Eugene Cook here Friday.

The Attorney General ruling, requested to determine a question of strategy and procedure for Savannah Negroes in their registration drive, followed formal requests for interpretation from Dr. Ralph Mark Gilbert, pastor, First Baptist Church, Savannah, and President of the State chapter of NAACP branches; W. L. Ferrel Vice-president of the State Federation of Labor.

The facts show that Savannah leaders took exception to sign in the Tax Collector's office, across the lobby, which seeks to deter Negroes from heavy registration, leaders charged, by misleading and conflicting direction. The attorney general said that he could not construe the Tax Collector's sign to mean that he was dealing in any sense with the right of any person to register and qualify as a voter. "The right to register and qualify as a voter is not affected by requiring such a person to return for property for taxation as required by law." 10-27-45

White Ga. Press Favors Vote Rule

The Afro American
Baltimore, Maryland
11-3-45

ATLANTA, Ga. — (ANP) — Leading members of the white press in Georgia have endorsed Federal District Judge T. Hoyt Davis's ruling declaring the white primary unconstitutional and invalid.

The Columbus Sunday Ledger Enquirer, hometown paper of the Rev. Primus E. King, who won the decision over the Muscogee Democratic Executive Committee, commented following the ruling:

Few Question Moral Right

"Actually we know of very few persons who would question the moral right of colored people to participate in primaries which in practical effect select the officers who govern them."

The Macon News declared, "Let's be honest with ourselves. The Democratic primary in Georgia is a State institution; there is nothing 'private' about it. This thing that Judge Davis has decided must be done in Georgia is right."

Will React Like Others

"Colored people will divide on public issues like white people and will react like other human beings to the responsibilities of citizenship. We need to get rid of our foolish fears and practice democracy."

The Atlanta Journal editorialized: "The Journal does not regard this decision as revolutionary or ominous. There have been no racial upsets in Louisiana and Texas since their primaries were adjusted to the Supreme court's ruling."

Touchstone Clarifies Griffin 'Statement'

The Atlanta Daily World-Atlanta, Ga.
11-4-45

A. C Touchstone, branch office manager of the Atlanta Life Insurance Company and civic leader at Griffin, Georgia told an Atlanta World representative Saturday that his object for the current registration campaign among Negroes is to get them ready to exercise their constitutional privileges. The World was moved to seek statements from Mr. Touchstone in view of the press and radio comments quoting him as saying 'Griffin Negroes are not and will not attempt to vote in the Democratic White Primary."

Touchstone, who has gained considerable influence among white and colored people of Griffin said that it is prboable that this impression was gathered from a letter which he and other officers of the Griffin Civic Improvement League had sent to Negroes urging them to register. He said the letter to them stated: "'You have a fine opportunity to prove that you are American citizens and are aware of your responsibilities' but beyond we had no intentions."

With more than 338 Negroes registered in the two-day drive, Touchstone together with Prof. Traylor principal of the local Negro school commended the cooperative spirit among the Negroes and whites in getting Negroes to register. "In several instances" they said "many of Spalding County Negroes were transported to the Courthouse by rural white planters in order that they might get regisered."

61e-1945

Georgia Voting

On The Blind Highway

The Atlanta Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

There are dozens of explanations but no excuses for the frightful blunder Columbus, Georgia leaders have committed in refusing the advice and leadership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in the White Primary suit. The reasons for this refusal are all lame. The Columbus people are anxious to have the NAACP take the lead in raising money for the support of the suit, but do not want the Association to give direction and substance to its leadership. They confess their inability to provide the enormous funds it will be necessary to have in the prosecution of the suit in the courts, and so have been making appeals over the state for money, but they positively refuse to allow the NAACP to have anything more to do with the case. In short, the leadership in the Columbus case has bogged itself down into a frightful orgy from which it is going to be difficult to lift itself without the wisdom and influence and money of the NAACP. 12-16-45

That situaion is regrettable. Previously, we have pointed out the wisdom and need of having the counsel and leadership of the NAACP, not only in this case but also in all instances of civil violations. For thirty-five years, the Association has led the fight. The White Primary movement is an NAACP brain-child. The wisdom and experience of thirty-five years is behind that effort. And experience has shown that no temporary court victory can be counted upon to win lasting results in a suit of this kind, for despite judges' decisions, it is going to require years and years, as well as limitless expenditure of money before local officals can be brought to the realization that Negroes must be permitted to vote. 12-16-45

Columbus officials may yet come to their right senses and recognize the enormity of the task before them in undertaking to pursue an individualistic course in so important a suit. In saying this, it must not be understood to mean that there is anything faulty or cheap about the lawyers who are serving so admirably in the suit. We do not think it possible for any lawyer within the state to have brought to bear upon the case more influence, keen intellectual scrutiny and legal accomplishments than Attorney Harry S. Strozier, together with the others associated. Our deep regret and alarm is that the leaders at Columbus cannot or will not sense the enormity of their problems and save themselves from the inevitable humiliation which is most certain to come when they have exhausted the funds only they can be able to raise.

Savannah, Ga. Tribune

Athens and Clark County have demonstrated that Negroes and white people can vote together without friction. What Athens and Clark counties have done, other communities can do, if they only desire to do so. More than a thousand Negroes participated in the election and were given encouragement and assistance by the election managers and the Democratic Executive Committee. We in Chatham County envy the citizens of Clarke County. We had hoped our county would have taken the lead in this matter because we have always boasted that we live in a community unmatched for racial understanding, despite the fact that, now and then, minor incidents have tended to give a contrary impression. 12-6-45

Now that Clarke County has shown the way, we hope, we believe, other counties will follow. We don't believe Clark County has a monopoly on the white citizens who believe in justice and democratic ideals. There are in Chatham County citizens who know Negro citizens have not been given a just deal and who are willing to admit them to participation in this primary governmental function-giving their consent through the ballot to be governed. Upon this belief we base our plea for TEN THOUSAND names on the voters roll. We can accomplish this if every Negro in this county who has at heart the welfare of the county will roll up his sleeves and do just a little personal contact work. There are signs that the vote of every citizen will be needed to make this community a better place to live in. A thick skin and sometimes, a little patience, are two items Negroes must possess in order to become voters.

12-6-45

The success of the health survey can be attributed, along with other things, to the very intelligent way our city was prepared or made ready for it. Particularly successful was the survey so far as Negroes are concerned. They appreciated the part they were called on to play. They appreciated the fact that they had some little part in the planning. The experience of Dr. A. A. Mason was very valuable to the health authorities. Much of the favorable reaction on the part of the colored people of the city and county, was due to Dr. Mason's skill and understanding in organizing people for the survey. One of the lasting benefits of the survey was or is that it banished entirely the shyness and hesitation with which any mention of venereal disease usually occasioned, and conquered the fear people have of learning what an X-ray examination may reveal. Everybody deserves to be congratulated on the showing as to numbers, made by our people in this splendid voluntary mass survey.

CAMPAIGN FOR NEW REGISTRANTS CONTINUES

Savannah Tribune Ga.

5,200 Negroes' names have been added within the past eight months to the list of registered voters in Chatham county. This brings the total strength of the Negro vote in the county up to approximately 6.000. 12-13-45

This information was given out yesterday by John W. McGlockton who has been directing the intensive campaign of the joint political action committee of the Negro Voters League of Chatham county. Weldon Lodge of Elks, the local NAACP and the Hub club to increase the number of Negro voters in this county.

The campaign began about nine months ago and has been vigorously waged from the very beginning. At first many obstacles were encountered by the leaders of the movement and also by many who attempted to register. As a result only a comparatively small number succeeded in getting their names on the voters' list.

When the state legislature passed a measure last January repealing the poll-tax law and Attorney General Eugene Cook later ruled that back poll taxes are uncollectible and that the payment of same is not a prerequisite to voting, registration shot up by leaps and bounds and each week saw hundreds of Negroes trekking to the court house to "get straight," as they called it.

Then a new rinkle was started at the court house. Many of the applicants who attempted to register said that they were told to pay their personal property tax before they could register. This questionable move to slow down the fast growing wave of Negro applicants was abandoned after the matter had been brought to the attention of the state solicitor general who stated that the personal property tax had no bearing on the right to register as a voter. With this barrier removed, the court house registration winvery day with long lines of registration applicants.

The efforts of the joint political action committee have been fraught with much success and have been highly appreciated by most citizens who have realized the herculean task which the committee has been doing so well. However, according to reports, there has been a noticeable attitude of indifference manifested on the part of many leaders to this all important movement.

A breakdown of the past accomplishments of the committee shows, according to Director McGlockton, that the ministers of the city have given unstinted assistance to the drive, the business interests have cooperated wholeheartedly and many civic and fraternal organizations have registered their members 100 per cent.

It is to be regretted, stated one of the leaders of the drive yesterday, that the school teachers, for the most part, have manifested a seeming indifference to the movement. However, he further stated, there is one bright spot among them and that is the Woodville school, where 100 per sent. of the teachers have become regis tered as voters .

The present campaign still has several weeks to run and it is hoped by the committee that when the drive will have come to its close there will be at least 10,000 Negro names on the registration lists of voters in Chatham county.

Plan Housing Project

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

Registration Contest

11-30-45

J. R. Henderson, President of Eta Lamlda Chapter, Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, announces plans for a registration contest between the local housing projects of this city. The contest is in keeping with fraternity, and its slogan is "A Voteless People is a Hopeless People." It is also in cooperation with the city-wide registration drive led by the N.A.A.C.P.

Plans have already been announced for a bond election sometime next spring.

11-30-45

"If the Negro is interested in whether he gets additional school facilities, whether his child stays in school half day or whole day, or whether Negroes get additional parks and adequate hospital facilities, it is impressive that the Negro citizens of Atlanta go down to the Fulton County Court House and register in big numbers by Dec 21, 1945." Henderson stated. "If you want to be assured of getting your share of the bond money, at least 20,000 Negroes must register. The only excuse anybody can offer for not registering now is just downright laziness of indifference. There are no more back Poll Taxes to pay. It does not cost a single red penny to register."

The contest plan suggested by the fraternity is the organization of a registration committee in each project to set up procedures whereby every home will be covered and to develop a plan whereby the names and registration numbers of each registered voter can be maintained currently.

The contest officially begins on December 1, and ends on December 21, 1945. The project having the largest official registration at the end of this period will receive a $25 prize and a city wide recognition program.

Vote registration suit filed against Louisiana registrar

Los Angeles Tribune
Calif.

NEW ORLEANS—Seeking declaratory judgment and permanent injunction, with $5,000 damages, the NAACP recently filed suit in New Orleans district court in behalf of Edward Hall against T. J. Nagel, registrar of voters, in St. John the Baptist parish, La. 9-6-45

the Baptist Parish, have asked the Court to hear the argument on their motion to dismiss the suit of Edward Hall on Wednesday, September 12, in the Federal Court at New Orleans.

The suit is another in the series of NAACP vote registration cases in behalf of qualified Negro voters, and follows the Vinson case filed in Alabama last June and the Van Jackson case in Georgia.

It is alleged in the present suit that Hall had all qualifications for an elector required by law and, as such, was entitled to register Aug. 4, 1944, but that the defendant maintained a policy of denying the plaintiff and all other qualified Negro electors equal protection of the law by requiring them to submit to tests not required of white electors for registration.

Thurgood Marshall, special NAACP counsel, and A. P. Tureaud, New Orleans attorney, represent the plaintiff. The NAACP said it would continue to file cases throughout the South wherever discriminatory registration practices prevail.

Thornton and A. P. Tureaud of New Orleans, counsel for the plaintiff, were notified this week.

Indicating that the case is considered one of statewide importance was the fact that the registrar of St. John the Baptist parish whom the defendant alleged used discriminatory tactics in refusing to permit him to register, has as defense counsel John E. Fleury, district attorney of Jefferson, St. Charles and St. John the Baptist parishes; and Frank J. Looney and E. Wayle Browne, both of Shreveport, La., approximately 400 miles away.

The motion to dismiss, based on ten points, was filed in the clerk's office of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Louisiana during the past week. 8-25-45

Edward Hall filed a complaint on July 24 against Nagel, registrar of voters, St. John the Baptist Parish, Edgard, La., seeking $5,000 damaged and declaratory judgment against the registrar for refusal to register him when he applied on August 4, 1944.

Hall alleged in his petition that on or about August 4, 1944, during the regular registration period while the defendant T. J. Nagel was conducting the registration of persons qualified to register, he presented himself at the St. John the Baptist Parish courthouse at Edgard, La., the place for registration of electors of that parish and requested the registrar of voters to register him as a qualified elector of the State of Louisiana; that instead of giving him an application form to be filled by plaintiff in order to test his ability to read and write and furnish in said application the essential facts showing him to be entitled to register and vote, the defendant, T. J. Nagel, had the plaintiff, Hall, go into a back room and questioned him as follows:

Q. "What Judicial district do you live in?"

A. "Twenty-fourth."

Q. "What congressional district?"

A. "Second." 8-25-45

Q. "What senatorial district?"

A. "I don't know."

Whereupon the registrar, according to Hall's petition, refused to register him. Hall further declared that white persons who presented themselves for registration at the same time were not subjected to any such test but were registered forthwith upon their filling the application form.

Dismissal Petition

The motion to dismiss Hall's suit against the registrar of voters was based on the following points:

That plaintiff has failed to state a claim upon which relief can be granted, and has not presented any jurisdictional Federal petition. 8-25-45

Plaintiff does not allege that he has either pursued or exhausted the rights and remedies plainly accorded him under the Constitution and laws of the State of Louisiana applicable to the registrar of voters.

That plaintiff's allegation to the effect that he was refused registration on account of his color is a mere conclusion of the pleader, and is not supported by any allegation of fact.

Hall of Reserve, La., against T. J. Nagel, registrar of voters for St. John the Baptist parish, charging discrimination, was dismissed by U.S. District Judge Adrian J. Caillouet, Monday. 9-29-45

Hall charged that Nagel asked him to name the judicial and senatorial districts he lived in (questions not asked white voters), and refused to register him when he couldn't give the correct answers.

A State Issue

F. J. Looney, representing Nagel, argued that Hall could have obtained the answers to the questions and returned for registration later; also that the matter belonged under State and not Federal court jurisdiction.

Attorneys for Hall, in the suit filed several months ago, were Thurgood Marshall of New York, Joseph A. Thornton and A. P. Tureand of New Orleans.

Defense Counsel Asks Court Hear Argument Sept. 12

Louisiana Weekly
New Orleans, La. 8-25-45

New Orleans.—Motion to dismiss the suit brought by Edward Hall, a resident of Reserve, La., against the registrar of voters for the Parish of St. John the Baptist, was filed in the United States District Court by attorneys representing T. J. Nagel, the defendant, Attorneys Thurgood Marshall, of New York, and Joseph A. Thornton and A. P. Tureaud of New Orleans, counsel for the plaintiff, were notified this week.

Indicating that the case is considered one of statewide importance was the fact that the registrar of St. John the Baptist parish whom the defendant alleged used discriminatory tactics in refusing to permit him to register, has as defense counsel John E. Fleury, district attorney of Jefferson, St. Charles and St. John the Baptist parishes; and Frank J. Looney and E. Wayle Browne, both of Shreveport, La., approximately 400 miles away.

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That plaintiff's allegation to the effect that he was refused registration on account of his color is a mere conclusion of the pleader, and is not supported by any allegation of fact.

FLASH

Attorneys for T. J. Nagel, registrar of voters for St. John

Vote Damage Suit Dismissed in La.

The Afro American
Baltimore, Maryland
9-29-45

NEW ORLEANS — The $5,000 damage suit brought by Edward Hall of Reserve, La., against T. J. Nagel, registrar of voters for St. John the Baptist parish, charging discrimination, was dismissed by U.S. District Judge Adrian J. Caillouet, Monday.

Hall charged that Nagel asked him to name the judicial and senatorial districts he lived in (questions not asked white voters), and refused to register him when he couldn't give the correct answers.

A State Issue

F. J. Looney, representing Nagel, argued that Hall could have obtained the answers to the questions and returned for registration later; also that the matter belonged under State and not Federal court jurisdiction.

Attorneys for Hall, in the suit filed several months ago, were Thurgood Marshall of New York, Joseph A. Thornton and A. P. Tureand of New Orleans.

Judge's Decision Appealed

The Informer
12-29-45

NEW ORLEANS, La.—Final papers in the appeal of the decision in the Edward Hall registration case were filed in the United States Court of Appeals Monday morning, Dec. 24, by attorneys representing Hall. Included in the papers filed with the clerk of court was a complete transcript of the trial testimony.

Houston, Texas

Hall, a native of Reserve, La., represented by Attorneys Thurgood Marshall, A. P. Tureaud and Joseph A. Thornton, filed suit in August against T. J. Nagel, registrar of voters for St. John the Baptist Parish, charging that he had been denied registration because of color.

On September 17, United States District Judge Adrian J. Caillouet dismissed the suit following a motion by F. J. Looney, counsel for Nagel, who contended that the matter belonged to the state and not federal court.

Hall charged that Nagel had a policy of requiring Negroes to answer questions which were not asked white registrants, and that Hall had taken him into a back room and questioned him as to what judicial and senatorial district he belonged.

Louisiana Registration

The Atlanta Daily World Atlanta, Georgia

Case Argued September 12

9-12-45

NEW ORLEANS, La (SNS)— A motion to dismiss the suit brought by Edward Hall against the registrar of St. John Baptist Parish for denying him the right to register in the 1944 election was argued here Sept. 12 in the United States District court for the Eastern District of Louisiana.

Hall, a colored citizen of the state, charges that T J Nagel, parish registrar, subjected him to "unreasonable tests not required of white electors" when he sought to register in August, 1944. He is being represented by NAACP attorneys, Thurgood Marshall of New York and J. A Thornton and, A. P. Tureaud of this city

Hall charges that Nagel thereupon refused to register him, and points out that the registration law provides that "said applicant shall be able to read any clause in the Constitution or the Constitution of the United States, and give a reasonable interpretation thereof." He avers that he was ready, willing and able to satisfy this requirement and that Nagel's action was "arbitrary and capricious and not warranted by law".

Hall also charges that white people who presented themselves for registration were not required to answer such questions. 9-12-45

The NAACP lawyers opposed on September 12 the motion of the plaintiff to dismiss the suit.

Suit Is Filed Against Ala. Registrar

The Savannah Tribune
Savannah, Georgia
8-9-45

NEW ORLEANS, La.—The NAACP filed suit here recently in the United States District Court in behalf of Edward Hall against T. J. Nagel, registrar of voters in St. John the Baptist parish, Louisiana. The suit is another in the series of NAACP vote registration cases in behalf of qualified Negro electors. It seeks a declaratory judgment and permanent injunction with $5,000 damages.

It is alleged in the suit that Edward Hall possesses all the qualifications required by law of an elector and as such was entitled to register on August 4, 1944 but that the defendant T. J. Nagel maintains a policy of denying plaintiff and all other qualified Negro electors equal protection of the law by requiring them to submit to tests not required of white electors applying for registration.

The complaint further avers that this form of illegal treatment is a violation of Article 1, and Amendments 14, 15 and 17 of the United States Constitution. 8-9-45

This suit follows closely the Vinson case filed in Alabama in June ad the Wallace Vanson case filed in Georgia. The NAACP proposes to file cases throughout the south wherever discriminatory registration practices are prevalent.

Registration Case Argued in La.

The Afro American
Baltimore Maryland 9-15-45

NEW ORLEANS—A motion to dismiss the suit of Edward Hall against the registrar of St. John the Baptist Parish for denying him the right to registrar in the 1944 election, was argued here September 12 in the U.S. District court for the Eastern District of Louisiana. 9-15-45

Hall charged that T. J. Nagel, registrar, subjected him to "unreasonable tests not required of white electors" when he sought to register in August, 1944.

He is being represented by NAACP attorneys, Thurgood Marshall of New York and J. A. Thornton and A. P. Tureaud of this city.

Back Room Questioning

Hall's complaint, filed July 24, alleged that Nagel took him in a back room to the office and the following conversation took place:

"What judicial district do you live in?". Answer: "Twenty-fourth." "What congressional district?" Answer: "Second." "What senatorial district?" Answer: "I don't know."

Hall said Nagel thereupon refused to register him, pointing out, that the registration law provides that "said applicant shall be able to read any clause in this Constitution, or the Constitution of the United States, and give a reasonable interpretation thereof."

Ministers To Support $100,000 Ballot Fund Campaign, Put Up Money

The Louisiana Weekly
New Orleans, Louisiana
10-6-45

Support of the statewide movement to gain the franchise for Negroes in Louisiana was indicated by Negro Protestant churches of the city on Wednesday when more than 50 ministers of various churches gathered in St. John Fourth Baptist Church, First, near Freret Street, at the call of the Citizens' Committee of the N. A. A. C. P. and the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance. All who attended heartily endorsed the movement and made personal contributions totalling $900 and voted to set aside Oct. 21 as Negro Suffrage Sermon Day.

The Rev. A. L. Davis, president of the Ideal Baptist Association, was master of ceremonies. The Rev. C. Charles Taylor, president of the Louisiana Freedman Baptist Association, opened the meeting with invocation.

Others who spoke were J. Harvey Netter, chairman of the citizens' committee, who outlined the program to raise $100,000 throughout the state to be used for gaining the ballot and other rights for Negro citizens. The Rev. L. L. Haynes, president of the NAACP, spoke on the "Minister's Role in the Community."

Walter S. Augustine, chairman of the registration and education committee, sent out notices two weeks ago asking all pastors of Negro congregations to be present at the meeting to hear the plans of the citizens' committee and to assist in organizing the city and setting up registration schools.

During the meeting, Mr. Augustine gave a talk on registration and votng, and asked the assistance of the ministers in organizing the city into wards, precincts and blocks. He asked that ministers encourage volunteer workers to contact the committee, and that the ministers set up registration schools in their church buildings or school buildings. Mr. Augustine's talk was applauded and the ministers agreed to set aside Oct. 21 as a day on which they would preach sermons on Negro Suffrage. 10-6-45

Daniel E. Byrd, executive secretary of the NAACP, spoke on litigation and court procedures, and on the finances of the campaign.

In conclusion, the ministers passed a bill to endorse and support, morally and financially, the citizens committee in the $100,000 ballot campaign.

61e-1945

BUM SPELLING MINNESOTA WOMAN WANTS EDUCATIONAL TEST FOR SUFFRAGE RIGHTS

Black Dispatch

Mrs. Katherine Berkins, a white lady who gives her address as 1866 Graham Avenue, St. Paul, Minnesota, has written the Black Dispatch a letter in which she rebukes Negroes who oppose Poll tax laws.

Below we are printing Mrs. Berkins' letter, just as she wrote it. She states in her letter she not only approves the Poll tax, but feels in addition, citizens should be asked certain questions about government and if they cannot answer these questions intelligently they should be denied the right to vote.

Okla.

The Black Dispatch has written Mrs. Berkins advising her that it would be just as sensible to deny people the right to vote who cannot spell correctly as it would be to deny a person that same right who cannot talk intelligently about government, and the Black Dispatch has advised Mrs. Berkins that if spelling correctly was a prerequisite to voting she would be disfranchised. 12-24-45

Read Mrs. Berkins' letter below and note the poorly constructed sentences that add to her serious offense in bum spelling. We are sure that Mrs. Berkins would never agree that what is sauce for the goose should be sauce for the gander.

Her letter follows:

St. Paul, Minn.
Dec. 13-45

The Black Dispatch,

Sir! Seeing in our local paper an excerpt, from yours about James Byrnes, and his representative GOVT. I want to tell you folks, that if he was not your representative when elected, it was your own fault.

Has it never entered your heads to be men enough, if you want to vote, to save up $2.00 to vote, the said two dollars to pay the costs to carry on the job? 12-29-45

How many taxes do your colored race AYS for which you get protection, for your living but it takes some money now days for all GOVT EXPENCES, and you know those who do vote pay, and you know those who do vote pay the $2.00 dont they? Besides the regular taxes, and you know elections are coming, so why not save up for it, so you could vote. You waste more money in one week, on pleasures, to more than pay your poll tax and you know it.

Why be IRRISPONSIBLE children all your lives? You know you are that! for unless your affections are enlisted, (where you can be depended on) through them, otherwise you can not be depended on, because of your childishness and IRRISPONSIBILITY.

And those who have been urging you, to swell their ranks of AMERICANIZM, know how to pick out your weakest point to keep you stirred up. Why not then STUDDY the GOVT issue, of every sort, and be INTILIGENT enough to vote. What really should be adopted down South where they have questions pertaining toGOVT affairs and those who could not answer INTELIGENTLY should not vote. Black or White. Equality through INTELIGENCE. and manliness. Who would want beggers to run your state GOVT? I should think you would be ashamed to want to vote if you can not pay even the EXPENCE of voting.

Mrs. Catherine Berkins
1866 Graham Ave
St. Paul Minn.

Dunjee's Letter To Mrs. Berkins

Minnesota

December 19, 1945

Mrs. Katherine Berkins,
1866 Graham Avenue,
St. Paul, Minnesota.

My dear Mrs. Berkins:

I have just read your very interesting letter in which you assume the position that Negroes in the United States should not object to poll tax laws, and other obstructive tactics having for its purpose the disfranchisement of millions of white and black citizens in the Southern section of the United States.

I am glad to receive your letter because it so clearly disclose the utter disregard certain citizens have for the basic and constitutional rights of others, never realizing that like Haman of old, they are preparing to hang themselves on their own gallows.

For instance, you state specifically an education bar to suffrage is justified and right, and you lay great stress on intelligence. Intellectual improvement is, however expressed in many different ways, and one very pronounced and obvious way one may determine the educational preparation of an individual is through their ability to spell. Intelligent and well trained persons are also identified through their ability to compose good English sentences.

I am publishing your letter written me in this week's issue of the Black Dispatch. All of the words you have mispelled have been capitalized so that our readers may see, if intelligence is established as a prerequisite for voting in the state of Minnesota, you will unquestionably be disfranchised. I am sure you would register serious objection to this, but of course it is axiomatic that what is good for the goose is by the same token, good for the gander.

For the tone of your letter I am led to believe that you were reared in the South, but even so, being white, free and past twenty-one years of age I am sure you will agree with me it is a great indictment to the environment where you received your education to discover that in your adult years you cannot spell such words as "intelligent," "Americanism," "study," "expense," "irresponsibility," and "government."

Individuals who cannot spell experience great difficulty in reading, and we suspect that if the Boswell amendment, proposed in Alabama, providing that the elector must be able to read the Constitution of the United States, and of Alabama, were also invoked in Minnesota, you would again be at a serious disadvantage.

I want you to know that this letter is written in the best of spirit. We cannot get at the vital issues in American life unless people speak out just as you have. I think you have done a very constructive and worthwhile thing in writing me this letter. It gives me the excellent opportunity to refer to the philosophy of Booker T. Washington, who during his lifetime observed: 12-29-45

"No man can hold another man down in the ditch without getting down in the ditch with his opponent."

I assure you I will be pleased to have your reaction to what I have said, and under separate cover we are mailing you a copy of the Black Dispatch in order that you may see your published letter and the treatment we have given to it in our columns.

Yours for a better American, and the day when we shall take democracy out of the ritual, I remain Oklahoma City, Okla.

Very truly yours
Roscoe Dunjee, Editor
BLACK DISPATCH

61e-1945

Mississippi

Suffrage Neglected Subject

Pittsburgh Courier 1d.

2-24-45

Economically, there is a good possibility that from the Governor's program for a balanced economy will come a great advance in the economic status of the Negro. Comprising 50 per cent of the population, and possibly a larger percentage of labor, the Negro must of necessity play a great and different role in any balancing of industry with agriculture. However, the effect of the cotton picker on the employment of farm hands; on the ability of Negro tenant farmers to compete; on his ability to own and operate, is a question which hangs in the balance.

Politically, there is not much to say except that the Negro has failed to open the subject. Whether this is due to fear or apathy, or both, I was not able to determine. It is my guess that the return of the Negro veteran will open it suddenly and violently. Unlike other States, the press has failed to bring it out in the open for discussion and debate by the people at large. This failure can only bring misunderstanding when the subject is suddenly thrust upon the people by a bitter and resentful Negro veteran. Perhaps it would be wise for the people of Mississippi to remember these words written by Macaulay: 2-24-45

"Men are never so likely to settle a question rightly,
as when they discuss it freely."

61e-1945

Missouri

Negroes Get Short Deal

Pittsburgh Courier
3-10-45 Pg.

ST. LOUIS — Despite the fact that the new Missouri Constitution passed by a three to one majority, Negro voters went to the polls last week determined to demonstrate their displeasure at the provisions contained in the new laws. Three of the city's predominantly Negro wards—the Sixth, Eighteenth and Nineteenth—opposed the document to the tune of 1,030 to 1,569, 1,156 to 1,665, and 643 to 1,814, respectively. 3-10-45

Chief objection to the new charter was that it failed to give to Missouri Negroes the status of full-fledged citizens. The new Constitution contains no provision for civil rights, continues segregated schools except in districts where there are only a few Negroes (and then Legislative action is necessary) and provides equal salaries for Negro and white teachers. The latter provision is the lone improvement for Negroes in the new code.

61e-1945

Nat'l Congress

LANSING, MICH.
STATE JOURNAL
Cir. D. 50,250—S. 48,161
JUN 17 1945

The Annual Fiasco

The annual fiasco in congress is being re-enacted.

The house has again voted 251 to 105 for legislation outlawing the poll tax as a requirement to voting in primaries and election for federal office. The vote came after a lot of wrangling. However everyone knows what will happen to the measure when it reaches the senate. There it will promptly be killed.

It is another move in the long and bitter history of northern attempts to give the southern Negro a chance to vote in national elections. The poll tax, payment of which few Negroes in the south either would or could make, has effectively blocked the colored vote in the south since the Negro was granted his franchise. It is as thoroughly an institution in the south as hot biscuits and chicken. It will never be eliminated with the consent of the southern Democratic senators and even if it were there is still another and a much bigger joker in the southern voting game.

That is the enforcement of measures in southern states to force Negro would-be voters to pass intelligence tests devised and conducted by white men. Can you imagine the average southern colored man or woman passing such a test, designed by white men whose sole purpose in imposing it is to make it so difficult that no average man, white or colored, could pass it?

Some time, perhaps, the southern Negro will have an opportunity to express his choice of representatives in congress. But it looks now as if that time is still far in the future. As a result a very small number of persons in each southern state has anything to say about actual congressional representation. Just how small this number is can be gleaned from an examination of the following figures:

At the last general election Alabama with a population of 2,832,961 cast a vote of only 222,338. That means that only one person out of every 13 in Alabama voted for President and congressional representatives.

On the other hand, New Hampshire, where there is no poll tax, and which has only two congressmen, and a population of 491,524 polled a total vote of 215,857, an average of 107,000 votes for each congressman. Thus one of every three persons in New Hampshire voted.

It is hard to conceive how a more perfect method of robbing the southern colored freeman of his vote could have been devised.

MARSHALLTOWN, IA.
TIMES-REPUBLICAN
Circ. D. 10,464
JUN 20 1945

Anti-poll Tax In Senate

As usual the anti-poll tax bill went thru the house of representatives with flying colors. It sits well with the Negro voters up north where the Negroes are permitted to freely exercise the franchise, for a congressman to spout off about how badly the Negroes are treated in the south. Two years ago the anti-poll tax bill also had smooth sailing in the house but died in the senate at the other end of the capitol building. That's about what will happen again.

Bill Henry of the Los Angeles Times staff explains how death comes to the anti-poll tax bill in the senate with such regularity and certainty. The senate is largely ruled by southerners who by reason of long terms and seniority rights occupy important places on the chief committees. If you get anything thru the United States senate without the help of some southerner you are a honey.

Probably the judiciary committee of the senate will report out the anti-poll tax bill. The next routine will be to let the bill die a natural death. But if some senator demands it be brought to a vote there is almost certain to be a filibuster and there are enough strong lunged southerners in the senate to filibuster any bill to death.

There is a period in the senate known as the "morning hour". The actual time is from noon until 2 p. m. That's morning for the United States senate. During that period any bill can be brought up by unanimous consent and it must be voted on with only limited debate.

But senators of the south have a neat trick to beat the "morning hour". By a senate rule the preceding day's proceedings must first be read. On ordinary occasions a senator moves to dispense with the reading as he has copies on his desk. But he has a right to demand the reading and if he has any suspicion the anti-poll tax bill may come up he will demand the reading. That takes a lot of time.

In case the record of the previous day is short a couple of southern senators can agree in advance to argue about whether the proceedings are correct. It is easy to get over the 2 o'clock "morning hour" dead line. When this is done day after day senators get tired and someone will move to displace the anti-poll tax bill, or if it does come it will be talked into oblivion.

Southern senators have had much to do with making senate rules. In case of a jamb they now have Senator Kenneth McKellar of Tennessee in the chair as the presiding officer. If there is any way McKellar can sidetrack a vote on the anti-poll tax bill he will do it. He can see one southern senator demanding the floor above a dozen from any other part of the country.

It may seem this is all beside the merits of the bill itself. But southern senators believe states have a right to decide qualifications of voters. It makes no difference in the south whether a candidate for the senate gets the Negro vote. He makes it a sort of religion to stand firm for the rights of states to decide qualifications of voters.

Poll Tax Repeal

Washington Post

The Post has again thrown its considerable weight against the anti-poll-tax legislation now once more before Congress, renewing its position that such legislation is unconstitutional, that it should properly be accomplished by the individual States, and that, if Federal action is to be taken at all, it should take the form of legislation under the Fourteenth Amendment, decreasing the basis of representation in Congress of the poll-tax States to that extent by which they abridge the suffrage. 7-1-45

As for the first point, one wonders why, if poll tax repeal is so certainly unconstitutional, its enemies fight it so bitterly in Congress; why bloody your head in a battle that will surely be won for you by someone else? The answer is plain enough: they are not at all sure that the bill would be thrown out by the court. They pretend that this is because the present court is biased and incompetent, but in fact there is plenty of room for doubt as to the dictum of the Constitution on this question, enough so that the liberal majority could approve this legislation with less violence to logic and precedent than many a conservative majority has in the past employed to destroy progressive acts of Congress. The Constitution refers to "qualifications" for voting as lying within State jurisdiction; both historically and logically there is a serious question as to whether the poll tax may be properly construed as a "qualification."

There being this doubt, one should make up his mind according as he believes, or does not believe, that the individual States ought to take care of their own poll tax problems. Jennings Perry, in his recent account of the Tennessee poll tax struggle, heaps scorn on those who argue that the question must be left to the people of the poll tax States. They do not have the franchise, so how can they repeal their own disenfranchisement? "The people of the poll tax States," he writes, "would have asked nothing better than to have the issue left to their own elective decision—had they but had the means of election." There have of course been courageous fights made within the States. Mr. Perry himself led the most exciting of those fights. But at every point, precisely because of the poll tax, the enemies of democracy are able to thwart the will of the people. Should not the Federal Government, which under the Constitution is supposed to guarantee to each State a republican form of government, assist the people of the States in unriveting the chains which they want to throw off but cannot?

The last point made by The Post seems to me the weakest of all. Exactly how is it to be determined just to what extent suffrage has been reduced by the poll tax, and therefore just how much representation is to be taken away? It would seem to be utterly impossible. Congress would never pass such haphazard and complicated legislation. 7-1-45

R. N. STROMBERG.

Pepper Heads Poll Tax Fight

afro-American Baltimore Md

WASHINGTON, D.C.—(NAPA)—Senator Claude Pepper of Florida has redonned his mantle of liberalism, discarded during the FEPC appropriation fight, and has accepted leadership of the coalition which will fight for abolition of the poll tax in the Senate.

The coalition is a powerful, bipartisan line-up, including Senators Homer Ferguson (R) of Michigan, James Mead (D) of New York, Arthur Capper (R) of Kansas, Harley M. Kilgore (D) of West Virginia, and Warren G. Magnuson (D) of Washington. 7-28-45

Leaders Dismayed

According to Mrs. Katherine Shryver, executive secretary of the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, "Thoughtful Senate leaders of both parties have been dismayed by the complete irresponsibility demonstrated in the recent filibuster against vital war agencies, and we believe that most Senators who believe in democracy now realize that such irresponsibility is made possible by poll tax disfranchisement."

She said the "disgraceful filibuster" by poll tax members of both House and Senate has done more to bring home to political observers and to members of both Houses of Congress the threat to majority representative government in the poll tax than any occurrence of recent years.

Hits Bilbo, Eastland

"The irresponsible and indiscriminate charges against American citizens and the American armed forces, the insults to whole races and religions, and the fantastic disregard for a world-wide war, displayed on the Senate floor by two poll tax Senators (Bilbo and Eastland), were sharp reminders to decent-minded Senators with faith in democracy that minority government is a poor and irresponsible government," Mrs. Shryver said.

"I believe," she continued, "that if HR7 (the anti-poll tax bill) were called up tomorrow and a filibuster developed, the Senate would vote for cloture immediately."

She expressed the hope that the lessons of the filibuster would not be lost on Senators and that even the Southern Senators who have "gone along" for the sake of political peace will feel impelled to "disassociate themselves from the stigma of irresponsibility in government earned by the Mississippi Senators."

The Presidential Succession

The New Republic

President Truman has suggested to Congress that a new law should be passed in regard to the presidential succession. As matters now stand, if a Vice President succeeds to the presidency through death, and himself dies or is removed from office, the succession goes down through the members of the cabinet, beginning with the Secretary of State. Mr. Truman suggests that the law be changed to make the Speaker of the House the third in line instead of the Secretary of State, on the ground that the Speaker is an elected official and presumably comes nearer to representing the interests of the American people than does any appointed member of the cabinet. But there are grave weaknesses in his plan. The Speaker may come from a poll-tax district in a Southern state and represent in fact only 10 percent of a constituency of a few thousand voters. He may be of the opposite party to the President whom he would succeed and might be opposed to all his policies. The Secretary of State on the other hand is certain to be in sympathy with the policies and attitude of the President, or he would not be there. It seems to us, therefore, that on the whole the best solution is, if the President and Vice President should both die or be removed from office, to call a new presidential election as promptly as possible, the man elected to serve out the unfulfilled term. During the emergency until that election was held, the succession should go down as it does now through the members of the cabinet.

7-2-45

7-2-45

Six More Senators Join Poll Tax Tilt

Atlanta Daily World

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) — Swelling the coalition ranks to 12, six more Senators have joined the steering committee, headed by Senator Claude Pepper of Florida, to push through the anti-poll tax bill in the Senate.

7-31-45

Added to the committee last week were Senators Elbert Thomas (D. of Utah), Wayne Morse (R. of Oregon,) Robert Wagner (D. of New York), George D. Aiken, (R. of Vermont,) Joseph Ball (R. of Minnesota) and William Langer (R of North Dakota)

12

Already on the steering committee with Pepper were Senators Homer Ferguson (R. of Michigan), James M. Mead (D. of New York), Arthur Capper (R. of Kansas), Harley M. Kilgore (D. of West Virginia), and Warren Magnuson (D. of Washington).

61e-1945

New York

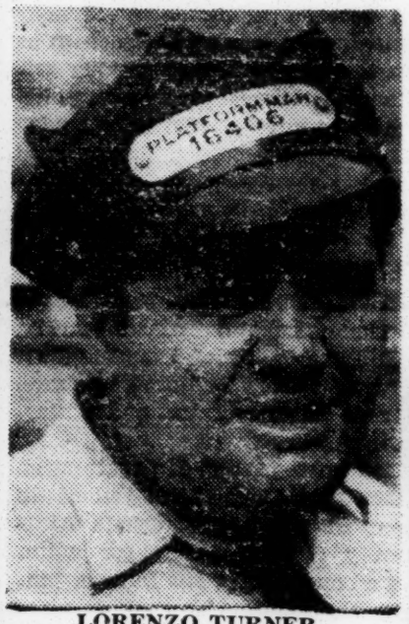
What Harlem Voters Think of Ben Davis

The Worker

New York, New York

By EUGENE GORDON

The six Harlemites of this story, questioned on 125th St. between Eighth and Lenox Aves., last Tuesday morning, said they would vote for Ben Davis for City Council next November.



LORENZO TURNER

9-16-45

"Yes, I'll vote for Councilman Davis," said Lorenzo Turner, Independent conductor, who lives at 2542 Seventh Ave. "I'll vote for him because he's done everything in his power to benefit the colored people of New York. To get elected he needs the people's support, and, as far as I'm concerned," he declared, "he's got mine."

9-16-45

Mrs. Jessie Robinson, housewife, 320 St. Nicholas Ave., her shopping bag indicating that she was returning from market, said she would vote for Davis because she liked what he had done in the City Council. Such as? Oh, she laughed, he's done so many fine things she just couldn't think of them all.

Al King, a jeweler for 15 years at 301 W. 125 St., will vote for Davis "because he's a liberal and a progressive" and that means that "he's good for Harlem."

MRS. JESSIE ROBINSON

9-16-45

AL KING 9-16-45

9-16-45

R. H. Kent, a cook, of 267 W. 126 St., will vote for Davis "because he's a colored man, first of all." Secondly, because the Communist Councilman "has the interest of all the people at heart."

9-16-45 —Worker Photos

Robert Patrick, a porter at a 125th St store but who lives at 241 W. 126 St., simply didn't see anybody else for whom to vote. Ben Davis, in Mr. Patrick's opinion, "is just better than anybody else that could take his place."

"If you can't find anything wrong with him," he asked, "why change?"

DAVID BURTON

9-16-45

"We've got to look out for our best men and, once they get elected, try to keep them where they'll do good for the people." David Burton, pressed this view said h might b seaman of 441 W. 124 St., who expressed this view said he might be at sea when time for voting comes but that he'll try to be here to vote for Davis.

R. H. KENT

ROBERT PATRICK

NEW YORK, N. Y.
JOURNAL-AMERICAN
Circ. D. 641,194 - S. 1,067,857

SEP 10 1945

Charge O'Dwyer With Race Plea

By SANFORD E. STANTON

A charge that William O'Dwyer, Democratic-ALP mayoralty candidate, and his campaign committee are resorting to "an appeal to racial and class feelings" was made today by William B. Herlands, campaign chairman for Jonah J. Goldstein, Republican-Liberal-Fusion hope.

The accusation followed the statement of the Rev. Sean Reid, pastor and prior of the Carmelite Church of Our Lady of Scapular, 339 E. 28th st., who told his congregation that "false and slanderous rumors" had been started about O'Dwyer. Herlands did not refer to Father Reed's statement.

Speaking to a large group of war veterans, Father Reid said that "every time a member of the Catholic Church aspires to public office, you find the whisperers ready to spread the story that he is not a good churchman, or that he is aligned with the Communists."

HERLANDS' APPEAL.

Herlands said:

"I pray the campaign will not degenerate into attempts to have votes cast for or against candidates on the ground of race, religion or national origin."

He termed as "preposterous bunk" the assertion, which he said came from the O'Dwyer camp, that he had intimidated Negro and foreign-born voters in his capacity a year ago as special assistant Attorney General investigating irregularities in literacy tests given to first voters.

NEW YORK, N. Y.
POST
Cir. D. 182,292

SEP 10 1945

Protests 'Race Issues

Herlands Objects to O'Dwyer Strategy

By VICTOR RIESEL

Official spokesmen for William O'Dwyer, Democratic-ALP Mayoralty candidate, have injected racial and class issues into the campaign, it was charged today by William B. Herlands, campaign manager for Judge Jonah J. Goldstein, Republicai-Liberal nominee.

Herlands, in lashing out at his opponents who have charged that he once attempted to intimidate Negro and foreign born voters, said that O'Dwyer had refused to "stop the spreading of this malicious nonsense."

"I trust this will be a vigorous campaign," Herlands said in a press conference at the Hotel Astor, "but we shall deliver no punches below the belt. We have important municipal issues to discuss. I pray the campaign will not degenerate into attempts to have votes cast for or against candidates on the ground of race, religion or national origin."

Literacy Tests an Issue

Herlands last year investigated alleged irregularities in literacy tests given to first voters. O'Dwyer's supporters last week charged that during this probe Herlands had attempted to intimidate Negroes and naturalized citizens.

Herlands assailed this as "bunk of the most preposterous sort," and asserted that while he was head of the 1944 Elections Fraud Bureau "not a single prospective voter was arrested, indicted, prosecuted, not a single Negro's name was placed on a challenge list."

New York

Harlem Woman

Amsterdam News

Politico Held

New York

In Vote Fraud

Wilhelmina Adams Indicted On 11 Charges; Socialite's Out On Bail; Awaits Trial

Tammany co-Leader Wilhelmina F. Adams, Harlem's most influential woman politicians, was arrested on charges of violating election laws last week and held in $500 bail pending her appearance in Special Sessions on December 10.

Miss Adams, who is equally well known as a socialite, was indicted on 11 counts. 12-1-45

Arrested at the same time and held in bail of $500 each were six other uptowners and four downtown Tammanyites. Among them are Mrs. Gladys Porter, 242 Bradhurst Ave., and her husband, Wheelock, who are both members of Congressman Adam Powell's 12th Assembly District organization—the Witoka Democratic club.

The others faced with a year in prison, a $500 fine or both, identified themselves as Joseph Pinckney, Jr., son of Attorney Joseph Pinckney, Sr., Democratic leader of the 11th Assembly District; Clarence A. Tilghman, 49, of 124 W. 117th St., who is a member of Miss Adams' New Deal Democratic Club in the 14th A. D., John Logan, 48, c. 770 St. Nicholas Ave., who was described as an active figure in the Witoka Club, and Frank Hyson, 61, a contractor of 1988 Madison Ave., who is secretary of the 11th A. D. Victory Democratic Club. 12-1-45

The whites involved are Eugene E. McManus, Tammany leader of the Third A. D.; Harry J. Fox, of 455 W. 43rd Street; Joseph A. Beadle, of 597 Tenth Ave., and Peter J. Stavros, of 171 W. 23rd Street.

All were indicted by the grand jury as a result of an investigation which has been going on since the primary election last August, District Attorney Frank Hogan revealed. Specifically, they are accused of having fraudulently obtained the official list of registered voters, copying the names and notarizing petitions for a new organization, the American Veterans Party.

The petitions were "thrown out" by the Board of Elections after the alleged fraud was discovered but the District Attorney directed that a full and complete investigation be made.

Mr. Hogan's assistants, Alexander Dreiband and William H. Loguen, questioned 1,200 persons during the subsequent checkup, it was learned, and more than 250 witnesses appeared before the grand jury.

At her home, 131 W. 110th Street, Miss Adams admitted that she had notarized the fake petitions, insisting, nevertheless, that it was a customary procedure in political clubhouses.

"These charges are serious under the law," Miss Adams told the Amsterdam News, "and I am in the middle. They're not after me and everybody in town knows it. They are out after Tammany Hall, and they believe, because I am a co-leader, that I know things I really don't know." 12-1-45

At the first hearing before a Special Sessions Justice George B. DeLuca, the attractive florist shop owner was represented by Atty. Sidney Unger. At the trial, however, she will be defended by a battery of lawyers, some of Miss Adams' friends said.

According to the informations voted by the grand jury, Miss Adams notarized 21 pages of petitions, containing 15 names each. The only legitimate name on the petitions, the assistant district attorney said, was that of Miss Adams.

"There is nothing to hide," Miss Adams answered when reporters questioned her. "I told the District Attorney I notarized the papers as I had done many times before. Workers would come in, ask for a notary, and I would sign under the impression that the names had been obtained legitimately."

Mr. Pinckney, Jr., a printer, is a Republican and does not hold membership in his father's club.

Some of his friends appeared surprised when told that he was among those being held. Young Pinckney, 22, lives at 371 Edgecombe Ave. Like Miss Adams, he is accused of having notarized at least four pages of the fraudulent petitions.

Mr. Hyson, a contracting carpenter, allegedly signed three pages of the petitions as a subscribing witness; usually an indication that the person signing actually saw each individual whose signature was listed.

Mrs. Porter, mother of a baby only a few months old, was held on charges of second degree perjury among other complaints. Her husband, Wheelock Porter, is 36 and works as a waiter. 12-1-45

When arraigned before Justice Henry Curran Monday, Mrs. Porter revealed that Logan and her husband accompanied her to the Witoka Club, 222 W. 145th Street, and copied the names of eligible voters, skipping lines occasionally to make it appear that the handwriting was different.

61e-1945

Cincinnati, Ohio
Catholic Telegraph
Register
June 29, 1945

City Council

It is important that the Colored citizens of Cincinnati vote at the coming municipal election. The recommendation is made at this time in the hope of having the Negroes of our city consider calmly their duty of exercising the franchise. It is urgent that our Colored citizens unite and agree on the candidate that they wish to represent them in council. It may be expected that many candidates will present themselves. It will not be a surprise if unworthy politicians encourage several Negro candidates to run for city council. Their plan would be to divide the Negro vote and thereby to exclude the Colored man as a member of city council. This column is disinterestedly and wholeheartedly devoted to the welfare of the Colored people in this community. The following message should be delivered to all Colored citizens: Resolve to vote, and to unite among yourselves on the candidate that you wish to represent you in council.

Denver, Colo.
Catholic
Telegraph-Register
Sept. 14, 1945

Voting

Before we reach the weeks immediately preceding the voting season in November, it is well to think calmly of our duties as citizens. It is hoped that all citizens, especially all good citizens, will cast their ballots in November.

Voters should cast their votes for good, qualified candidates, who will discharge their official duties conscientiously. In these days, when moral principles are so generally rejected, it is extremely important that conscientious and capable men be charged with public responsibility. If capable officials are thoroughly honest in the performance of their duties, we are likely to have wiser ordinances and regulations in the cities and towns of Ohio. Little men with no vision and caring nothing for the general welfare of the community, as well as dishonest officials who seek to deceive the voters, can be very detrimental to a community.

The proportional representation such as we have in Cincinnati, with an arbitrary system of counting votes—which is not too good—has, during the last few years, shown how petty officials can be. Candidates can appeal to one group only, whose numbers are sufficient to elect them. Such elected officials can lose sight of the common good of the people of Cincinnati. Undoubtedly P. R. during several years did much for the general welfare of Cincinnati. Many thoughtful persons today are of the opinion that P. R. has run its course. This column does not offer a judgment either for or against the system. It does, however, ask the voters to think of the common welfare of the people of the Queen City in every municipal election.

Ohio Voting

This column is greatly concerned about the welfare of the Colored people of this community. An effort is now being made to divide them. Promises are made which never can nor will be fulfilled. Those making the promises have no intention of trying to fulfill them. They are radicals, who are not striving to benefit our Colored people. Our Colored citizens of Cincinnati, since they must vote at the next election under the P. R. system, are asked to stand united. They should have a representative in the Council. This is possible only by a refusal of the Colored people to be divided, and by a determination to select one of their own color, race, and blood to speak for them in Council and to help in the government of our city.

The women of the city of Cincinnati should resolve now to vote at the coming elections. They can exercise a tremendous influence in the home. This column is not telling them how to vote, or how to cast their ballots for candidates. It does suggest, however, that they vote for good, conscientious, capable candidates. They should take a stand against anyone who tries to arouse bigotry or racial hatred in the community.

Under the system of P. R. in Cincinnati, voters are asked to select nine candidates. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that a voter helps to elect only one of the nine candidates of Cincinnati Council. In order to have that one vote count, the voter should cast a ballot for 12 candidates at least, or better still, for 14 candidates. The complicated method of counting votes under the Cincinnati P. R. system is strange and not wise, but it is the system that must be followed until a change is made in the law. This column, therefore, urges all voters in Cincinnati, when voting for the members of the Council next November, to cast a ballot not merely for nine candidates, but for 14 candidates.

SOUTHERN EDITORS BLAST POLL TAX AND OTHER METHODS OF SYSTEMATIC DISFRANCHISEMENT

Dunjee Offers Oklahoma Experience As Pattern to Be Followed in Dixie

ETHERIDGE SAYS SITUATION HUMILATING

ATLANTA, Georgia—"I'm in favor of unrestricted suffrage. I believe in democracy even for the left-wing Greeks. I'm in favor of having democracy here and now. I want to see the poll tax abolished and the Negro enfranchised" was the dramatic and forthright statement of Harry E. Strozier, attorney and contributing editor to the Macon (Ga.) News, when he discussed election laws of his state before a group of white and black editors last Thursday in the Atlanta Biltmore Hotel. During an all-day session which ended without passing any resolutions, Southern editors and writers met under the leadership of Mark Ethridge, publisher (Ky.) Courier-Journal, they heard speakers from most of the eight Southern states where poll tax laws are in force.

Mr. Ethridge, who served as conference chairman, said information on the meeting would be disseminated throughout the South in advance of 1945 legislative sessions of the several states.

"Many think the Federal Government may do something about this question if the states do nothing," commented Mr. Ethidge. "I prefer to see the states do it. These restrictions on voting are a complete negation of democratic processes."

Want Democracy Now

Candor and frankness dominated the session as each speaker came forward and told the exact methods adopted in his section to disfranchise both white and Negro citizens, and it was Strozier, who during his talk said "I hope before we start launching democracy all over the world we should develope a little bit on our own door-step right herein the South."

Dunjee Talks

One of the major impressions taken home by the editors was the speech of Roscoe Dunjee, editor of the Black Dispatch, of Oklahoma City, who said: "The Negro will join white people of the South in doing the things that ought to be done in a democracy."

"We have already accomplished down in Oklahoma what you are talking about doing," declared Dunjee. We should not view this subject as an experiment. I am here today to tell you that 45,000 Negroes vote in the democratic primary in Oklahoma and that the Democratic organization considers that black vote the most loyal unit of the organization.

The editors burst into laughter when Dunjee told of some of the methods adopted by Oklahoma Negroes back in the administration of former Governor J. B. A. Robertson to secure registration.

'Negroes Vote in Oklahoma"

The message I want to bring to this conference is that white and black people are getting along together in a friendly way in the polling places in Oklahoma. In fact there is not a county in Oklahoma where the Negro cannot vote unmolested and unafraid, and we're doing this despite the fact that Oklahoma today has on its statute books a registration act, enacted in 1916 which had for its express purpose substitution of the Grandfather law invalidated in 1914."

Mississippi

Thomas Sancton, Jackson, Mississippi, liberal writer and author in discussing the election laws of his state said that poll tax receipts two years old were required of electors and that those offering themselves for ballot privileges must be able to read any section of the Mississippi constitution to the satisfaction of the election officials.

No Secret Ballot in S.C.

John C. Hunt, South Carolina, said that his state was the first to enact "Black Codes" and that there was no longer any such thing as a secret ballot in his state. They just throw a lot of ballots down in front of the voters. One has to be able to pick out the ballot he desires to vote in full view of the election officials. He said it was impossible to vote a split ticket, and that Negroes do not vote in the Democratic primary and have been forced to organize a party of their own.

Where They Hold Elections

Harnett Kane of Louisiana, said the methods adopted in his state to prevent Negroes from voting was to designate pool halls, bar rooms and houses of prostitution as the voting places, while another speaker from the same state said that the method adopted to dissuade the Negro from arriving at the polling place was to hold the election in the front room of a private home, place a bad dog in front yard, make the mistress of the house the registrar, while her husband set over on the side and watched developments.

Wesley's Plane Grounded

Carter Wesley, published of the Houston Informer, also programed to speak, was unable to attend by reason of his plane passage being taken while on the way by government priorities. One speaker said that if a Negro offered to register as a democrat in Floriad he would be automatically registered as a Republican.

Forum Discussion

Speaker after speaker, during the afternoon open forum discussion, said that the statement of Editor Dunjee, from Oklahoma was the most signifigant experience pointing the way for the South, and every speaker gave definite approval to the belief that Negroes should be given full democratic rights at the polling places in Dixie.

Alabama In Hands of Big Corporations

The conference heard of the "Black Satchel" votes in Virginia, which is another vicious method by which government circumvents democracy, and a representative from Alabama said the laws of that state were intended to disfranchise the blacks and turn the state over into the hands of big corporations. In spite of this, the speaker said, there is a growing feeling to allow Negroes to participate in elections.

Summary

The sessions concluded with a summary by Chairman Ethridge who said "The real fear down South has been that if the Negro is turned foot-loose at the ballot box he'd vote for Lincoln."

"What we have heard today is humiliating" said Ethridge, "It shows a complete denial of the democratic process. It shows we are going to have to get far beyond the dialectics of the politician if we are to free the South of this shame."

Sponsors

Sponsors of the committee were Harry M. Ayers, publisher, Anniston Star, Alabama; George A. Buchanan, editor, Columbia Record, South Carolina; Bryan Collier, editor, Columbus Ledger, Georgia; Tarleton Collier, editor, Louisville Courier-Journal, Kentucky; W. T. Couch, director, University of N. Carolina Press; Virginius Dalney, editor, Richmond Times-Dispatch, Viriginia; Jonathan Daniels, editor, Raleigh News and Observer, N. Carolina; Ted Dealey, publisher, Dallas Morning News, Texas; James A. Dombrowski, editor Southern Patriot, Nashville, Tenn. Roscoe Dunjee, editor, Black Dispatch, Oklahoma City; Mark Ethridge, publisher, Louisville Courier-Journal, Kentucky; Clark Howell Foreman, author, Georgia; Helen. Fuller, Washington correspondent New Republic, of Alabama; Frances Gaither, author, Louisiana; Frank P. Graham, author, and President of the University of North Carolina; Julia Collier Harris, author, Georgia; Julian LaRose Harris, N.Y. Times representative, Georgia; Louis I. Jaffe, editor, Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, Virginia; Charles S. Johnson, author, Tennessee; Stetson Kennedy, author, Florida; George S. Mitchell, author, Virginia; H. Clarence Nixon, director, Vanderbilt University Press, Nashville, Tenn.; Jennings Perry, editor, Nashville Tennessean, Tenn.; Nelson Poynter, publisher, St. Petersburg Times, Fla.; Thomas Sacton, writer, Mississippi; C. A. Scott, editor, Atlanta Daily World, Ga.; Lillian Smith, author, Ga.; Paula Snelling, editor of South Today, Clayton, Ga.; C. M. Stanley, editor, Montgomery Advertiser and Journal, Alabama; Harry S. Strozier, attorney and contributing editor, Macon News, Ga.; A. L. Swim, editor, Memphis Press-Scimitar, Tenn.; Carter Wesley, publisher, Informer Newspapers, Houston, Texas; A. Hope Wheeler, editor, Arlington Citizen, Texas; P. B. Young, publisher, Norfolk Journal and Guide, Virginia.

ARGUMENT FOR POLL TAX

Editor, The Advertiser:

Taxation has been a constant problem to Federal and State governments since the consolidation of our Union. There have been just and unjust taxes thrust upon the people. There has been defalcation and misuse of its income. Still, it has been a vital means of securing government income and in many cases has been a controlling factor in everyday purchasable commodities.

The new poll tax issue, however, should not leave anyone in a shadow of doubt as to whether or not it should continue. This is one form of taxation that I personally advocate wholeheartedly. Abolition of this tax would tend to take away and derogate the fine and dignified character of having always been a voter and a tax payer for this right. Continuation of the poll tax would not destroy any rights of democracy but only make its fundamentals stronger.

To make the right to vote a free and flourishing public privilege will serve only to solicit ballots of innumerable unqualified voters. This would include those who, to truthfully speak, never cared to vote or have a voice in government affairs.

To repeal the voting fee would also gather voters who have been extremists in criticism of their government but yet too indifferent to render the small fee for voting. This issue is due for action soon. It is my hope that legislative policy will be to continue and maintain the poll tax. For after all, isn't it a sound method of supporting our government and in return have a voice in county, State and Federal affairs and elections?

JACK HORNSBY.

Tallassee, Ala.

FIGHT ON POLL TAX PUSHED

Bill Needs 14 More Names to Get Out of Committee

WASHINGTON, May 16 (AP)—Signatures of fourteen members are all that stand today between the House and its biennial poll tax battle. With the signatures of 204 members already obtained, Representative Bender of Ohio predicted that the others would be obtained by the end of this week.

Under House rules, the earliest the legislation proposed to outlaw the poll tax could be considered would be May 28, and that is the day, Mr. Bender asserted, on which he would demand action.

The poll-tax bill introduced at the beginning of this session is held up in the Judiciary Committee.

Electoral Reform Group Is Ready To Offer Evidence

The Southern Electoral Reform League, militant antipoll tax group, no wis prepared to give evidence next week in its attempt to unseat 79 Southern Congressmen whom it charges have been elected unconstitutionally by an electorate whose rights were abridged.

League President Moss A. Plunkett, Roanoke, Va., attorney, and Counsel Arthur Dunn contend that because "illegal taxes" prevent more than 50 per cent of residents in eight Southern States from voting, the last Congress should have reapportioned the States or directed the election of Congressmen at large.

Dunn disclosed that 42 of the Representatives served have replied to the contest, 35 with a mimeographed form statement denying that voter's rights have restricted in their States and labeling the claim "malicious."

The legislators also charged that the action had not been presented

in accordance with law and challenged Plunkett's interest in their respective cases.

This Evening

Birmingham News-Age-Herald 5-11-45

THE POLL-TAX ISSUE

There is a strong likelihood that the House will vote on poll-tax legislation today. Nothing this column can say on the subject can be more than reiteration of a point of view it has frequently expressed. In its own interest and for the sake of democracy, Alabama should get rid of this tax in its entirety. Although the removal of the cumulative provision would be something to be grateful for, that would not be enough. As Gov. Sparks' message showed most convincingly when he urged dropping the cumulative feature, every argument he used applies with even greater force to the poll-tax system as a whole.

Payment of poll tax was made a suffrage requirement by the 1901 constitution, in order to eliminate the Negro as a voter and in order to put a quietus on Populist remnants in the state. It is hard to say which purpose stood first in the minds of the delegates. The Black Belt was strong for squeezing Negroes out, while northern, industrial Alabama was interested in keeping labor in line. The agrarian revolt had left scars upon status quo adherents which were not easily healed. So agricultural spokesmen joined hands with industrial spokesmen in inserting in the constitution what many thoughtful Alabamians now feel to be a monstrosity. It is time to get rid of it, root and branch. 5-11-45

It is now clear that if we are to have a clean and intelligent ballot in this state we must not only eliminate the poll tax, but take steps to improve our registration laws. If a monetary qualification is abhorrent, scarcely less so is the arrangement we now have with respect to registration. It seems to be aimed at keeping down the number of qualified voters because it makes registration such a difficult business. That is intolerable. What is needed is a statute which makes it easy for people who are fit to swell the electorate. The present situation, as Gov. Sparks has not hesitated to assert, is responsible for the prevalence of machines in our politics.

At a recent meeting in Montgomery of persons interested in the improvement of state affairs, the opinion was expressed without contradiction that a majority of Alabamians would like to see the poll-tax requirement expunged. Whether that is a correct estimate of public desire no one can be sure of without a vote on the subject. The only way in which such a referendum can be had is for the Legislature to start the ball rolling for an amendment to the constitution. In the light of all the realities of the hour, those who oppose such action are merely placing themselves in the position of admitting that they are afraid to submit the proposal to the people.

5-11-45

Senators OK Poll Tax Ban

P.M. N.Y.N.Y. 10-2-45

Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Oct. 2.—The Senate Judiciary Committee yesterday approved House-passed legislation outlawing the poll tax as a voting requirement in the election of Federal officials. 10-2-45

The Committee also indorsed a proposed constitutional amendment by Sen. Joseph C. O'Mahoney (D., Wyo.), which declares that:

"The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State by reason of failure to pay any tax or on account of any property qualification."

Chairman Pat McCarran (D., Nev.), said the Committee, in clearing both pieces of legislation for Senate action, had "decided to let the Senate decide" which, if either, method it would choose.

The anti-poll tax bill is the third passed by the House in recent years. The two previous bills died in the Senate in the face of determined opposition by Southern Senators.

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THE POLL TAX AGAIN

Savannah Tribune Ga.

The reason usually given by Southern statesmen for opposing federal legislation which seeks to make lynching a federal offense, or which seeks to abolish the poll tax as a voting requirement, is that such legislation would violate the principle of state rights. They protest vehemently against what they call outside interference. They admit somewhat grudgingly that both lynching and the poll tax are evils which they wish eventually to correct. We are glad to admit that lynchings have declined greatly, eventually. We hope to see the poll tax abolished "eventually" at least, but "eventually" has come to mean a long time during which human rights are denied Negroes. We grant that many changes must come about eventually, but there are some changes which should not necessarily have to wait, and it is just this that makes Negroes restless and impatient. They are conscious of the justice of their claim for correction of social, political and economic inequalities they suffer, and they are more and more willing to make whatever sacrifices are necessary to sue to bring the correction about, wherever white people are not willing to grant them without suit.

It will hurt the pride and dampen the hope of many loyal and intelligent Negroes who believe in their state, if the legislature fails to recommend the abolition of the poll tax. They are viewing with growing alarm the announced intention of some influential members of the legislature to fight such a proposal. 2-15-45

FULLY CAPABLE

Montgomery Advertiser

Editor, The Advertiser:

Anent poll tax repeal and all other such matters, I am blankety-blank tired of all this meddling and interfering with the South; and I am equally as blankety-blank disgusted at those Southerners who tolerate it, especially those who fall in line with it. My Grandfather Fuller was an M.P. in the Union Army, and, in the days following the Civil War was stationed in Mobile. He often said that there was no sense in keeping the Federal troops in the South, since Southerners were — and are — capable of handling their own affairs. 2-6-45 DAVID FULLER, JR.

"The Vanishing Poll Tax"

N.Y. Amsterdam News

The State of Georgia recently abolished the poll tax. The Attorney General of Florida recently admitted that it wouldn't be long before Negroes voted in the Democratic primary in that state, though he depreciated it. The publisher of an Anniston, Alabama, newspaper came out for the abolition of the poll tax in his state last December, declaring that the constitution of Alabama hadn't been amended or changed in any way since 1901, when it was devised to prevent Negroes from voting and to turn the state over to big corporations. (He meant the Tennessee Coal & Iron and other big corporations in Alabama, which sponsored and sparkplugged the anti-Negro, "white supremacy" political campaign there last spring). 3-10-45

In addition to these, there are other wholesome signs of the Solid (against the Negro and labor) South cracking. But it won't crumble unless the responsible, courageous white and colored leaders of that section keep plugging away against the forces of bigotry and entrenched economic domination. There are some white men in the South equally courageous and fair-minded as the publisher of the Annistor paper. They are more active today than in many years. There are also many courageous and fair-minded Negro leaders in the South — men and women who refuse to knuckle to the proverbial "uncle tom" role usually played by Southern Negroes. 3-10-45

It is largely through these liberal colored and white leaders that real progress will be made in Dixie. The abolition of the poll tax in Georgia, and the other cracks in the wall of race hate and bigotry down there are due in no small part to their efforts. They are doing the nation a good deed.

This Clinches It

An Editorial

Daily Worker

The polltax, we have persistently maintained, is not the concern solely of the people of Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. If further evidence be needed, Rep. William Colmer of Mississippi provides it. 10-15-45

The Colmer committee recently returned from Nazi-ravished Europe, has recommended "the reconstruction of Germany" as "the No. 1 project in the development of sound foreign economics." Edwin W. Pauley, President Truman's representative on the Allied Reparations Commission has called this kind o fproposal attempted sabotage. Pauley, in common with millions of other Americans, wishes to help rebuild Nazi devastated Europe. Colmer and his committee say no. We first must get the Nazis back on their feet.

Well, that clinches the argument for a federal anti-polltax bill as a must for the whole country. New York, N.Y.

Since the polltax vitally affects the welfare of every man, woman and child in the United States, it is the responsibility of every American citizen to help abolish it. Colmer can speak with enthusiasm of rehabilitating the Nazis because he has a bond of understanding with them.

The Senate Judiciary Committee has already reported H.R.-7 favorably to the Upper House. Unfortunately, the committee has also favorably reported the needless and impracticable O'Mahoney amendment to the anti-polltax bill. Bilbo has vowed to filibuster the bill. He vows to support the amendment.

Your citizenship duty, therefore, is clear. Determined pressure upon your Senators will work wonders. When you write your two Senators today—by title and name, U. S. Senate, Washington, D. C.—tell them that you want them to do everything in their power to pass H.R.-7. That includes a vote for cloture, so the majority who are pledged to the bill can vote for it on its merits.

61e-1945

Poll-Tax Third Round

The New Republic

THE POLL TAX is up again, as it must continue to come up as long as it exists and we own a political conscience. We mean the poll tax that is used as a tax on voting in Virginia, South Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas and Texas and has held the people of these states under minority rule for the past half-century.

12-14-45

Proposed federal legislation to remove this disability from citizens desiring to cast votes in national elections, has passed the House three years hand-running by overwhelming majorities. Action is being sought in the Senate before the year's-end recess. This year, as in 1943 and 1944, passage of the bill (HR 7) is recommended by the Judiciary Committee.

In other years, the measure has failed of passage by the margin of the Senate's unwillingness to overthrow a filibuster. This year a filibuster again looms, with Senator Bilbo of Mississippi dusting off his trusty telephone books, mail-order catalogues and other references from which he can harangue his colleagues as long as his effrontery and their docility endure.

This year the poll tax is spotlighted not only as a barrier to our social progress at home, but as the bar sinister on the escutcheon we show to the rest of the world. President Truman's foreign-policy address on Navy Day in which he went over "our responsibilities within the framework of our fundamental principles" was resplendent with declarations of our belief in the return of "sovereign rights and self-government to all peoples," through the establishment of governments in accordance with the "freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned."

N.Y. N.Y.

In view of the fact that the people of seven states of our own Union have no way freely to express their political choices, and therefore no access to "peaceful democratic government," all of the above falls a little flat. As important as it unquestionably is that Bulgarians and Rumanians have a free vote, it is not less important, surely, that Virginians and Tennesseans have as much.

12-17-45

But Congress mocks and dawdles. Its hands are tied by its committees and its committees are hog-tied by poll-tax members who do not have to give a hang about the people of the United States, but only about the miniscule electorates in their own estates that have survived the tax on voting and are only the fractional remainder of once-sovereign peoples. Six poll-taxers make an indigestible lump in the stomach of the House Ways and Means Committee. Five poll-taxers plus backward-gazing Cochran of Missouri and Erwin of North Carolina out of 13 Democrats, and Clare Hoffman of Michigan, Judd of Minnesota and Rich of Pennsylvania among the Republican members, make up the Unholy Alliance in the House Committee on Expenditures of the Executive, whose chairman, poll-taxer Carter Manasco of Alabama, scoffs openly at the executive's plea for legislation to bridge the nation's road over the postwar perils of inflation and depression.

Enactment of HR 7 would honor the constitutional guarantee of a republican form of government to the people of all the states of the United States. A majority of the members of the Senate have given their word to support the bill. Obstacles to its passage are the filibuster, which should be checked by continuous sessions or broken by cloture, and a resolution by Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney that would wrap up the whole issue as a question of constitutional amendment.

Whatever the Senator's personal sincerity in this proposal, its effect, if accepted, would be (beyond furnishing a bowl in which the Senate could wash its own hands) nil in the foreseeable future. Thirteen states could block the amendment, and it is logical to suppose that many state legislatures would be inclined simply to pass back to Congress the buck Congress itself would have attempted to pass. In the poll-tax states, the legislatures can make only the most tenuous claim to speak the popular will, and this fact accentuates the absurdity of the amendment proposal. The very people most affected by the proposal—the millions disfranchised by the poll tax—would have no leverage upon it, one way or the other.

Our nation cannot hope to exert a real moral leadership in the world until it can beckon with clean hands. The framework of our fundamental principles is the framework of a republic; the basic principle of a republic is the right to vote. While the right to vote of ten million of our own citizens is abridged by a tax device, we can cut but the sorry figure of a busybody in instructing others toward democracy and in insisting that no other nation which restricts the suffrage shall be recognized as worthy of a place in decent society.

61e-1945

RALPH McGILL

More Comment On Poll Tax Repeal

(Editor's Note: Ralph McGill is en route around the world as a member of the American Society of Newspaper Editors' mission in behalf of universal news freedom. His column will appear as time and communication facilities allow. When it is not available, substitute features will be used, as today's compilation of editorials concerning Georgia's action in repealing the poll tax.)

Palm Beach Post: To Gov. Arnall must go credit for forcing the first breach in the ranks of the few remaining die-hard poll tax states. It (poll tax abolition) is a move in the direction of greater democracy and better government. Judging by Florida's experience without poll tax it should accomplish two important results: More people will exercise the right of franchise and the power of professional politicians will be weakened. Repeal of the poll tax law is only one of numerous progressive acts of Arnall's administration that are rapidly erasing the blots from Georgia's escutcheon.

Roanoke World News: Georgia's action should be a warning to Virginia. If the seven states still retaining the poll tax do not abolish it there surely will be federal action that will mean the keeping of two voting lists in the poll tax states. The resulting confusion is easy to imagine.

Jacksonville Journal: Another large stock of ammunition was taken out of the hands of the enemies of the south yesterday when the lower chamber of the Georgia legislature passed a poll tax repeal measure, after the senate had passed a similar bill last week. Said Gov. Ellis Arnall, who has been pushing repeal since he took office: "Georgia spoke today for democracy."

The poll tax is no longer a real issue anywhere, but its continued existence in some southern states furnishes a ready-made pretext to those who perennially delight in baiting the south. Repeal by state legislatures removes the false issue while avoiding the strains on national unity that would be caused by federal legislation. Florida, one of the southern leaders in poll tax repeal, welcomes Georgia to the procession.

Albany Herald: Congress will not repeal Georgia's poll tax law. We have attended to that business for ourselves, in our own way, and on our own motion.

Thus does Georgia take a progressive step. It buries a law which once served a purpose, but which has long been a stumbling block. We have not enjoyed having ourselves referred to as citizens of a state "where a man has to pay for the right to vote." But that is what the poll tax is. If a citizen cannot vote till the tax is paid, the charge that he "pays for the right to vote" inevitably sticks.

Now let congress pass its vicious poll tax repeal law. It won't be aimed at us.

And salute the Georgia legislature!

Richmond News-Leader: As much of personal politics as of political reform may lie behind sudden decision of Georgia legislators to abandon poll tax. Gov. Ellis Arnall had been on record as favoring a detached and scientific study of poll tax before any action was taken. Then the irrepressible Eugene Talmadge, who seeks to be governor again, announced that he favored poll tax repeal because he did not think it would affect "white supremacy" in Georgia. This move by Talmadge, some legislators have charged in recent days, was responsible for Arnall's advocacy of immediate repeal instead of further study. Perhaps this charge does him injustice. In any event, repeal is to be coupled with registration requirements which may develop a "catch" in the future. Georgia machine Democrats have not changed creed or outlook. A majority of them have no intention of allowing universal suffrage in the sense the advocates of poll tax repeal use that term. The politicians may trim their course to the prevailing wind but they will not hold to the helm.

Memphis Commercial Appeal: Both houses of the Georgia legislature, spurred on by statements from Gov. Ellis Arnall that he would resort to executive

order unless they acted, have passed bills removing the payment of a poll tax as a prerequisite for voting. It is interesting to note that Georgia generated its own steam on this matter and moved without any extraordinary application of influence from outside sources. That is the way in which the poll tax problem should be handled in the seven other states that still have the levy. . . . The question is one within the discretion of the state to answer and circumstances pretty clearly render the tax inexpedient.

No Information Is Available From Vines On Registrations

The office of the Board of Registrars was filled until closing time, noon, Saturday, but Dr. J. B. Vines, chairman of the board, said no definite information was available as to the number of registrants nor did he know even approximately how many persons had appeared before the board during the three and one-half days registration has been in progress.

Although no official information was available from the board members, it became evident Saturday that a large number of Negro school teachers had been denied registration.

One Negro woman said the board members had held up her application because she did not have tax receipts with her. Another teacher said she was informed she had not passed the qualifications when she could not answer a question about the amount of money for which a person can be sued. Others declared they had been asked to interpret parts of the constitution and had been told their interpretations of the passages were not accurate.

* * *

THE ALABAMA CODE provides that a person, in order to qualify to register to vote, must be able to read and write any article in the constitution in the English language unless physically unable to do so and must have worked for the greater part of the 12 months preceding application for registration if physically able to do so, or must own 40 acres of land on which he or she lives or have paid taxes on real estate in Alabama assessed at $300 or more and must not have been convicted of a long list of crimes.

The code provides further, however, that a majority of the board members may refuse to register a person if they feel he or she has not met the qualifications satisfactorily.

Psychology of the Poll Tax

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

Sidney Guy Cabell, in the Voice of the People, says the poll tax is an intelligence test. By his line of reasoning, are we to assume that if the ability to raise $1.50 for its payment places one in the intelligentsia, then a drunk who is able to raise a $15 court fine should be classed superintelligent?

It is agreed that the poll tax does not take away any one's right to vote, but it is not agreed that the poll tax shuts out the ignorant or the gullible, but it does shut out some of the indifferent. It is thought that the poll tax (although this writer believes it to be unconstitutional) is in itself not so objectionable. Aside from its doubtful constitutionality, the greatest argument for doing away with the poll tax is largely psychological. No one denies that the South devised the poll tax to disfranchise the Negroes. According to statistics presented to Congress, the poll tax is now disfranchising more whites than Negroes.

Published statistics show only a very slight increase in percentage of Negroes voting in North Carolina since the poll tax was eliminated, and politics is neither noticeably better nor worse.

It is believed that this will be true in Virginia—not much change in the lineup of voters, not much change in "machine" rule, not much improvement in politics, but certainly no degradation. It will make no utopia, but it will take away that great psychological weapon of those outside politicians who make the South's alleged mistreatment of the Negroes their favorite theme to capture the Negro vote of their own States.

The poll tax well served its purpose once, but it is as outmoded and as unneeded today as hobbleskirts. Mr. Cabell says, "I believe the Lord sent it (the poll tax). . . . Votes are terrible weapons in the hands of those who don't know what to do with them." If the payment of $1.50 poll tax is to determine who has the knowledge to handle a vote, then we will need the Lord to send us something besides a poll tax to save us.

C. D. TAIT, SR.

Chester.

Why Another Poll Tax Study?

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

In view of the proposal that a study of the poll tax, as a voting requirement, now be made, before the people be allowed to vote on the question, it is pertinent to consider the necessity for such a study.

In 1941, at the suggestion of Governor Price, a committee, headed by Professor Gooch, of the University of Virginia, was duly appointed by the Virginia Advisory Legislative Council to:

"Study and report on the changes, if any, which should be made in the constitutional provisions pertaining to voting. More specifically, the principal matter to be considered is whether the State should retain the constitutional provision requiring the payment of poll taxes as a condition to voting. If the subcommittee should conclude that this provision should be eliminated, it should go further and recommend changes necessary to insure an intelligent electorate."

The scope of the committee's inquiry, as thus prescribed, is practically the same as now proposed by those who serve as our elected representatives. After well-attended public hearings and careful consideration of voluminous material described in its report as "various briefs, resolutions, speeches, statistics editorials and the like," the committee submitted an exhaustive report and made the following recommendations:

"As a result of its study, the subcommittee is of the opinion that changes ought to be introduced into the Constitution of Virginia which would . . . effect the following ends:

"(1) Eliminate the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting;

"(2) Lay the constitutional foundation for a system of registration in such a way that stipulations of the Constitution, as supplemented by the necessary statutory provisions, would render registration a fair, just and impartial test of genuine literacy."

With this report available for the guidance of our legislators, why, in the name of common sense, should our Governor and General Assembly delay the vote of the people for two years by demanding another "study" of the question already covered so ably and thoroughly by the Gooch committee? Could they be stalling?

ROBERT L. NASE,

Richmond.

THE UPPER SOUTH

Georgia's Repeal of Poll Tax Highlights Fight on Issue

By VIRGINIUS DABNEY

RICHMOND, Feb. 3 — The Georgia Legislature's overwhelming repeal of the poll tax this week at the behest of Gov. Ellis Arnall was in contrast to the Tennessee Legislature's refusal to follow suit, thanks to the influence of Edward H. Crump of Memphis.

Since the Tennessee Legislature repealed the tax in 1943, only to see the act voided by the State Supreme Court in a much-debated 3-to-2 decision, there is reason to believe that sentiment in Tennessee is still strong for repeal, despite the effective opposition of the Memphis boss and his political ally, Sheriff B. E. Biggs of Polk County.

Mr. Crump said often in the past that he was for poll tax repeal, but for years it was charged that he exerted his influence in the opposite direction when matters came to a showdown.

The poll tax is to the fore in both Virginia and South Carolina, but there appears to be little chance of repeal in either State for the immediate future. In the Old Dominion the dominant Democratic machine, led by Senator Harry F. Byrd and Gov. Colgate Darden, has arranged for a referendum on a constitutional convention, the terms of which would prevent consideration by the convention of poll tax repeal. These attempted restrictions might be overturned by the delegates to such a convention, but in view of the attempt to put the convention in a strait-jacket, the voters may decide not to have any conclave.

Poll Tax Repealer Is Filed In House

WASHINGTON, Feb. 28.—(AP)—A petition to force House consideration of legislation outlawing the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting was filed today by Representative Marcantonio (ALP), New York.

If 218 of the 435 House members sign the petition, the judiciary and rules committees will be discharged from further consideration of the legislation and it will be brought to the floor for immediate consideration.

No poll tax, only half of Louisville Negroes vote

Los Angeles Times
2-26-45

LOUISVILLE—Fewer than three-fourths of Louisville's estimated 33,000 Negroes of voting age are registered and fewer than one-half of them voted in 1944 elections, according to a survey just completed.

The report shows that there were 33,257 Negroes in Louisville who were over 21 years old. Only 23,628 were listed on the registration books in 1942 with distribution as follows: Republican, 16,083; Democrats, 6,997, and Independent, 548. Over 68 per cent of the Negro voters here are registered Republican. 2-26-45

A further break-down of the figures suggests: (1) a gradual shift from Republican to Democrat; (2) that Independent Negro voters usually vote Democratic; (3) that the Democrats have a much stronger party machine which gets out the vote more efficiently. Republicans cannot win a city race without the Negro vote.

In a recapitulation of the last School Board race figures show that Mrs. Hortense Young, Negro candidate, lost by a margin of 4,244 votes. Of the 17,691 votes cast for Mrs. Young, 7,929 came from the 65 predominantly Negro precincts in which the vote for President amounted to 15,359. The other came from predominantly white precincts.

Poll Tax
Post-Washington
D.C.

The Hatch Act functions exactly as the secret patronage system it purports to cure, the only difference being that honorable men are restrained by the former, while the latter is left freer than before and more powerful. For instance, the fight made by the people of Virginia on the poll tax as a restriction on the vote can have no support or advice from those most able and most eager to give it, men who have been chosen from our best universities and colleges or other high position, for war work. Federal jobs, great numbers of them. They are men who regard the law. We cannot put them in a position where their deep desire for honest government in Virginia must be suppressed, or break the Federal law. 1-5-45

Any citizen of Virginia knows there is a strong and widespread will among us for abolishing the poll tax, and we resent the unrestrained but secret patronage of the machine which refuses to face the issue, knowing the poll-tax restriction and its accompanying "vicious registration system", is the source of their illegal power.

ELIZABETH W. STEPTOE.
Charlottesville, Va., Jan. 3.

Living Today

Montgomery Advertiser Ala.

By ARLIE B. DAVIDSON

THE POLL TAX

2-26-45

By its very nature, democracy is characterized by popular elections. These elections serve two major purposes: one is the determination of group policies, the other is the selection of governmental personnel to carry out the policies through constituted organization and authority.

More and more, our democracy has come to accept the view that the voting privilege should be extended to all who meet two basic qualifications: reasonable interest in and attachment to the community, the State and the nation, and sufficient intelligence to participate effectively for the common good in the electoral process. The native born or naturalized citizen of the United States commonly qualifies under the first of these principles. A reasonably large number of citizens, however, fail to qualify under the principles of "sufficient intelligence to participate effectively for the common good." Therefore, it has been customary for the various States, which control elections, to exclude from the franchise such persons as minors, illiterates, criminals, and the mentally deficient. 2-26-45

In addition, however, various States, particularly in the South, have long required the payment of a poll tax of two doliars or less annually for a definite number of years for the exercise of the right of suffrage. Living and voting in the South, I can understand and appreciate certain aspects of the original intent of the law, but such a law can no longer claim a rightful place in election regulations in our democracy.

A State must maintain a system of taxation for the administration of government. Hence, it may with some reason levy a special head or personal tax upon its citizens to be based for such highly important and essential functions as education. But to make the payment of such a tax a prerequisite for voting in popular elections is not justified. The maintenance of good government must be builded upon principles other than mere monetary considerations of the citizens. Therefore, the poll tax as now applied to the voting qualifications should be abolished

WHO SHALL VOTE?

Birmingham News—Ala.

This column has always had a high opinion of Gessner McCorvey, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee. That opinion was strengthened by his recent statement before a legislative interim committee, in which he took the position that under the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court in the Smith case Negroes who are properly registered and have paid their poll taxes cannot be barred from party primaries. Mr. McCorvey took this line because he believes in respect for judicial decisions. It is the duty of all of us, he declared, "to recognize the decision of the highest court as the law of the land and binding on all of us." Accordingly, Mr. McCorvey told the committee that he is for permitting "properly qualified persons" to vote in the primaries, but he issued the warning that "only qualified persons should be permitted to register." 2-21-45

That conclusion is ethical and logical within its frame of reference. But one wonders whether Mr. McCorvey is aware of the implications of his opposition to the removal of the poll tax when considered in connection with his emphasis upon qualifications. He stands out firmly against getting rid of the poll tax on the ground that it keeps "thriftless, shiftless" people out of the electorate. He has declared it as his best judgment "that the great majority of the voters who would be added to our poll lists by repeal of the poll tax would not be of a type which would assist in giving us a better government." He puts it in a different way when he warns against admitting "members of radical elements." 2-21-45

We must conclude that Mr. McCorvey believes in a money qualification, a property qualification and an opinion qualification. He is not alone in this respect, of course. A great body of conservatives are with him, although they may lack his candor. It is the Hamiltonian view, not the Jeffersonian. It is a view at any rate, which seems to go against the tide of democracy as it has been flowing for many years. "The people are the only sure reliance for the preservation of our liberty," said Jefferson. He was talking about all the people, even those who seem "radical" to others, even those who appear thriftless and shiftless, provided that under fair laws fairly administered they are otherwise qualified for the privilege of suffrage.

Abolish Poll Tax

Atlanta Constitution, Ga.

Editor, Constitution: I cannot understand how our legislators can justify their position of continuing a program which serves no other practical purpose than to disfranchise the white mothers in the rural district of Georgia. The payment of poll tax causes great embarrassment and gives to our rural women an inferiority complex which is reflected in almost every home in the poorer rural districts. 1-25-45

As a teacher of agricultural education in Georgia for 12 years, I have visited thousands of rural homes. I have made thousands of economic and educational surveys in these homes. Trade barriers, unequal educational opportunities and the trend of young people to leave the farm has brought on an economic and social situation which must be given serious consideration. 1-25-45

These farm people have such a low income that one wonders how they get along at all. Many rural women go without sufficient clothing, stay away from church and deny themselves all the comforts of life in order that their children may go to school and possibly to church. Would you expect these women to pay poll tax and vote under these conditions?

The time has come to abolish the poll tax. How can any member of the legislature go back home and tell a good mother that she must pay poll tax in order to vote when she has given up her sons to be slaughtered on the battlefields so that the world may be free?

H. H. GIBSON.
Atlanta.

House to Act On Poll Tax Tomorrow

6-9-45
Richmond Times Dispatch

FEPC Test Due To Come Tuesday

Richmond, Va.

WASHINGTON, June 9—(AP)—With Democratic ranks sharply split and Southern Congressmen defying the administration, the showdown is due next week on two controversial issues—FEPC and the poll tax.

Legislation against the poll tax required in seven Southern States will be considered Monday in the House. 6-10-45

The proposal to create a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committe will be voted on Tuesday in the House Rules Committee, where it has been stalled for months.

Southerners in general said today they will stick by their opposition to the proposals, even though it may result in a major break with President Truman.

"We just can't go along with the President this time," declared Representative Cox (D-Ga.), in a typical comment.

Of several questioned, nearly all predicted to a reporter that the antipoll tax measure will succeed—temporarily—but the FEPC bill will be blocked. Here's their general idea of what will happen: 6-10-45

The House will approve the antipoll tax legislation, as it has done in two past Congresses. Then, as also has happened twice before, Southern Senators will talk it to death in the upper chamber. It was dragged out of committee for floor action, by a discharge petition signed by 218 House members.

The Rules Committee is expected to vote against the FEPC plan, despite a letter from Mr. Truman to Chairman Sabath (D-Ill.), urging favorable action. Four committee members are from the "Solid South" and two others, Representatives Slaughter of Missouri and Bates of Kentucky, from so-called border States.

The Southerners concede that if the FEPC bill should get to the House floor it would pass in that branch of Congress. 6-10-45

On the poll tax issue, supporters argue the levy should be banned in order to allow freedom of voting. Opponents contend such a move would invade rights of the States to determine voting qualifications.

On FEPC, proponents declare such an agency is needed to insure fair play among job seekers, regardless of their race, color or creed. Those opposed assert, however, that FEPC officials promote social equality among races and thereby incite ill feeling. They say an employer should have the right to pick his workers.

THE UPPER SOUTH

New York N.Y.

Move to Repeal Virginia Poll Tax Takes Big Spurt

New York Times

By VIRGINIUS DABNEY

RICHMOND, Dec. 22—The movement for repeal by State action of Virginia's poll tax as a requirement for voting took a long jump forward this week, with the report of a legislative suffrage commission, created by the Byrd-dominated General Assembly, which urges repeal by a vote of seven to two. This puts new life into what seemed a moribund effort, and makes it probable that repeal will be achieved in about two years.

The State constitution must be amended, which means action by two separate legislatures, plus ratification by the people.

The fact that the commission was headed by Stuart B. Campbell of Wytheville, member of the House of Delegates, and prominent in the Democratic "machine," gives especial significance to the commission's findings.

The poll tax will be retained as a head tax for education, under the plan, but without any relationship to the franchise, as in Massachusetts and Connecticut. A literacy test for would-be registrants will be retained, but the old local Democratic registrars in every precinct will be abolished, and a central bipartisan board of registrars, named by the Governor, will appoint similar bipartisan boards for each city and county. Annual registration is recommended, something Virginia does not have. 12-23-45

61e-1945

Poll Tax

HOUGHTON. MICH., P. L. M. GAZ
JUNE 14, 1945

THE POLL TAX JOKE

Congress is going through the annual mockery of considering a law to eliminate the poll tax in seven southern states.

It won't pass such a law. You're just looking at window dressing. Tricky stuff. The house on Tuesday passed a bill to eliminate the poll tax in Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

The house can put on that act because it doesn't mean anything. The anti-poll tax bill will die in the senate. It's an old story.

Because house debate is limited, house southerners who would like to talk on the poll tax endlessly find their tongues tied. Not so in the Senate. A senator can talk till he drops dead.

He can't be limited in talking except by a rule called cloture. Cloture means a time-limit on debate. Before that can be invoked, two-thirds of the senate must vote for cloture. That they won't do.

It's one of the prime escape routes of the senate from too much responsibility. If a senator voted for cloture today against another senator, he'd get cloture imposed on him tomorrow. They play it safe.

There's only one real reason behind the drive to eliminate the poll tax. That is: To get more negroes to vote in southern states where now they have practically no voice.

But elimination of the poll tax is not all that's necessary to get a vote for the negro.

If negroes qualified for voting by paying or not having to pay the poll tax, they'd still have to pass a literacy test. This test is administered by white men. So few would pass.

Just to keep the record straight—elimination of the poll tax would be only one more step along the long road to get southern white men to let southern negroes vote.

Yet, there's a joke in the southern obstinacy against the negro. Under the constitution, a congressman's district should be eliminated if he doesn't truly represent the majority of people in his district.

Southern congressmen rarely represent more than a handful of people in their district, and certainly they do not represent negroes.

Here are some statistics from a poll-tax and non-poll-tax state in the 1944 elections:

Alabama—with a population of 2,832,961 and nine congressmen—cast only 222,338 votes, or about 24,000 votes per district. That means only about one in thirteen persons in the Alabama district voted.

New Hampshire, where there is no poll tax, and which has only two congressmen and a population of 491,524, cast 215,857 votes, or an average of 107,000 votes for each congressman. Which means one in three people voting.

MY DAY ... By Eleanor Roosevelt

Atlanta Constitution, Ga.

HYDE PARK, Monday.—If anyone told us in this country that freedom of religion was not an actual fact, our oldest and most respected citizens would cry out in horror. Yet I think it is time that we stopped to consider certain things, which we have held as theories ever since we accepted our constitution, in relation to the facts as they exist in our country today.

If it makes no difference to what religion you subscribe, why do you have to put it down in your service papers? The answer usually is—for the Navy, at least—that men should have the privilege of being buried with the rites of their own church. But, as a matter of fact, the same prayers are usually used for every man, regardless of religion, who dies at sea. Having to put down what religion you belong to sometimes subjects a man to discrimination if his superiors are so inclined.

Atlanta, Ga.

It isn't only in the armed services, however, that this question is asked. Frequently, when you apply for a job, that is one of the questions you must answer.

One of the freedoms clearly stated in the Atlantic Charter was that people must have freedom from want. In other words, we must have economic freedom. Every human being must have an equal chance to earn a living according to the opportunities open in his area of the world.

2-25-45

It is true that in this country many strong men have surmounted all difficulties to gain high places in our national life and in the economic world of our country. But that doesn't mean that for every man there is equal opportunity. Many a man meets a barrier because of his religion.

Lastly, how about our vaunted political freedom? Can we, as long as any state in our nation exacts a poll tax from a citizen before he can participate as a citizen, feel that we are politically free?

I wonder if 7,000,000 white American citizens and 3,000,000 Negro American citizens in the south, who can't vote because they cannot pay their poll tax, really agree with some of the things that were said about our Negro soldiers in that recent congressional filibuster? Two senators out of 96 kept all their brother lawmakers from voting, and during the greatest war in our history spent a lot of time, which can never be recovered, just talking against a portion of the American people who in their particular states have no way of acting to remove them from office.

A Last-Ditch Fight To Save Poll Taxes

Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.

The poll tax dies hard. In the face of almost universal condemnation as an undemocratic strait jacket, its life has been prolonged by dint of more log-rolling, irrelevant oratory and wavings of the bloody shirt than even that of the embattled tariff. When one thing failed, the poll taxers would try another; and now it looks as if they have come to the last shot in their locker.

They are avowing their support for a constitutional amendment to outlaw the poll tax as a requirement for voting; but this should not fool anybody. They are still for the poll tax.

10-4-45

The bill forbidding collection of the poll tax as a requirement for voting on federal officers has passed the lower chamber of Congress several times, only to be talked to death in the Senate. For some time there have been signs that more and more Senators are irritated by the filibusters and the frustration of an overwhelming majority by the oratorical acrobats representing the seven States yet remaining to impose the poll tax. And at last comes word that the majority is determined to vote for the cloture, limit the debate, break the filibuster and pass the bill and have done with it once and for all.

Into the midst of these prospects another alternative is dropped. Senator O'MAHONEY'S bill to submit an anti-poll tax constitutional amendment is approved by the Judiciary Committee, and Southerners are saying they will vote for it. Manifestly. To amend the Constitution, the legislatures of three-fourths of the States must vote favorably, and in their hearts the poll tax advocates are confident that they can keep at least 13 legislatures from doing this, or at least delay action until the issue simply peters out.

10-4-45

Confidentially, they may point for example to the venerable Child Labor Amendment, which was kicked around State capitols for a generation or more without getting approval of as many as 30 States until New Deal legislation and general enlightenment came to make it unnecessary. And so, the real fight from now on will be to overcome the plausibilities of the amendment proposal, which really involves tactics of delay more than of honest intent, and to press for passage of the House bill and its principle of national repudiation for an un-American device of disenfranchisement.

Poll Taxers Win a Round

New York, New York

Senate Committee Shelves Bill to End Levy

9-25-45

Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Sept. 25.—The bill to abolish the poll tax has suffered a setback in the Senate Judiciary Committee, which has voted to postpone action until it can consider at the same time a Constitutional amendment for the same purpose.

The decision to postpone action was taken yesterday in a secret Committee vote which shelved the bill until a subcommittee brings in a report on the Constitutional amendment.

Chairman Carl Hatch (D., N. M.), who heads the subcommittee considering the Constitutional amendment plan, promised that he would speed action and bring in a report promptly. Hearings were expected to start today on the proposal for a poll tax amendment and other Constitutional amendments.

Delay Action

Most opponents of the Southern poll tax, which helps to disfranchise millions of voters, both white and Negro, have opposed the Constitutional amendment plan, contending that it never would get anywhere and only would delay action on the bill.

A Constitutional amendment has to be ratified by three-fourths of the States to become effective and there are enough Southern and border States to block it.

Congress Action

Year after year the Judiciary Committee has been reporting to the Senate that a Constitutional amendment was unnecessary—that the poll tax could be abolished by action of Congress through a bill. But action on such legislation has been blocked by Southern filibusters.

The proposal for a Constitutional amendment was put forward by Sen. Joseph C. O'Mahoney (D., Wyo.), who says he is opposed to the poll tax, but does not believe it can be abolished by Congressional action.

The Savannah Tribune

Savannah, Georgia 9-20-45

QUALIFY TO VOTE

Get ready to vote whether you can vote in the "white primary" or not. It is just being provident—it is preparing for the day when you can vote. We must not forget that some politicians said, Negroes would not bother to register, so there need be no fear to abolish the poll tax. There will be a lot of people disappointed if Negroes in Georgia do not qualify to vote. Next to actually voting, it is the duty of every person who calls himself a citizen to be ready to vote. The "white primary" cannot last forever. The old arguments advanced in favor of it are becoming too weak to keep it alive. Moreover, the operation of the "white primary" together with the poll tax, disfranchises in a very real sense people in other sections of the country and perpetuates reactionary Southern congressmen in office. Eighteen Southern congressmen have been in office for more than twenty years. Their seniority has given them 17 of the 47 standing House committee chairmanships and second places on eleven others. In the Senate they preside over ten of the 33 standing committees and hold second place on seven. "This represents three times their proportionate share of dominant positions on House committees, and twice their share on Senate committees." Ten thousand votes each sent 69 Representatives from seven poll tax states to Congress, while an average of 85,000 votes sent 69 Representatives to Congress from even free voting states with the same population. "More votes were cast for the wo Representatives of Rhode Island (population 713,000) than were cast for the 37 Representatives elected by South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, plus five districts of Virgina (total population 11,500,000)." Representatives Cox and Pace of Georgia were among eight who were elected by only one percent of their constituents. A representative of South Carolina was elected by four fifths of one percent of the population of its sixth district. This sort of thing is a sad commentary upon democracy in the South. We believe the growing dissatisfaction in other sections of the country, with this condition, will make it necessary for the south to seek to reform its policies in this regard.

SOUTH TACKLES VOTE PROBLEM

Des Moines News

Most of the current discussion of minority government in the South centers around the poll tax. Actually the poll tax is only one of a dozen or so devices by which suffrage is restricted and politics "made safe" for the current political rings of the South.

Fla.

Recently a group of Southern newspaper editors and writers, headed by Mark Ethridge, of The Louisville Courier-Journal, got together and published a pamphlet, "Voting Restrictions in the 13 Southern States." It surveyed all of them, state by state.

We deny Russian claims of democracy because they have a one-party state; yet our own South has been made up of one-party states most of the time since the late 1870s!

Russian election regulations require new balloting if the total vote falls below 50 per cent of those qualified. In our South, only 27.9 per cent of the potential voters actually voted in the 1944 election!

We all take our rights lightly enough; only 61.9 per cent voted in the other 35 states—but that's more than twice the percentage in the South!

12-24-45

The most hopeful part of the picture is that there exists a sizable movement in the South itself against the present situation. The poll tax has actually been abolished in a few states, and in some others for veterans.

Even the white primary has been shaken by the respect some Southerners have for the Supreme Court decision against it.

And men like Mark Ethridge, Virginius Dabney (editor of The Richmond, Va., Times-Dispatch) and Jonathan Daniels (editor of The Raleigh, N. C., News and Observer) can hardly be written off as scalawags. Lately they have been winning a sizable popular following in their home regions.—**Des Moines Register.**

House Votes Poll Tax Ban, Dixie Senators Threaten Filibuster

Birmingham News
Birmingham Ala.
6-13-45

All-Out Fight Coming; FEPC Set Back; Truman Wants Charter Ratified

BY JOHN CHADWICK

WASHINGTON, June 13—(AP)—Southern Democrats, with Fair Employment Practices legislation shoved aside, banked today on a Senate filibuster threat to smother House-approved legislation to abolish poll taxes.

Hardly had the House voted 251 to 105 late yesterday to outlaw poll tax payments as a voting requirement in federal elections before Southern senators promised an all-out fight against the measure.

"We'll speak as long as we have to in order to prevent passage," Sen. Bilbo (D., Miss.) told a reporter.

6-13-45

SENATE FILIBUSTERS, OR THREATS OF THEM, have blocked enactment of similar legislation passed by the House in the two preceding Congresses. Seven Southern states have poll tax laws.

With Southern Democrats equally adamant against setting up a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee, Rep. Norton (D., N. J.) turned to the Republicans to save it from a rules committee deathtrap.

Author of the FEPC bill, Mrs. Norton said she was relying on Republican representatives "to live up to their party pledge" and sign a petition to take the measure away from the committee.

By a 6-6 vote yesterday, the rules group refused to send the legislation to the House floor. Southern Democratic members were solid in their opposition.

Chairman Sabath (D., Ill.) announced today he would sign the discharge petition and, like Mrs. Norton, called on Republicans to do likewise.

BOTH SAID THE REPUBLICANS should, "prove their sincerity" in view of the party's convention endorsement last year of FEPC legislation. The Democratic convention adopted a similar plank.

Establishment of FEPC on a permanent basis in an effort to prevent discrimination in employment because of race, creed or color was asked last week by President Truman. The existing agency was set up by executive order of the late President Roosevelt.

The discharge petition has about 125 signatures; it needs 218 to take the FEPC bill away from the rules committee. Mrs. Norton said only about 10 Republicans have signed thus far.

6-13-45

No funds for continuation of the temporary FEPC beyond June 30 were provided in the war agencies appropriation bill passed by the House last week, but Mrs. Norton predicted the Senate would insert the requested $599,000 and that the House would agree.

* * *

MEANWHILE, OFFICIALS IN A POSITION to know said the president wants the Senate to ratify the United Nations charter for a peace organization before Congress recesses. This virtually eliminates the possibility of a Summer holiday for the legislators. Mr. Truman was said to feel that the Senate should act quickly after the San Francisco conference drafts a document for submission to the 50 participating nations. He was described as feeling that delay would give opponents of American participation time to muster sentiment against it.

6-13-45

ELSEWHERE IN THE CAPITAL: House Republicans opened a drive to give OPA only a six-month immediate lease on life. "Revamping" legislation would be considered next Fall before any longer extension were voted.

The American Federation of Labor advocated "a comprehensive program of improved education and health service" for the nation's youth as a substitute for peacetime draft legislation.

* * *

PRESIDENT TRUMAN EXPRESSED THE HOPE today that Congress would restore the entire budget estimate for the Office of War Information, which the House has sharply slashed.

He told his news conference that in his judgment OWI is doing a job that needs to be done in the interest of a nation still fighting a war far from over. He added the people should realize that the war is far from over.

OWI's work in the domestic and foreign field, he declared, is being done by a trained, integrated organization, adding that to abolish any major functions while the war continues would be a mistake.

HOW ALABAMIANS VOTED

WASHINGTON, June 13 —(AP)—Here's how Alabama congressmen balloted yesterday on the poll tax repeal bill which overwhelmingly passed the House:

For—Rep. Patrick.

Against — Reps. Boykin, Manasco, Rains, Sparkman.

Paired Against Bill — Andrews, Grant.

Reps. Jarman and Hobbs were not listed as voting.

Poll Tax

HOUSE ACTION REGRETTABLE

Birmingham News

6-7-45

The Alabama House of Representatives last week hit a blow at real democracy when it killed by a 70-to-25 vote a bill calling for a statewide vote on a constitutional amendment abolishing the cumulative feature of the poll tax law.

Opponents of the bill argued that its passage would endanger "white supremacy." The bill's proponents quite rightly held that the race question was not involved. Payment of the poll tax does not qualify a person to vote. There are all sorts of other qualifications required of an applicant for registration.

As readers of this newspaper are aware, we not only oppose the cumulative feature of the poll tax act, but the whole law. It is undemocratic. The ability or inability of a prospective voter to pay the tax has nothing to do with the qualifications to vote. The only purpose the law serves is to keep thousands of otherwise qualified voters from participating in government. We must confess that this seems to be the purpose, also, of many proponents of the poll tax.

6-7-45

The House's action is to be regretted on more than one count. Unless Alabama and the other states which hold on doggedly to the poll tax get rid of it, and soon, of their own free wills, Congress will very probably pass a federal statute making imposition of the tax unlawful insofar as federal elections are concerned. For our part, we had much rather have our own Legislature repeal the tax. This properly is a matter for state action. Yet it seems inevitable that abolition of the poll tax is coming, no matter what the states do. Unless one of the two bills in the Legislature, both now indefinitely postponed, are called up and passed, we predict that Alabama will have repeal rammed down her throat.—Lee County Bulletin (Auburn).

GOLD AND THE POLL TAX

Birmingham News

To the Editor of The News:

In a letter of recent date mention was made that the poll tax law of 1901 was designed to complement a national act that became law March 14, 1900, known as the gold standard act. Both of these acts had their inception under rather peculiar auspices. They were the products of a period in our history when there existed many fears and uncertainties about the future which were due principally to the fact that three momentous events had occurred during 1898, the second year of McKinley's first administration, the annexation of Hawaii, the discovery of gold in Alaska and the Spanish-American War, which left the Spanish possessions of Guam, the Philippines and Porto Rico in American hands.

6-26-45

These occurrences had in them the makings of imperialistic expansion. A cabal had been at work before the war started to resort to expansion as a means of pulling this country out of the long depression that preceded the prosperity brought about by the war of 1898. The gold standard of finance was an absolute essential to these ambitious plans. In 1896 was witnessed the last of the argument over bimetalism vs. the gold standard. With the nation's finance rigidly held under this standard which made gold the measure of value, the nation had four depressions almost exactly seven years apart, with each one progressively more severe than the one that preceded it until 1929 was reached. This one lasted right up and into the year 1933.

Birmingham Ala.

It is significant that President McKinley, under whose administration this act became law, died from an assassin's bullet slightly over one year afterwards. It is likewise significant that the president-elect in 1932, Franklin D. Roosevelt, narrowly escaped assassination at Miami, Fla., Feb. 15, 1933. He was destined to take this act apart, prohibit the private ownership of gold, to impound all gold in the U. S. Treasury and in various ways emasculate the power this substance—gold—held over the destiny of this nation.

The inexorable operations of this device—the gold standard—was constrictive by nature, conducive to monopoly and to the elimination of competition, which is something just as abhorrent to politicians as it is to interests connected with any other factor that enters into our system of economy, if not more so.

Gold itself is something real, it is concrete. The gold standard is something the exact opposite. It is sometimes described as a norm of value, but in reality it is an abstract proposition based on scarcity, and therein lies the connection. The poll tax law is devised to provide a scarcity—of votes. The gold standard of finance is devised to provide a scarcity of those who share in the wealth of a nation. Those who are caught between the upper and nether millstones of these two devices are the grist, the dispossessed and the disfranchised, and this is a free country.

Akron, Ala. BEN T. COUCHMAN.

NEWARK, N. J.
NEWS
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Poll Tax in Further Retreat

Georgia's Action Leaves Only Seven Southern States with Restrictive Voting Levy—Virginia May Be Next

(Editorial Research Reports)

ABOLITION of the poll tax in Georgia reduces to seven the number of Southern states in which payment of the levy remains a requirement for voting. Virginia voters recently amended the state constitution to lift the tax for service men. A commission created by the Legislature has held hearings on a proposed amendment to abolish the tax for all citizens of Virginia. It will submit its findings to the Legislature when it convenes next January.

The poll tax has been in slow retreat in the South for a quarter of a century—beginning in 1920 when the tax was abolished by North Carolina. It was abolished during the depression in Louisiana and Florida, when it was found that many whites were not able to make the payment. A repealer by the Legislature of Tennessee was held unconstitutional by the courts.

In addition to Tennessee the poll tax requirement remains in the constitutions of Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi South Carolina, Texas and Virginia. In most of these states the constitution is not readily amended. Amendments must be twice approved by the Legislature, meeting only once in two years, and then by the voters in a referendum. And in the referendum only those who have paid the poll tax are eligible to vote.

At Washington

Meanwhile, bills seeking to invalidate all poll-tax voting requirements through federal legislation have three times been passed by the House of Representatives at Washington. In each instance the majorities for the bill were above the two-thirds that would have been required for House approval of a constitutional amendment. The 1942 and 1943 bills were filibustered to death in the Senate. The new bill passed in June undoubtedly awaits a similar fate whenever an attempt is made to bring it to a vote in the Senate.

Prior to their concentration on anti-poll-tax legislation "friends of the Negro" from the North and West gave principal attention to anti-lynching legislation. Anti-lynching bills were passed by the House April 15, 1937, 277 to 120, and January 10, 1940, 252 to 131. Like the more recent anti-poll tax bills, both these measures were killed by filibusters of Southern senators.

The general position of Southerners in Congress has been that federal legislation of this nature is unconstitutional and that their states will deal properly with the Negro problem if interference from Washington is withheld. This they seem to have done, at least in the case of lynching—through better observance of state anti-lynching laws and better protection of prisoners by law enforcement officers.

Politicians from the South say their section is no longer "solid" in its opposition to Negro voting and that rapid progress toward full enjoyment of the franchise by Negroes can be expected in the postwar years. An editorial in The Columbus (Ga.) Ledger a year ago said:

"In our considered judgment two things are bound to happen in the life span of this generation, probably within this very decade. One is the total elimination of the poll tax as a prerequisite of voting, which has no justification in morals and precious little as a revenue device. The other is universal suffrage for the Negro. It seems to us high time for the Deep South to reexamine its reasons for keeping the Negro out of party politics and determine if local expediency outweighs the larger values implicit in sound ethics and constitutional morality."

No wonder an outstanding Negro newspaper, the Norfolk **Journal and Guide**, has appealed to Premier Stalin and Prime Minister Attlee to use their influence with Byrnes to help bring real democracy to South Carolina.

Now comes the news that Negro voters in Atlanta, including noted educators and civic leaders who could hardly be ruled out under the notorious southern "educational" qualifications, have been denied the right to vote in municipal Democratic primary. Scores of Negroes were told bluntly that "this primary is for white people only."

Democratic Americans will support the efforts of the citizens of Atlanta to get federal prosecution of the election officials who kept them from voting in defiance of the Supreme Court decision outlawing the white primary and in violation of the United States Constitution.

And they will resent the efforts of Secretary Byrnes to implant abroad the undemocratic institutions with which he is so familiar. It is bad enough that the United States exported Jimcrow to England over the protests of the British people. Let's not now try to export the polltax democracy of Georgia and South Carolina to the Balkans.

Polltax Democracy

Daily Worker 9-7-45 New York

SECRETARY OF STATE JAMES F. BYRNES is a conservative southern Democrat, a former Senator from the polltax state of South Carolina.

We would not bring this up if he were not engaged in an active effort to foster his kind of democracy in the small countries of the Balkans.

Byrnes, for example, opposed the holding of elections in Bulgaria on the ground that the electoral laws favored the progressive Fatherland Front—although minority rights were in fact fully protected.

But it so happens that in Byrnes' own state of South Carolina there is not only a polltax and discrimination against Negro voters. There is also one-party government—without even an effective secret ballot to protect voters who do not care to vote the Democratic ticket.

It is beginning to be apparent that Byrnes, as an outstanding product of this political set-up, is not so much concerned with democracy in Bulgaria as with strengthening reaction and anti-Soviet elements. 9-7-45

61e-1945

Poll Tax

Poll-Taxers in Congress

New Republic 4-30-45

One of the hottest of hot potatoes to come before Congress in some time was deposited with the clerk of the House a short time ago. The Southern Electoral Reform League has demanded that 68 members of Congress from Southern poll-tax states shall be unseated. The argument is that the poll tax in these states—Alabama, South Carolina, Texas, Arkansas, Mississippi, Tennessee and Virginia—prevents a majority of the citizens from voting, and thereby violates the provisions of the United States Constitution. That a majority of the citizens of these states do not vote in federal elections, no one can deny; Senators and Representatives are sometimes elected with only five or ten percent of the adult population represented at the ballot box. That the poll tax is an obstacle to voting, goes without saying; the accumulated delinquency in some states can amount to about $50, which is a fortune to the poorer residents of the South, white or black. Whether these two facts can be put together into an argument that will cause Congress to unseat more than 10 percent of its total membership, we do not know. We do know, however, that the activity of the Southern Electoral Reform League serves a useful purpose in bringing to public attention what is perhaps the worst single blot on the democratic process in this country.

4-30-45

About The Poll Tax

Informer - Houston, Texas

During this season when poll-tax rallies are being held in the poll-tax states, it is vitally important for citizens to remember two very important points and to understand why one is just as important as the other. 1. It is very necessary for all citizens to pay their poll taxes, or to secure exemption certificates as long as the ballot is taxed. 2. We must not give up, for one minute, the fight to secure a tax-free ballot.

Why We Must Pay 1-13-45

We must have a citizenry that is eligible to make the Government representative of itself. As the law now stands, the Government can be made to represent the citizens in poll-tax states, only if a large percentage of the people have paid the tax. The trend is toward Government's playing a more important role in the affairs of the people than ever before. The Government in a democracy is supposed to act on behalf of the people, and, in keeping with the principle of democracy must be representative of all the people. Although the percentage of votes cast in most states has been increasing steadily, there were in 1940, still nine states where less than one-third of the potential vote was cast. Eight of these nine states were poll tax states. The following figures give one a clear idea of how unrepresentative the vote was in certain states in 1940—In Georgia, 17.7 percent; In Mississippi, 14.7 percent, in South Carolina, 10.1 percent and in Texas 28.1 percent of the citizens voted. 1-13-45

Despite the insistence of a few evil geniuses that indifference and laziness and not the poll-tax requirement is responsible for this pathetically unrepresentative vote: reports on the percentage of citizens who voted in non poll-tax states in 1940 tends to make them out the bare-faced prevaricators that they are. 1-13-45

Negroes Have Real Reasons Now

Before the Democratic primary was opened to Negroes in Texas and some of the other southern states, cynics who doubted that Negroes in the South would ever attain political emancipation, had strong arguments against paying the poll tax. Now that Negroes have legal sanction of their constitutionally guaranteed right to vote in "elections that count", more and more of them should qualify to vote.

We Must Fight

We must not let up in the fight to get the poll tax removed. Citizens suffer for years when they unwittingly allow the political corruption which always follows when there is a price tag on the ballot. A free ballot means a larger and more representative vote and stronger popular control over senators and representatives. A free ballot will mean an increase in the number of people who vote for and elect congressmen. 1-13-45

The long filibusters of poll-tax representatives each time anti poll-tax bills have been presented, is a clear indication that these representatives do not want to face a free electorate. The filibuster of 16 men was allowed to outweigh the will of the people. When, by reasons of senority and committee chairmanships, representatives from states where there is a tax-free ballot are outvoted by permanently elected poll-taxers, the principle of representative government becomes comic in character.

The Constitution provides that seats in the House shall be apportioned in accord with the number of persons entitled to vote

Poll Tax Repealed By State Senate After Hot Debate

Atlanta World - Ga.

1-25-45

By CLIFF MACKAY

Rejecting the spurious argument that repeal of the poll tax would serve to enfranchise the state's Negro residents the senate Wednesday passed the Gross bill suspending the payment of the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting, by roie call, 31 to 19.

The vote came only after a bitter and prolonged fight, the opposition curiously enough coming from solons representing the more thickly populated counties of Chatham (Savannah) and Fulton (Atlanta) while measure support for repeal was given by senators from the rural counties.

WILL GO TO HOUSE

Passage of the bill came after Governor Ellis Arnall in a called joint session Tuesday warned the legislators that he would suspend payment of the poll tax under an executive order unless the legislature acted favorably on repeal. The house of representatives Monday overwhelmingly defeated a bill which would have suspended payment of poll taxes by returning veterans.

The bill will now go to the house for action. 1-25-45

Reaching a new low in demagoguery Senator Spence Grayson of Savannah, reached back to Reconstruction Days and the Ku Klux Klan to stir up ned racial fears in the hearts of the senators.

"If you abolish the poll tax, you will effectually eliminate the white primary," shouted the Savannahan, a mournful tremor in his voice.

Hordes of nigras and other undesirable elements will vote in the general elections, and beat the nominees of the white primary," he continued, "and we must not forget that thousands of Yankees and foreigners have migrated to our state to work in the larger cities. They do not understand our sacred traditions of white supremacy, they are not interested in preserving the principles for which our grandfathers fought, bled and died. They are not interested in our welfare nor the welfare of our state." 1-25-45

RECALLS WADE HAMPTON

Waving the red flag of racial antagionism, Senator Grayson harked back to the unhappy days when General John B. Gordon of Georgia held midnight conferences with General Wade Hampton of South Carolina to plot the overthrow of "n----rs and carpetbag" government.

He severely criticized Governor Arnall for his address before the Tuesday joint session, declaring the repeal of the poll tax was not in his platform and that he had no mandate of the people to support such a move.

Senator Everett Millican of Atlanta, who also fought repeal based his contention on the fear of a "mass vote." "The greatest progress the South has made in her history has been under the benevolent protection of the poll tax," he asserted. 1-25-45

FEARS "BOSSISM"

Declaring that "race doesn't enter the question," Senator Milican said he believed repeal would bring ward bossism to Atlanta like it is practiced in New Jersey, New York and Chicago.

One proponent of the bill, Senator Charles T. Edwards of the 28th district, seeking to put at rest the minds of opponents basing their opposition on the fear of the Negro, asserting that there could be no "real white democracy in Georgia until we do away with the poll tax."

"The race issue is not involved either," he said. "If Negroes could vote merely by paying the dollar poll tax, there are plenty of crooked politicans in Georgia who would be glad to pay that dollar for them. I live in a county where there are more Negroes than white people, but the repeal of the poll tax would not bother us. We always have handled the race issue in our white primiaries and we will continue to do so. I don't want my state to be the last one in the union to abolish this iniquitous tax." 1-25-45

RESENTS CHARGES

Senator Roy McGinty, who is publisher of the Calhoun Times, expressed his resentment of charges made from the floor that the repeal move was started by communists, disclosing that he has been editorially urging repeal for more than thirteen years.

"Removal of the poll tax," he asserted, "will not bring about a millenium, it will be a signpost of Georgia's move toward progressive democracy."

Answering Senator Grayson refences to Wade Hampton of South Carolina, the Calhoun solon, recalled that General Hampton had given Negroes full credit for helping to ride their state of the carpetbaggers, and "they made good democrats, too," he added.

Interrupted by Senator Grayson, who asked if Senator McGinty must meant by that he favored abolition of the white primary," Senator McGinty asserted: "The primary is not under discussion now, but certainly I am in favor of the primary ssytem." 1-25-45

HECKLED BY GRAYSON

"Are you in favor of the white primary?" heckled Grayson.

"Well, I am not like the distinguished Senator from Chatham, shot back, 'I have full confidence when I say people afraid of the people." McGinty in the judgment of the people and the people. I am of the opinion matter what his race, will be vot-

ing and I am preparing my people for ttat day now. I think the least we can do is get ready."

Declaring that contrary to the Savannah senator, both Senators George and Russell were for the abolition of the poll tax, Senator McGinty ended with a plea to his follow solons not to "continue living in the past, but to move forward with the present with an eye to the bright future."

1-25-45

Ending the debate, Senator William B. Freeman of Forsyth appealed for passage of the measure as a means of "cushioning the shock of social unrest" which he said is certain to envelop Georgia after the war. "We need the largest possible number of white voters to help us in the postwar period," he added.

Poll Tax Petition Needs 42 Signers

Baltimore, Md.

WASHINGTON (ANP) — With 176 signatures already procured, an intensive drive is being opened to collect 42 additional signatures to the anti-poll tax bill discharge petition to make the 218 necessary to bring the measure to the House floor.

Asso.-Amer.

Plans for the drive were revealed as the executive board of the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax prepared to meet here Wednesday to perfect plans for carrying through the fight for the discharge and the floor debate to follow.

5-5-45

Making the announcement, Kathryn Shryver, committee secretary, expressed confidence that the signatures needed would be achieved "in a relatively short time."

Poll Tax Is Before Two Legislatures

Birmingham News

1-31-45

ATLANTA —(AP)— Legislation to repeal, modify or suspend the poll tax comes up Wednesday in the Georgia and Tennessee Legislatures.

In Georgia, a repeal bill, adopted by the Senate, 31 to 19, is set as a special order for Wednesday.

Administration leaders predicted the House would pass the bill despite the fact that it defeated earlier a bill to exempt war veterans from the levy.

In Tennessee, where the Legislature repealed the poll tax in 1943 only to have the repealer invalidated by the courts, a House committee unanimously submitted unfavorable reports Tuesday on seven poll tax measures.

If the House approves the committee reports, this would leave only one poll tax measure—a Senate bill to exempt for life all wounded war veterans—pending in either house.

1-31-45

The House bills include one to remove the tax as a requirement for voting in all 1946 elections and another to repeal the levy as a requirement for voting in primaries. In South Carolina, a bill to exempt war veterans from the poll tax has been introduced, but there has been no legislative action as yet.

The Recess Poll Tax Study

Richmond Times

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

According to your news reports of today (April 5) we are informed that the Legislature has appointed a commission "to make recess studies of the poll tax."

If the members of the Legislature now are not fully informed on that subject, it would seem to me to be much more appropriate for the people of this State to make a recess study of the intelligence or lack of intelligence of those gentlemen who now constitute the Legislature.

4-10-45

It especially is an insult to the intelligence of the people that the Legislature continues to dawdle with this subject on the pretense that the subject requires further study by anyone.

2.

If this aggregation of intellectural nitwits hopes to hang onto their jobs for one more term by any such ridiculous subterfuge, the people of this State should rise up and have a complete housecleaning next Fall.

HENRY A WISE.

Carter's Bridge.

CASE IS PREPARED BY POLL TAX FOES

N.Y. Times

1-29-45

Two Groups Take Depositions on Comparative Voting Data to Contest 79 House Seats

ROANOKE, Va., Jan. 28 (AP)—The Southern Electoral Reform League and another organization interested in repeal of the poll tax have begun making here a record by which they hope to convince Congress that it should invalidate the election of some or all of seventy-nine members of the House of Representatives elected from eight Southrn States which have the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting.

Making of the record, in the form of depositions taken by a commissioner in chancery, was begun yesterday with testimony from Moss Plunkett, president of the league and vice president of the other organization, styled "Parents and Wives of Fighting Americans, Inc." Also on hand was Arthur Dunn, a New York lawyer, who is president of the latter body and vice president of the reform league.

1-29-45

Mr. Plunkett, also a lawyer and a resident of Roanoke, cited in his testimony the comparatively smaller votes cast in Southern Congressional districts against those in certain Northern States which do not have the tax.

None of the seventy-eight Congressmen notified of the contest (official notice did not reach one) appeared at the session, although Mr. Dunn said that forty-two filed mimeographed denials that their elections were invalid.

Mr. Dunn said it was recorded in the depositions that members of the House Judiciary Committee had advised the Representatives to make a uniform reply and that the league objected that this made Congress the defense attorney in elections which it also must judge.

Mr. Plunkett put into the record an argument that the poll tax should curtail Southern representation in Congress proportionately to the number of citizens barred from voting by the poll tax. He cited Section 2 of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution as his authority.

1-29-45

In this connection he testified that 57 per cent of Virginia's potential voters could not vote last November because of the poll tax. He said that the census showed 1,567,517 Virginians who could have voted; that only 672,836 paid the tax, and that actually only 388,485 voted.

The eight Southern States whose Congressional elections are being challenged are Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, Texas, Arkansas, Mississippi, Tennessee and Virginia.

1-29-45

Mr. Plunkett testified that these States had about 24,000,000 inhabitants represented by the seventy-nine Congressmen, and that New York and Pennsylvania, with 23,400,000 had seventy-eight.

But, he said, only 3,118,870 voted in the eight poll-tax States as compared with 10,111,577 in New York and Pennsylvania in the 1944 Presidential election.

In Virginia, he said, the votes in nine Congressional districts ranged from 15,728 (the Fourth) to 60,317 (the Ninth), while those in New York ranged from 82,316 to 194,148 in various districts.

Mr. Plunkett and Mr. Dunn said that the depositions would be presented to three Congressional committees having to do with elections and headed by Representatives Abernethy of Mississippi, Gossett of Texas and Peterson of Georgia.

LEGISLATURE ALL SET TO KILL POLL TAX BILL

Commercial Appeal

Memphis, Tenn.

Foes Of Repeal To Press For Action Today Halting Any Measures This Session

1-25-45

By PAUL MORRIS

From The Commercial Appeal Nashville Bureau

NASHVILLE, Tenn., Jan. 24. — Foes of poll tax repeal set the stage Wednesday to kill off consideration of any bills on the subject during the current session of the General Assembly.

The action will come Thursday morning shortly after the Senate convenes when anti-repealists will press for approval of the Senate Elections Committee's recommendation that two bills dealing with the poll tax be rejected.

To Definitely Kill It

The committee's recommendation was made Wednesday shortly after the upper house adjourned, and anti-repealists will move to make the committee action stand as the action of the Senate, thereby clamping the lid on all further legislation in either house dealing in any way with the poll tax question.

The action will have the effect of killing the legislation without the Senate ever having to actually vote on the merits or demerits of the two bills, since, under the state constitution after a bill has been rejected "no bill containing the same substance shall be passed into law during the same session."

The strategy mapped by anti-repealists is the same used by the Crump-Cooper forces in the 1941 session of the General Assembly to kill off two bills sponsored by Senator Weldon White of Davidson County, and, at that time completely stymied any further efforts at repeal during that session. In 1943, however, the same forces supported a repealer, which was later declared invalid by the Supreme Court.

1-25-45

One Dissenting Vote

The two bills which the committee recommended be rejected call for repealing that section of the code which makes the payment of a poll tax a prerequisite to voting, and for reduction of the state tax to 50 cents. The former measure was sponsored by Senator John H. Marable of Tracy City, while the latter was introduced by Senator Taylor Crawford of Kelso.

1-25-45

The Elections Committee session saw the motions to reject the bills made by two Shelby County senators—Perry Pipkin and Blanchard Tual—and prevailed with only one dissenting vote cast by Senator George Chandler of Knoxville, the lone Republican member.

Members favoring rejection contended that the Suprme Court had passed on poll tax repeal when it declared unconstitutional an act passed by the 1943 General Assembly.

Chairman James Hynes of Ripley said the majority of the committee "felt the matter had been adjudicated by the court" following the session.

Observers sa win the strategy planned to kill these two bills, a movement on the part of anti-repealists to escape having to go on record on bills pending in each house which would forever free Tennesseans serving in the armed forces from paying a poll tax. These bills would extend the provisions of the soldier vote bill passed at a special session in the Spring of 1944, and which permits service personnel to vote without paying the tax.

Service Bill Unlikely

Admittedly, these bills would be almost impossible for any legislator to oppose, thus, by killing off the bills recommended for rejection by the committee Wednesday, there appeared little possibility that the service vote bill would ever be able to get out of its present resting place in the Electionsa Committee.

4-25-45

Governor McCord, following the committee's action, in response to a signed query sent him by several members of the press, declined comment on the bills. He pointed out that "these bills pertain to a matter that is entirely in the hands of the Legislature."

In response to the query as to whether the administration leaders in the upper house had been instructed on a position concerning the bills, the chief executive replied that he had given them no instructions.

Anti-repealists were expected to gather at least 21 votes to suport the rejection move, with a possibility that their strength would reach 22 of the 33 votes in the upper house.

1-25-45

Wednesday night, repealists had not revealed their plans since they admitted the committee's action caught them somewhat unprepared for the turn of events.

Committee To Meet

Much the same confustion prevailed among repealists in the lower house, woh were caught unprepared by the Senate move. A meeting of the House Elections Committee had been scheduled for 3 o'clock Thursday afternoon, at which time Chairman Rocky Palmer said the pol ltax repeal bills would be studied.

However, Representative A. A. Maysille of Coffee County, who Tuesday led a fight to get the repealers out for a public hearing, declared any action by the House Committee would be meaningless if the Senate rejected the two bills passed on by its committee.

The Administration dropped another of its bills in both houses Wednesday morning—a mesaure to remove the Unemployment Compensation Division from the State Labor Department and place it in a separate department, to be headed by its own commissioner.

Transfer Department

Along with the Unemployment Compensation Division, the bills would place the administration of the re-employment service and the Tennessee State Employment Service in the new department. Under the bill the Governor would be authorized to transfer to the department any related funcitons, and all funds of the transferered divisions would be moved to the new department, although maintained in separate accounts.

At present the unemployment compensation fund totals approximately $75,000,000.

The House, after some debate Wednesday morning, passed a bill by Howard Nevill of Claiborne County, to fix the minimum salary of county registers at from $750 anually to $1800, depending on the population of the county. Nevill also obtained approval of a bill extendin gthe provisions of a 1943 act appropirating $75,000 for the state to buy land for Cumberland Gap Historical Park.

1-25-45

The Senate passed five bills dealing with legal technicalities recommended by the Tennessee Judicial Council, while the House passed two bills concerning legal rights of veterans in acknowledging legal instruments.

Both houses will reconvene at 10:30 Thursday morning.

Offers a Poll Tax Solution

Richmond Times

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

A letter from Colonel Henry A. Wise, of Carter's Bridge, appears in your issue of April 10. He is tax problem is simple: The law should be changed so that only one year's tax receipt would be required.

A. C. GOCHNAUER.

Richmond.

I would say to the gentleman "First, remove the beam from thine own eye."

The proper solution of the poll

Senate Members 'Blame' Wallace for Poll Tax Repeal

Atlanta Constitution

By O. P. HANES,
Associated Press Staff Writer.

The name of former Vice President Henry Wallace was brought repeatedly into the debate preceding the state senate's 31-19 vote for a bill to repeal the state poll tax levy yesterday.

Opponents of repeal asserted that the legislation stemmed from Wallace's Democratic convention address last year at Chicago in which he said the poll tax must go in the south.

Declaring that Wallace and former Gov. James M. Cox, of Ohio, owner of the Atlanta Journal, were responsible for the repeal movement, Sen. Spence M. Grayson, of Savannah, said "They are trying to force upon us the ideals and ideologies of people who have never lived in Georgia."

Wallace is a close personal friend of Gov. Arnall, who yesterday wired the state's senior Sen. George urging that he reconsider his proposal to strip the Commerce Department of its lending powers. Wallace is President Roosevelt's nominee for secretary of commerce.

GRAYSON'S POSITION

Referring to Arnall's telegram to George, Grayson said "Thank God we still have men in Georgia of the stature of our senior United States senator."

"If we are going to take the position that Sen. George must sacrifice his principles and compromise to get federal loans for Georgia, then I say we had better get along without the federal loans," Grayson said.

Sen. Charles T. Edwards, of Monticello, countered that "the question before us is not the confirmation of Mr. Wallace as secretary of commerce," adding that "the question is whether we are going to continue to charge a man a dollar for the right to vote."

Sen. Edwards added:

"I am unalterably opposed to selling votes, even for the cause of education," he said. "We will never have a real democracy in Georgia until we do way with the poll tax. The race issue is not involved, either. If Negroes could vote merely by paying the dollar poll tax, there are plenty of crooked politicians in Georgia who would be glad to pay that dollar for them."

QUESTIONS PROPRIETY

Sen. McGinty, of Gordon county, said his newspaper, The Calhoun Times, was one of the original advocates of repeal, and said he was elected to the senate without opposition on the repeal issue.

Sen. McGinty read statements which he said were made on the floor of the United States senate by Sens. George and Russell, of Georgia, saying the poll tax should be repealed, but by the states themselves.

Questioning the "propriety" of Arnall's address to a joint session yesterday in which he said he would suspend the poll tax by executive order if the assembly failed to act, Grayson declared:

"It is my opinion that up to noon yesterday this bill faced certain defeat in the senate. The Governor's influence and nothing else passed it."

Floor Leader G. Everett Millican, of Atlanta, another opponent of abolishment, told newspapermen that "there were 35 votes against this bill in the senate yesterday. The Governor's speech and his personal conferences with members caused the changed in sentiment."

The senate debate brought out diverse opinions on Arnall's address. Millican said "it has now resolved itself into a question whether there is any use of having a legislature. The question is can a governor always control the destiny of this state."

The roll call on the repeal bill follows:

For—Baggett, Bennett, Branch Brown, Causey, Chastain, Cloud, Daves, Drake, Edenfield, Edwards, Freeman, Gould, Harrell, of Quitman; Hodges, Holsenbeck, Mavity, McGinty, Moore, Nix, Norton, Peebles, Riley, Shedd, Slaughter, Stone, Walker, Wall, Welsch, Wellborn and Yawn.

Against — Bentley, Caldwell Cook, Deal, Drinkard, Gillis, Grayson, Greene, Harrell, of Lumpkin Hawes, Hill, Millican, Minchew Moate, Rainey, Sabadds, Smith Turner, of Decatur; Turner, of McDonough.

Poll-Tax History

Richmond Times

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

In the files of the Congressional Record I recently stumbled on a letter or report originally published in The Richmond Times-Dispatch Dec. 1, 1940, so it stated, and republished in the Congressional Record March 11, 1941, by request of its author, the Hon. Lee Geyer (author of the antipoll-tax bill).

After relating the facts about the Virginia convention at which the poll tax as a suffrage restriction was adopted and which, incidentally, was as arbitrary and unconstitutional as that we recently had, and in which the Hon. Harry Flood was as influential as his nephew in 1944, the article says:

"Then, after the convention had adopted a scheme which it knew would disfranchise whites as well as Negroes, the convention proclaimed the Constitution in direct violation of the act under which it was assembled, by a vote of 47 to 38, without submitting it to a vote of the people. Moreover, the convention required every official and judge in the State to take oath to uphold the Constitution which it had proclaimed. Otherwise, their offices were declared vacant.

"Thus, Virginia has a Constitution which by law and by pledge of the party of the majority of delegates to the convention should have been adopted by referendum of all the voters under the old Constitution, but was adopted instead by the vote of 47 men."

No wonder our best men will not seek office in Virginia! No wonder the Supreme Court supports the Governor and the machine! No wonder we are helpless at home and misrepresented in Washington!

Virginia people should realize the need to urge the passage in the United States Senate of the antipoll-tax bill which has again passed the House and faces filibuster in the Senate. The same ruthless machinery there functions largely by the activities of Virginia's dictator—Senator Byrd is chairman of the Rules Committee and is the recognized leader of that "unholy alliance" of Republicans and reactionary Southern Democrats (so-called) which continues to be a cruel and dangerous drag on the government in war or peace. Bullies are always cowards who retain their power more by their ability to impress their victims than by real strength. Let us have the courage of our convictions and demonstrate our belief that the right will prevail.

Let us administer a little soda for the flatulent condition of the Bilbos, and a big stick for the secret enemies that lurk in committee rooms and jerk their puppets on the floor of the Senate. Smash the puppets and the fight is won! Letters and telegrams are small darts, but enough of them kill huge beasts of prey.

ELIZABETH W. STEPTOE.
Charlottesville.

Poll Tax Issue Will Again Get Legislative Vote

Birmingham News

Abolition Of Southern Statute Is Expected To Bring Filibuster

BY MARGUERITE JOHNSTON
News Washington Correspondent.

WASHINGTON—Moving for the third time in six years to abolish the Southern poll tax by federal legislation, a bi-partisan group in Congress will force the issue to vote in the House early next week.

The bill, as it did in both previous instances, is expected to pass through the House over the bitter opposition of some Southern Democrats. But again, just as in 1942 and 1944, a Senate filibuster is probably waiting to booby-trap the legislation.

Newest form of the anti-poll tax bill, which would effect seven Southern states, was introduced in HR 7 on the first day of this session of Congress and has been pigeonholed in the judiciary committee of Rep. Hatton Summers (D., Tex.) ever since.

Its author, Rep. Vito Marcantonio, of New York, has obtained the 218 signatures necessary to have the bill discharged from both the judiciary and rules committees and brought to the floor.

The resolution calling for the committee discharge will be debated Monday for 20 minutes.

If a majority of those present vote for discharge (and there is a full probability that they will) the bill to abolish the poll tax will come before the House for a two-hours debate and final vote Tuesday.

Just how the Alabama delegation will vote on the issue remains to be seen. Several members of the delegation had expressed disapproval of federal action, coupled with a hope that the state Legislature would abolish the cumulative poll tax system in line with the policy approved by Gov. Chauncey Sparks. Failure of the Alabama State Legislature to act this past Spring may send some members of the congressional delegation into the federal-abolition camp.

In Alabama today, the poll ta not imposed on members of armed forces or of the Nat Guard, on blind or crippled per or on persons over 45 years of if he is out of poll tax debt.

If a native Alabamian reaches age of 45 without having paid poll tax, he must pay all back taxes to be able to vote. Outsiders coming into the state at 45 or older may vote, as qualified, without cost.

* * *

OPPOSITION FORCES in Congress hack at the bill with the insistence that Congress has not the constitutional right to prevent states from setting up their own voting fees and requisites.

Protagonists reply that no state has the constitutional privilege of charging American citizens for the right to vote.

In the 60 years since the poll tax was established in the South, four states have by state legislation abolished the system: North Carolina in 1920, Louisiana in 1934, Florida in 1937 and Georgia in 1945.

Defenders of the poll tax system insist that the old barrier is necessary to prevent Negro domination of those counties where the Negro population is in the majority.

Crusaders against the tax cite the experience of Louisiana, North Carolina, Florida and Georgia where the record shows that since poll tax abolition, the Negro citizens in those states have tended to vote as Americans rather than as a racial block.

The old argument for the tax—that it is necessary to Southern counties where more than 50 per cent of the population is Negro—is gradually disappearing by migration, U. S. Census Bureau reports show.

In 1940 the number of such counties had dropped from 286 to 180 Projections based on the war-speeded rate of decline would indicate that the number has dropped even lower in the five years since the census was made.

But of the 180 counties listed, 46 are in Georgia and 27 are in Louisiana, North Carolina and Florida.

The remaining 107 counties are scattered through seven poll tax states.

Attackers of the tax point out that the tax prevents more white citizens voting than Negro citizens, that not the poll tax but registration in Democratic primaries is the weapon used in these counties to keep the Negro population from attaining full voting strength.

* * *

ONLY 7% OF THE CITIZENS of Mississippi voted on the 1940 elections under the poll tax system.

Out of a population of 2,184,000, only 143,431 persons voted to send Sen. Bilbo to the UnitedStates Senate. Bilbo is a staunch upholder of the poll tax system.

In sparsely settled Nevada, 52,000 votes were cast for the state's single United States representative to Congress.

Poll tax states sent four representatives to Congress on the same number of votes.

A bi-partisan steering committee headed by Rep. George H. Bender, of Ohio, will lead the House fight for passage. Other members are Marcantonio, Everett M. Dirksen, of Illinois, Helen Gahagan Douglas, of California; A. Clayton Powell, of New York, and Hugh Delacy of Washington.

The latter four are Democrats. Marcantonio is a member of the American Labor party, the remaining three are Republicans.

Fiery speeches are expected from a few Southern Democrats, but the bill is expected to pass the House again for the third time.

The measure will then be sent to the Senate where twice before it has been filibustered to a slow but sure death.

The chances of Senate passage are heavier than they were in 1942 and 1944, but still are uncertain.

Both political parties have since adopted planks to their platforms endorsing elimination of the poll tax.

No immediate test on the Senate floor is expected however. The Senate has already scheduled so much pressing legislation that there is doubt that the poll tax bill will reach the floor before next Fall.

The Senate might have a majority in favor of the legislation, but it has the two-thirds necessary to shut off a filibuster remains to be seen.

McGill Predicts Vote Ban Discard

Pittsburgh Courier p2.
1-27-45

ATLANTA—"The poll tax and the white primary will be gone from Georgia in four and maybe two years," declared Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution. Mr. McGill said that he based his opinion on the fact that he sees an improvement in the thinking of the people of Georgia.

When asked to explain Georgia's seemingly slow progress thus far in promoting the rights of Negroes, Mr. McGill pointed out that public sentiment and legislative strength lies in rural communities. He indicated that he felt that the thinking in rural communities had lagged behind the progressive thinking of the metropolitan areas. He added that the reactionary was likely to be the small town businessman. 1-27-45

DEFEATIST ATTITUDE A GREAT HANDICAP

Mr. McGill said that he felt that Negro leaders had made a great mistake in not urging great numbers of their people to pay the poll tax. He said that the defeatist attitude on the part of Negroes had been a great handicap in the fight for their suffrage.

He said that it was most encouraging to know that the Negro Church is at last finding itself and is preaching things beyond the routine of direct church matters. He said that the CIO is also going a great job of reaching the people.

ANTI-POLL TAX BILL WINS HOUSE FLOOR

New York Times

Despite Southern Protests, Vote of 219 to 94 on Rule Sets Today for Disposal

6-12-45

By FREDERICK R. BARKLEY

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, June 11—Over the opposition of Southern Democrats, a coalition of Northern Democrats and Republicans forced to the House floor today a bill to outlaw the payment of poll taxes as a requisite for voting on the nomination and election of Federal officials.

By a vote of 223 to 95, or five more than the required half of the membership of the House, the Rules Committee, dominated by Southern members, was discharged from further consideration of a rule making the bill pending business.

Then, by a 219-to-94 vote, the chamber approved the rule, which will bring the bill up tomorrow for two hours of general debate, after which it will be open for admendment.

A final House vote is thus expected tomorrow, and even the bitterest opponents of the measure conceded that it would pass. But the usual Senate filibuster, which has killed all such measures in the past, is certain. 6-12-45

Marcantonio's Fight for Bill

Representative Vito Marcantonio, American Labor of New York, offered the bill on the first day of the session. It was referred to the Judiciary Committee, also Southern-dominated, and after it failed to act, Mr. Marcantonio offered a resolution to refer it to rules and followed that with today's discharge motion.

The current resolution was somewhat unusual in that it specified that Mr. Marcantonio personally must be recognized by the Speaker tomorrow to call up the measure for immediate consideration.

In a plea for approval of the rule he urged action so that war veterans would not return to a "restricted and limited democracy."

Foes Charge Centralization

Representatives John E. Rankin of Mississippi and E. E. Cox of Georgia led the fight against the rule. 6-12-45

"This is the first step down the road to serfdom," Mr. Rankin shouted. "It is a direct attack upon the Constitution, but what is the Constitution to the Communist party?"

Telling the Republicans that many of them lacked "the courage to vote for your real convictions," he declared that the measure sought to "intrench bureaucracy" by turning over control of Federal elections to the Federal Government.

Mr. Cox said he would "mournfully predict" that the House would pass the bill.

Representative A. W. Robertson of Virginia asserted that the proposal would lead to "centralization" and thus to "some form of national socialism, such as is being agitated in Britain and France today." 6-12-45

Voicing a belief that Congress had no jurisdiction over State voting qualifications, he added that "if we do have we should not exercise it."

He favored submitting the question to the voters in his own State by State action.

Poll Tax Again

Washington Post — D.C.

As the House once more embarks upon its futile rigmarole of passing the antipoll-tax bill, its case is weaker than it was last year. In the interim Georgia has abolished her poll tax. Progressive Governor Arnall led the way toward the adoption of a modernized State constitution discarding the vote-stifling "grandfather clause" and confirming the previous action of the Legislature against the poll tax. Progress toward wiping out this undemocratic relic of the post-Reconstruction era is being made by the South itself. Only seven poll-tax States remain and Georgia's example will certainly be contagious as the fight for more liberal voting privileges goes on. 6-12-45

Perhaps the House voted yesterday to pull the bill out of committee and take it up on the floor as a means of fanning the fire beneath the remaining poll-tax States. If so, its gesture is understandable. No doubt a good many Representatives reason that a vote for this unconstitutional measure will do no harm because the Senate is certain to kill it anyway. But that is a dangerous attitude to take toward any bill which pretends to exercise a power that the Constitution does not give to Congress. We think it is high time for the House to take a more constructive line of action.

The basic objection to this bill is, of course, that the Constitution does not give Congress the right to say who shall vote and who shall not vote in the States. The requirement for voting for congressional candidates is prescribed in the Constitution itself. It is that these voters shall have the same qualifications as voters for the most numerous branch of the State Legislature. In other words, the question of who shall vote is left, except for the safeguards on grounds of race and sex, to the States. Only a constitutional amendment could remove this basic and compelling objection to enactment of the bill.

There is, however, as we have noted on numerous occasions, a wholly constitutional method by which Congress could readily force the poll-tax States into line with sound democratic practice. Indeed, the fourteenth amendment puts Congress under obligation to reduce the representation of the States in the House if they "in any way abridge" the right of citizens to vote. The very fact that such an amendment was adopted is recognition of the power in the States to curtail the franchise if they choose. But Congress and the people, by approving this amendment, provided a weapon to use against the States if they should become arbitrary in the exercise of that power. 6-12-45

The time is now ripe to apply this weapon. A mere threat from Congress to reduce the representation of the poll-tax States would, in our opinion, send legislators in those States scurrying to their respective capitals to repeal that despicable levy on the voting privilege. Why does Congress hesitate to take this reasonable and constitutional method of achieving its aim? To our knowledge no good answer has ever been made. The House cannot continue to ignore this right approach, while making the gesture of passing an unconstitutional bill, without raising serious questions as to its own sincerity in the matter.

Outlaw the Poll Tax

Detroit Free Press

THE House had to use a bulldozer to get the anti-poll-tax bill out of the Judiciary Committee, where it had been bottled up for months. Then it passed the measure, 251 to 105. mich.

The bill now goes to the Senate, where it will face the same opposition that has twice defeated similar House-approved measures.

This opposition comes from the South, where seven States still require persons to pay a poll tax before they may vote. The present bill would eliminate that requirement in the election of Federal officials.

Already four Southern States have abolished this tax on voting. They are North Carolina, Florida, Louisiana and Georgia. Where it still prevails, the effect is to disfranchise poor whites and Negroes and keep power in the hands of little reactionary oligarchies. That makes a travesty of democracy. 6-14-45

The existence of this tax, and the ability of a bare majority of a 27-man committee to prevent the House, for months, from voting to repeal it, are sad commentaries on our democratic processes.

What must the delegates of 49 other countries, attempting at San Francisco to write a world charter embodying the lofty ideals to which we pledge allegiance, think of these anomalies in the land of Jefferson and Lincoln?

The Senate should, but probably will not, support the House and rid the country of this anti-democratic, discriminatory bar to free elections.

61e-1945

1945 Will Go Down As Year Of Poll Tax Fight

Birmingham News 6-12-45

BY HENRY LESESNE

ATLANTA, June 12—(AP)—This will be remembered as the year of the poll tax fight in the South—and of the movement to retain the white primary.

The issue, or issues, came up in every state where the Legislature met.

The principal result is that Georgia repealed its poll tax. In other states the repealists made some progress until 1949. 6-12-45

Georgia's action leaves only seven states now levying the poll tax. In recent times, three other Southern states have abolished the tax—with, election officials insist, no noticeable change in voting.

Why did Georgia, alone among the poll tax states this year, repeal the levy which long since had become an issue nationally—an issue which, some Southerners have said, never will be settled so long as there is any outside agitation?

The answer is the state's young governor, Ellis Arnall. Arnall, who admits his granddaddy got rich working Negroes for 25 cents a day, says the Negro problem is mostly economic, and for the rest political; not a social problem at all. 6-12-45

"This poll tax is a political football," said Arnall. "Let's get rid of it, once and for all."

* * *

THE SAME LEGISLATURE THAT "got rid of it" adopted a streamlined constitution, for submission to the people, which omitted any reference to primaries—leaving them outside state control. This, admittedly, was intended to permit political parties to make their own membership rules.

This is an expedient, already employed in some other states, to retain the white primary in the face of the Supreme Court decision holding that Negroes could vote in the Texas Democratic primaries.

South Carolina already had removed from its lawbooks any reference to the primaries. Since the Georgia action, Arkansas has followed suit. The plan has come in for much discussion in other Southern states, notably Alabama and Florida. 6-12-45

After Georgia repealed the poll tax Sen. Hill, of Alabama, and three Alabama congressmen came out in favor of repealing their state's poll tax. The Legislature, however, turned thumbs down, and declined even to remove the cumulative feature of the $1.50-a-year tax. The law excuses a voter from the poll tax after the age of 45.

* * *

THE TENNESSEE LEGISLATURE repealed the poll tax a few years ago only to have the state Supreme Court declare the repealer unconstitutional. Since then, however, the privilege of voting without cash payment of the tax has been extended to service men

A magistrate in Tennessee recently held the collection of the tax illegal, contending that the Supreme Court had, in effect, re-levied the tax. Courts can't levy taxes. Now the whole question may rum the gamut of the courts again.

The South Carolina Senate voted this year to eliminate the poll tax as a voting requirement but not as a revenue source. The House did not reach a vote, however, and the proposal goes over to January, when the Legislature meets again. The proposal, involving a constitutional amendment, would have to be approved by the voters.

A special session of the Virginia General Assembly voted in March to establish a suffrage commission to make a full study of voting requirements in Virginia, including the $1.50 a year poll tax, and to recommend changes to the next session of the Legislature in January.

North Carolina, two-party state which allows Negroes to vote in primaries, repealed the poll tax as a voting requirement as far back as 1921. State officials say that repeal has had little, if any, effect on the voting. 6-12-45

LOUISIANA REPEALED THE TAX in 1934. Negro voting in Louisiana is restricted by laws under which an election official may, if he wishes, require would-be registrants to "interpret satisfactorily" the constitution. Negro registration is considerably under 2,000.

Florida followed in 1937. Secretary of State R. A. Gray, who has charge of Florida election machinery, says "I think that it is well we did away with it, but if it had the slightest effect on our elections, it was not noticeable."

House Votes Poll Tax Ban, Dixie Senators Threaten Filibuster

Birmingham News 6-13-45

All-Out Fight Coming; FEPC Set Back; Truman Wants Charter Ratified

BY JOHN CHADWICK

WASHINGTON, June 13—(AP)—Southern Democrats, with Fair Employment Practices legislation shoved aside, banked today on tax payments as a voting requirement in federal elections before Southern senators promised an all-out fight against the measure.

"We'll speak as long as we have to in order to prevent passage," Sen. Bilbo (D., Miss.) told a reporter. 6-13-45

SENATE FILIBUSTERS, OR THREATS OF THEM, have blocked enactment of similar legislation passed by the House in the two preceding Congresses. Seven Southern states have poll tax laws.

With Southern Democrats equally admant against setting up a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee, Rep. Norton (D., N. J.) turned to the Republicans to save it from a rules committee deathtrap.

Author of the FEPC bill, Mrs. Norton said she was relying on Republican representatives "to live up to their party pledge" and sign a petition to take the measure away from the committee.

By a 6-6 vote yesterday, the rules group refused to send the legislation to the House floor. Southern Democratic members were solid in their opposition.

Chairman Sabath (D., Ill.) announced today he would sign the discharge petition and, like Mrs. Norton, called on Republicans to do likewise.

BOTH SAID THE REPUBLICANS should "prove their sincerity" in view of the party's convention endorsement last year of FEPC legislation. The Democratic convention adopted a similar plank.

Establishment of FEPC on a permanent basis in an effort to prevent discrimination in employment because of race, creed or color was asked last week by President Truman. The existing agency was set up by executive order of the late President Roosevelt.

The discharge petition has about 125 signatures; it needs 218 to take the FEPC bill away from the rules committee. Mrs. Norton said only about 10 Republicans have signed thus far.

No funds for continuation of the temporary FEPC beyond June 30 were provided in the war agencies appropriation bill passed by the House last week, but Mrs. Norton predicted the Senate would insert the requested $599,000 and that the House would agree.

Poll Tax

Senate filibuster threat to smother House-approved legislation to abolish poll taxes.

Hardly had the House voted 251 to 105 late yesterday to outlaw poll

HOW ALABAMIANS VOTED

WASHINGTON, June 13 — (AP)—Here's how Alabama congressmen balloted yesterday on the poll tax repeal bill which overwhelmingly, passed the House:

For—Rep. Patrick.

Against — Reps. Boykin, Manasco, Rains, Sparkman.

Paired Against Bill — Andrews, Grant.

Reps. Jarman and Hobbs were not listed as voting.

This Evening

Birmingham News

POLL TAX REALITIES

Southern congressmen facing the tough test of a vote on the poll tax issue have been disdainful of Democratic brethren from other sections of the country who are supposed to have yielded to political pressure. But isn't the shoe on the other foot? Aren't at least Southern liberals who have been begging their state legislatures to get rid of the poll tax surrendering to expediency when, having been turned down at home, they fight federal legislation tooth-and-nail? Moreover, when they do so, aren't they mistaking the shadow for the substance—aren't they assuming that public sentiment in their states is strong for the poll tax when it should be clear by now that this may not be true? 6-13-45

The handful of Southerners who cut through the fog to vote for the bill removing the poll tax limitation on voting in federal elections are to be congratulated not merely on doing the right thing, which involved courage, but in doing the wise thing, which involved discernment. Luther Patrick, of Birmingham, was a member of this saving remnant; three Tennesseans, Gore, Priest and Kefauver, were among his companions. Mr. Patrick pointed to the failure of the Alabama Legislature to take any action, even though urged to do so by Gov. Sparks. In Tennessee, abolition of the poll tax went through the Legislature, but was indefinitely held up by the State Supreme Court.

The problem faced by such men is whether they should be governed by no consideration save the doctrine of state rights. By refusing to make such a sacrifice they are at once more statesmanlike and more realistic than those who are making a fetish of state rights. They know a certain issued was decided in the '60s. They know that many Southerners who cry out against the poll tax measure as an invasion of state sovereignty have welcomed other intrusions by the back door, that the movement against the poll tax has become in the South a white man's fight for enfranchisement, and only incidentally the Negro's insistence on political equality. Gov. Sparks made that clear enough in his message to the Alabama Legislature. 6-13-45

How much mere prejudice, or fear of personal consequences, trying to hide its face, is figuring in the opposition to federal action against the poll tax was shown in the speeches made Monday by those enlightened tribunes of the people, Rankin of Mississippi and Cox of Georgia. Both are beneficiaries of the present system which brings about their reelection term after term by a small fraction of the potential electorate of their districts. Both, being what they are, lived up to expectations when they stigmatized the attack on the poll tax as a Communist affair. Samuel Johnson said that patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel. Those who see "the program of the Marxists" or "the road to serfdom" in the removal of the poll tax must be in a very desperate plight.

House to Vote on Poll Tax

Afro-American 6-9-45

Bill Forced Out of Committee's Hands

PETITION FILED

Sponsors Cite Need for Continued Pressure

Following the securing of 218 signatures on the House discharge petition for HR-7, the Federal anti-Poll Tax Bill, supporters of the measure this week urged a home precinct drive to mobilize needed Congressional support for its passage.

The last of the necessary signatures to the discharge petition was obtained Tuesday afternoon, after which the House adopted a resolution which called for bringing the measure to the floor on June 11.

Mrs. Kathryn Shryver, executive secretary of the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, whose organization has spearheaded the fight to secure passage of the bill, said that little difficulty is expected in securing favorable House action. 6-9-45

Expects House Passage

She pointed out, however, that every effort must be made to secure as many votes as possible. "The House has twice passed the bill in the 77th and 78th Congress," she said, "and we have every reason to be assured that it will do so this time."

Then, pointing to the likelihood of stronger opposition and a possible filibuster in the Senate, she said: 6-9-45

"House passage alone is not enough. The overwhelming support of the people for the bill must be reflected by a heavy House vote in its favor. 6-9-45

"This can be accomplished only if the voters in the home wards and precincts contact their Representatives and demand their support of HR-7."

Anti-Polltax Bill Passes House 3-1

Daily Worker 6-2-45

By ART SHIELDS

WASHINGTON, June 11.—The anti-polltax forces scored an overwhelming preliminary victory in Congress today. While Rep. John E. Rankin (D-Miss) howled against Negroes, Jews, Communists and the Supreme Court, the House decided by a 223 to 95 vote—better than 3 to 1—to put Rep. Vito Marcantonio's (ALP-NY) anti-Polltax bill on the calendar tomorrow. The House is expected to pass the bill by a heavy majority after a scheduled two-hour debate.

Today's action discharges the Judiciary and Rules Committee, which have been snagging the bill since January, from further consideraton of the measure.

Rep. Hatton W. Sumners (D-Tex), Judiciary Chairman, who has been stalling the bill, kept silent in the face of the overwhelming sentiment in the bill's favor. But Rep. Eugene Cox (D-Ga), who performed a similar role in the Rules Committee, took the floor to admit that he was licked. 6-12-45

He worked in a little red-baiting at the same time.

"Mournfully I prophesy," said the Georgian, "that the program of the Marxists contained in this type of legislation will go to complete consummation."

RANKIN RANTS

Rankin was his usual violent self. In the four or five minutes at his disposal he cried out something about killing Negroes. The South, he shouted, didn't kill as many "N-----ers" as the North. He linked the Supreme Court with the "Communists," calling the anti-polltax bill a "Communist attack" which he feared the Supreme Court would support. He raved against Justie Felix Frankfurter, and then he began ranting again at the bill in the name of "white Gentiles."

The bill, he wailed, is a "stab in the back" for "white Gentiles," a phrase which he kept repeating.

Rep. Mary Norton (D-NJ), chairman of the House Labor Committee, was fed up with this stuff.

"The time has come," said the Jersey City Representative, "when those of us who are for democracy should stand up and be counted and forget all this nonsense about communism." 6-12-45

Mrs. Norton declared she was tired of hearing every liberal measure abused as Communistic.

Marcantonio, who had charge of allotting time to the supporters of the bill during the 20-minute debate, just yielded himself two minutes to say that the overwhelming majority of the American people were against the polltax.

"And when the soldiers come home," he continued, "they must find the freedom for which they have been fighting. They must not return to a democracy that is not limited by a polltax."

RED-BAITERS REBUKED

Rep. George Bender (R-O), who headed the bipartisan coalition behind the petition drive that brought the bill to the House floor, rose to rebuke the red-baiters, who called the bill "Communistic." Rep. Helen Gahagan Douglas (D-Cal) called for a big vote for the measure tomorrow. 6-12-45

Rep. A. Willie Robertson (D-Va), who has taken a vigorous liberal line in the fight for reciprocal trade, made a speech against the bill.

The House Rules Committee will decide tomorrow whether to let the bill for a permanent FEPC come to the House floor.

Chairman Adolph J. Sabath (D-Ill) backs the bill, but a bloc of polltaxers, led by Cox of Georgia, boasts that the bill will not come out of the committee.

Pity us poor states' rights liberals these days. We have to blow hot against state Legislatures one week for refusing to abolish the poll tax—and cold against Congress the next for threatening to abolish it. But if we didn't blow just that hot and just that cold, we wouldn't be states rights liberals and the hope of the South would not be served. Too many delicate and vital matters are involved in the South's right to regulate its own voting procedure to let the rough hand of Congress interfere. But the very fact makes it the more pitiful when the South regulates its voting procedure in ways of backwardness, not of light.

By Charles N. Feidelson

This Evening

Birmingham News

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Southern congressmen facing the tough test of a vote on the poll tax issue have been disdainful of Democratic brethren from other sections of the country who are supposed to have yielded to political pressure. But isn't the shoe on the other foot? Aren't at least Southern liberals who have been begging their state legislatures to get rid of the poll tax surrendering to expediency when, having been turned down at home, they fight federal legislation tooth-and-nail? Moreover, when they do so, aren't they mistaking the shadow for the substance—aren't they assuming that public sentiment in their states is strong for the poll tax when it should be clear by now that this may not be true?

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61e-1945

SENATE REJECTS BILL FOR POLL TAX REPEAL

Commercial Appeal
Memphis, Tenn.

Action Expected To Eliminate Further Consideration At This Session

1-26-45

By PAUL MORRIS

From The Commercial Appeal
Nashville Bureau

NASHVILLE, Jan. 25.—Carrying out their prearranged plan, foes of poll tax repeal Thursday rejected two bills dealing with the vote tax, while the House Committee on Elections deferred until next Tuesday any action on seven bills up before it for consideration.

The Senate action, upheld by a 22 to 10 vote on a bill to cut the poll tax from $1 to 50 cents and a 22 to 9 vote on a bill removing the 60-day requirement on poll tax payments preceding elections, apparently stymied for this session any further consideration of poll tax legislation in view of the constitutional prohibition against considering more than one bill on the same subject.

Senate Speaker Larry Morgan, however, said that he would wait to see whether other bills come up before ruling on the constitutional question.

1-26-45

Here's How They Voted

Senators voting for rejection of the bill removing the 60-day requirement on payment of the poll tax were: Allen, Buckles, Cantrell, Covington, Crawford, Cunningham, Dossett, Evins, Gilkey, Gordon, Grooms, Hall, Haynes, Hunt, Keaton, Loftin, Pipkin, Tual, Watkins, Weimar and Speaker Morgan.

Opposing the move were: Arnold, Beasley, Brooks, Chandler, Crumbliss, Currey, Marable, O'Brien and Smith.

Not voting was Senator Bilbey, while Senator Mildred Lashlee was absent.

The same lineup was maintained on the bill to cut the tax, with the exception of Senator Crawford, who switched to oppose rejection, while Senator Bilbrey recorded himself as voting with the majority to reject the measure.

Foes Move To Suspend Rules

The vote on rejection of the 60-day bill, sponsored by Senator George Marable of Tracy City, followed a spree of parliamentary maneuvering by the opposing forces.

1-26-45

Foes of repeal first moved to suspend the rules for immediate consideration of the election committee's report that the bill be rejected. This was met by Senator Marable's attempt to completely withdraw his bill from the Senate.

Marable's request was overruled by Speaker Morgan on the ground that it came "too late" since there was a previous motion on suspending the rules.

Then Senator George Chandler of Knoxville, only Republican member on the Elections Committee, and the only member to vote against rejection of the two bills, raised the question that it took unanimous consent of the Senate to suspend the rules. Like Marable's request, the Chandler motion was ruled out of order by Morgan.

Making another stab, Chandler sought the floor on a point of personal privilege only to be denied by the speaker, who later gave him the privilege of speaking against the motion.

Chandler charged that the chairman of the Elections Committee, James Haynes of Ripley, did not give adequate notice of the meeting Wednesday, and moved the scheduled meeting up a couple of hours just to hasten the action. He contended that the notice was in violation of Senate rules, and that the bills were not given adequate study by the committee.

He denied that the bill repealed the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting, and then sought to get the motion to suspend the rules tabled only to fail on a roll call vote of the Senate.

1-26-45

O'Brien Makes Charges

When Speaker Morgan started to call for a vote on the rejection motion, it brought the charge from Senator Jake O'Brien of Springfield that he was "trying to cut off a discussion o fthe bill."

O'Brien was finally given the floor and charged that "it's not fair nor democratic to reject these bills without even discussing their merits or demerits. I don't know," he said, "how any man can have the guts to reject a bill." He pointed to pending legislation freeing service personnel from the poll tax.

O'Brien explained that he wasn't "interested in poll tax repeal and probably wouldn't vote for the bills, but believed every bill should be considered on the floor and not rejected by any such procedure."

O'Brien was followed by Senator Marable, who merely sought to make a point of an erroneous interpretation that the bill removed the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting.

1-26-45

Senator John Hall of Jackson questioned the idea that the bill dealt with the poll tax and would preclude further consideration of such legislation. Later he voted with the majority to reject.

Senator Chandler later tried to get the Senate to adjourn, to stave off action, but was outvoted as the pre-arranged plan for rejection moved to its climax.

Little Discussion On Second Bill

On the second bill, sponsored by Senator Taylor Crawford of Kelso, there was very little discussion and

Poll Tax

no apparent effort on the part of repealists to prolong the fate in store for the proposal.

After the vote, Senator Louis Allen of Nashville, Administration floor leader, rose to explain that his vote for rejection was not dictated by Governor McCord and should not be interpreted as representing his stand as Administration floor leader.

His explanation brought a retort from Senator O'Brien as "to why is it necessary for you to make such an apology." Allen indignantly replied that "now, as in the future, I shall reserve the right to vote as I see fit, without any criticism from you" (O'Brien).

Since the plans of the anti-repealists had become generally known, the Senate chamber was crowded throughout the parliamentary skirmish on the Marable bill, and the House held up its session so that members might visit the upper chamber.

As soon as the House convened, however, the poll tax issue was again dragged out with Representative A. A. Maysilles of Coffee County taking the floor on a point of personal privilege, to declare that he'd rather have his bill on the question killed on the floor of the House than "defeated by steamroller tactics." He added that he was on the verge of thanking publicly Speaker George Woods for an assurance that his bill to remove the poll tax from primaries would be given an open hearing when he learned Wednesday of the Senate committee's action. He said the desire to express thanks left him then because he knew the fight against repeal had shifted to the Senate, and sought to get his bill immediately removed from the House Elections Committee for consideration on the floor.

A roll call vote defeated his motion and brought a speech from Rocky Palmer of Lauderdale County, chairman of the Election Committee, who declared he had arranged the committee meeting Thursday afternoon without any previous knowledge of the meeting of the Senate Committee. He also reiterated a statmnt mad earlier in the week that the meeting would be open.

Maysille's Bill Taken Up

That afternoon, the committee took up Maysille's bill, along with measures to remove forever the poll tax on the votes of service personnel, and a bill similar to the Marable bill rejected earlier by the Senate.

Following the meeting, which was open, Palmer said action on all of the bills had been deferred until Tuesday, when the committee would meet again at 3 in the afternoon.

When the Senate returned to its regular order Thursday morning, Senator Chandler introduced a bill to remove the poll tax from the votes of service personnel who had been discharged after as much as 30 days' service. His bill was similar to the Dotson bill in the House.

Four bills advocated by Governor McCord to protect rights of veterans were introduced in both houses. These would:

Extend benefits accorded veterans of World War I to veterans of the present conflict.

Appropriate $15,000 as an educational aid fund for children of deceased veterans of World War II. Children between the ages of 16 and 22 and attending state colleges would be eligible for aid up to $300 annually providing their surviving parent did not have an income over $2000 annually, or the child an income of over $500.

Validate War and Navy department casualty reports as prima facie evidence of death in Tennessee courts.

Provide a method of probating wills of deceased veterans in Tennessee courts.

1-26-45

Other Bills Introduced

Another administration bill offered in both houses would raise the status of the head of the safety department from a directorship to a commissionership, while still another bill would permit officers to make arrests on information received by radio, teletype or telephone.

The Hamilton County delegation offered a bill to raise the weekly maximum workmen's compensation benefits from $18 to $40, while Representative J. Q. McDonald of Overton County sponsored a bill to permit the State Board of Education to establish radio schools.

Trucking interests obtained introduced in both houses of bills to make Tennessee's laws on the length and weight of trucks conform to statutes of other states. Senators Bilbrey and Buckles offered the bills in the Senate, while Representatives Cummings and Nevills sponsored them in the lower house.

1-26-45

Both houses adjourned until 9 Friday morning at which time they will hold brief sessions before recessing for the week end.

The House passed and sent to Governor McCord the administration's bill revising the state's insurance tax laws to conform to a recent ruling of the United States Supreme Court. Only opposition to the bill came when an attempt was made to exclude farm co-operatives, but amendments were defeated after Insurance Commissioner James McCormack was given the floor to explain that such action might affect the constitutionality of the bill.

The bill passed the Senate Tuesday.

Sparks To McCorvey

Birmingham News 1-26-45

Gov. Sparks has made a very effective answer to the contention of Gessner T. McCorvey—chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, but speaking only for himself—that the cumulative poll tax, "maintained in full force and effect . . . is a lawful and legitimate method of getting rid of a very large number of people who would not cast an intelligent ballot even if they were given the right to vote." Replying, the governor said: "Frankly, I think we have the ability to keep our election lists clean and on a reasonably intelligent plane without a poll tax."

5-15-45

Whatever the legal technicalities may be, we certainly do not regard any effort or law to prevent voting through making it too costly for some citizens as in line with the spirit of American principles of freedom, justice, democracy and constitutional right.

We do not agree, of course, that there should be definite qualifications for voters. But we emphatically disagree that either ability or willingness to pay a certain amount of money should be one of the qualifications.

* * *

Mr. McCorvey obviously is sincerely moved by the fear that letting down this barrier, which he regards as legally justifiable, would greatly disturb conditions of government in certain areas of the state. Consequently, he is disposed more toward raising "additional hurdles" in the way of voting than toward removing any now in place.

He believes the day yet will come when Southern states which have done away with the poll tax will deeply regret their action. His is a voice from the past, speaking the language of a day that is done.

While experience obviously is our great teacher, truth is to be found in the present and in the future as in the past. In this instance Mr. McCorvey is, in our opinion, standing against the march of truth and justice.

5-15-45

* * *

Gov. Sparks makes the very pertinent point that the poll tax at present "affects in very large degree only white citizens." That is to say, failure to qualify in other respects is what keeps so many Negroes off the voting lists.

Let our qualifications for voting be intelligent and sound. Let them be fairly enforced. But let us not maintain legal subterfuges to prevent any Americans from voting.

When Gov. Sparks expresses his faith that our lists can be kept "clean" without a poll tax, we do not see that he leaves any argument whatever in favor of its retention, even with the cumulative feature removed. We hope that the truth is that the governor recognizes that the poll tax should go entirely and that he is now advocating only the abolition of the cumulative requirement because he is convinced that that approach offers the best hope of progress.

This Evening

Birmingham News
SPARKS VS. McCORVEY
5-16-45

Gessner McCorvey is a blunt man—he speaks right on. Having heard that the Legislature is expected to deal with the poll tax, he issues an open letter not only urging the preservation of the tax, but calling for additional "safeguards." He is even willing to have the constitution amended in this behalf. But one marvels at his moderation. All he wants is to strike out one provision of our suffrage law which permits persons having $300 personal property to register. This permits every Tom, Dick and Harry to become a voter, Mr. McCorvey complains. He is against Toms, Dicks and Harrys having the right to vote. This places him in the position of objecting to democratic government, since most of us are only Toms, Dicks and Harrys.

That is why I suggest that he is surprisingly moderate in his demand for further restrictions. He might have indicated other requirements which would please him. He might have said that only persons with incomes of $5,000 or more, whose names are in the social register, and whose ancestors voted prior to 1861, should be permitted to vote. Strong for an "intelligent" electorate, he might have been more specific on that score, delineating his conception of government of, by and for the people through the resurrection of a system of feudalism. 5-16-45

It is vastly to Gov. Sparks' credit that he lost no time in answering this statement. Since Mr. McCorvey is himself eager to amend the constitution of 1901 as to the property provision, why not go further and get rid of something else which is both unnecessary and harmful? Why not abolish a restriction upon voting which has no connection with valid qualifications? Why not eliminate a requirement which has kept good and intelligent Alabamians from going to the polls and helping to smash the machine politics now bedeviling the state? Why not do something to make democracy a fact and not a label in Alabama?

Foes Forcing House Fight On Poll Tax

Montgomery Advertiser

ote Slated Today To ry Abolition Bill Out Of Hostile Committee

Antis Claim Victory

6-11-45

Sovereignty Of 7 Southern States May Depend On Senate For Its Existence

WASHINGTON, June 10.—(AP)—Congressional tempers already rubbed raw over sectional issues will be irritated anew tomorrow as the House heads into its perennial poll tax fight.

Backers of legislation to outlaw the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting for Federal offices in seven Southern States claimed sufficient strength to send it on to the Senate where similar measures have died twice before.

The fact that the outcome of the controversy appeared assured in advance failed to ease frayed nerves.

Then on Tuesday the House will see a renewal of controversy, this time over creation of a permanent fair employment practices commission (FEPC) — an issue which kept the rules committee in turmoil much of last week and led to a near-fight on the floor. 6-11-45

That came late Friday, when after heated words about the FEPC during debate on a war agencies appropriations bill, Reps. Marcantonio (AL), New York, and Chelf (D), Kentucky, advanced threateningly on each other. They were separated at the last minute by an attendant.

House approval of the anti-poll tax legislation seemed certain since 218 members—a majority—signed a petition to bring about its discharge from the judiciary committee which has held it since the beginning of the session.

Bipartisan Support

The signers were almost evenly divided between Republicans and Northern Democrats.

Foes of the poll tax argue that the levy abrogates a constitutional guarantee of the ballot to every adult citizen, and they cite figures to show that the total vote in poll tax States is 25 per cent or less of the eligibles as compared with 70 per cent or more in the non-poll tax States.

Its defenders, who contend that the States should be permitted to decide the issue for themselves, come principally from the seven States which still retain the levy: Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. 6-11-45

They will first attempt to block a move for a roll call on the legislation itself. Following debate limited to 20 minutes, the House will vote on whether to discharge a hostile rules committee from consideration of the legislation. If the poll tax foes win an anticipated victory, two hours of debate on the measure itself will follow tomorrow.

If the 218 petition signers hold firm and the bill passes, the legislation will then go to the Senate, where in the past two Congresses similar House-approved measures have died in the face of filibusters and threats of filibusters.

FEPC Dispute

The FEPC dispute will flare up again Tuesday behind the closed doors of the rules committee. Thus far that group has remained deadlocked over legislation to give permanent legal status to the agency created by executive order of the late President Roosevelt and supported by President Truman. 6-11-45

Unless Congress acts, FEPC will succumb for lack of funds on July 1.

Southern Democrats express belief the deadlock on the agency, created with the announced purpose of eliminations, color and creed discrimination from employment practices, will continue at tomorrow's session. They contend FEPC aggravates rather than eases racial problems.

The legislation's backers, however, expect the committee to clear it for a House vote. If it does not, they can fall back on the petition method of discharge. A petition for that purpose currently lacks about 80 votes.

Poll Tax Denounced By Dickstein

6-10-45
Richmond Times

WASHINGTON, June 9—(AP)—"The poll tax . . . is an intolerable and indefensible dilution of the American constitutional principles of equal free citizenship," Representative Dickstein (D-N. Y.) declared today.

"The American people can not appear at the San Francisco conference on international organization of the United Nations with clean hands to present our claims to the right of all people to free, equal, secret elections while seven American States belittle American citizenship by bribing American citizens to stay away from the polls," Dickstein said in a statement. 6-10-45

Calling the poll tax a constant threat to every minority group in the country, Dickstein said:

"If any State may say that you, or I, because we lack $2, must be only half-citizens, what is to keep any State from some day saying that if you can or I have red hair or dark skin or a desire to worship God in our own way or work in a tannery, we are for that reason less than full citizens and take away our vote. . . ."

"It is the duty of Congress to make the full victory of American arms a full victory of American ideals by passing . . . the antipoll tax bill and restoring full citizenship to 10,000,000 American citizens whose only crime is lack of money.

"This bill rights a wrong greater than any partisan issue, or any geographic interest, or any economic slant."

The House will vote Monday on the antipoll tax bill, discharged from the Judiciary Committee by petition. Monday's vote will be on discharging the Rules Committee from consideration.

House Passes Anti-Poll Tax Bill, 251 to 105; Southern Bloc Keeps FEPC in Pigeonhole

6-13-45

WASHINGTON, June 12.—(UP) The house today approved, 251 to 105, legislation outlawing the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting in primaries and elections for federal office. 6-13-45

A coalition of Republicans and northern Democrats prevailed after southern Democrats had succeeded a few hours earlier in blocking house consideration of another anti-discrimination measure—a bill to establish a permanent fair employment practices commission.

With southerners exerting the balance of power, the House Rules Committee rebuffed President Truman by keeping the FEPC measure bottled up in committee where it has languished since March. The vote was 6 to 6, and Rep. Cox, Democrat, Georgia, an opponent, said "The bill is dead."

The poll tax measure now goes to the senate, which previously has allowed two similar house-approved bills to die.

Southern forces had opposed both the anti-poll tax and FEPC bills, but they conceded they were powerless to prevent house passage of the poll tax measure. They said they were counting on the senate again to prevent enactment of the poll tax bill, which would affect seven southern states still requiring such a tax—Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

Proponents, led by the only two Negro members of the house—Rep. Clare Boothe Luce, Republican, Connecticut, and Rep. Vito Marcantonio, American-Labor, New York, had been destined to remain bottled up in the rules committee for some time, despite President Truman's plea for action.

But the FEPC bill apparently was destined to remain bottled up in a letter to Chairman Mr. Truman had urged last week in a letter to Chairman Adolph J. Sabath, Democrat, Illinois—be given a chance to vote on the measure.

Proponents of a permanent house committee's refusal to send the measure to the house floor would not "foreclose" future action, but he added that nothing will be done about it for some time."

Opponents argued the FEPC still could force house consideration of the bill through a petition discharging the rules committee from further consideration of it. This is a long procedure, requiring 218 signatures to the petition.

Sabath said the committee's refusal to send the measure to the house floor would not "foreclose" future action, but he added that nothing will be done about it for some time."

Proponents of a permanent house consideration of the bill through a petition discharging the rules committee from further consideration of it. This is a long procedure, requiring 218 signatures to the petition.

Rep. Clare Boothe Luce, Republican, Connecticut, challenged opposition arguments that the bill was unconstitutional, she argued the FEPC still could force house consideration of the bill through a petition discharging the rules committee from further consideration of it. This is a long procedure, requiring 218 signatures to the petition.

Proponents, led by the only two Negro members of the house—Rep. Clare Boothe Luce, Republican, Connecticut, and Rep. Vito Marcantonio, American-Labor, New York, had been destined to remain bottled up in the rules committee for some time, despite President Truman's plea for action.

But the FEPC bill apparently was destined to remain bottled up in a letter to Chairman Mr. Truman had urged last week in a letter to Chairman Adolph J. Sabath, Democrat, Illinois—be given a chance to vote on the measure.

Poll Tax Issue

By Mark Sullivan

Washington Post

History Of Movement

THE ESSENTIAL question involved in the movement in Congress to abolish payment of a poll tax as a prerequisite for voting may be understood by recalling the history of another movement analogous in kind and purpose.

Just as seven States now require payment of a poll tax as a prerequisite for voting, so, preceding 1920, did many States have a different limitation—voters had to be of the male sex. This limitation on voting was thought by many persons to be undesirable. They set about ending it. They took the method prescribed by the Constitution, that is, by amendment of the Constitution.

Following the constitutional procedure, they introduced the proposed amendment in Congress. Passage by both branches was concluded June 4, 1919. Thereafter, continuing to follow the constitutional procedure, the amendment was laid before the States. By August 18, 1920, the amendment had been ratified by three fourths of the States. Sex as a limitation on voting was ended. 6-13-45

THE ENTIRE process of ending a limitation on voting by constitutional amendment, from introduction in Congress to final ratification by the States, consumed less than 20 months. The backers of the present movement to end the poll tax have followed a different method. They undertook to do it by a simple act of Congress, requiring a majority vote. The movement began in 1939, when the first bill was introduced. It has been under way ever since. Twice in the past, in 1942 and 1943, the bill passed the House, twice it died in the Senate. After six years of formidably organized agitation and drive, the backers of the movement are where they began. Had they followed the method of constitutional amendment, they might have ended the poll-tax limitation as quickly as the sex limitation was ended. This is on the assumption, of course, that there is—in Congress, in the States, and among the people—as much desire for ending the poll-tax limitation as there was for ending the sex limitation. 6-13-45

Without examining newspapers of the time carefully, it seems safe to say that in 1919 hardly any responsible person seriously supposed that the Federal Government could change voting requirements in States by any process other than constitutional amendment.

There is yet another way o ending the poll-tax limitation, by action of the States within which it exists. The process is under way. Georgia ended the poll tax this year, Florida ended it in 1937, Louisiana in 1934. Payment of a poll tax, or of ordinary taxes, as a requirement for voting, was ended in Pennsylvania in 1933. There remain but seven States in which the poll tax exists. In all seven, sentiment against it is strong and increasing. In two, active anti-poll-tax movements likely to be successful are under way.

The attempt to end the poll tax by simple act of Congress involves the question whether Congress, under the Constitution, has this power. The present bill recognizes that Congress, if it has the power at all, has it only as respects voting for Federal officials—President, Vice President, Senators and Representatives. No one contends that Congress has power to end the poll tax as respects voting for State and local officials. Whether Congress has even the limited power which the present bill undertakes to exercise is a disputed constitutional question. 6-13-45

BUT THE DEEPER question is whether Congress, even if it has the power, ought to exercise it. At present, the fixing of requirements for voting is exclusively in the hands of the States. All of the States have requirements of their own. In varying forms they deal with length of residence in the State and in the voting district, ability to read and write, naturalization of alien-born voters and the length of time since naturalized. As respects age, 47 of the States stipulate 21 years; one State, Georgia, has recently fixed 18 years.

If Congres can intrude in this exclusive function of the States as respects the poll tax, it can intrude as respects every other voting requirement. When a Congressman from Pennsylvania, for example, votes to end the poll tax as a requirment for voting in South Carolina, he by that act asserts that Congress can likewise end any voting requirement that Pennsylvania may have. And so as to every Congressman from every State. 6-13-45

The right of each State to fix its own voting requirements is a precious power; it goes to the heart of the very existence of a State as a unit of government. And the present proposal comes at a time when the States and their citizens are showing concen lest their rights and functions be reduced.

ANTI-POLL TAX BILL IS PASSED BY HOUSE

New York Times

251-105 Voting Almost Wholly Sectional—Measure Faces a Senate Filibuster

6-13-45

By WILLIAM S. WHITE

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, June 12—A bill to outlaw the poll tax as a requirement for voting in Federal elections in seven Southern States was passed by the House, 251 to 105, today and was sent to the Senate where Southern members twice before in recent years killed similar measures.

The House ballot was taken after considerable debate, which at times became bitter. The voting, substantially ignoring party affiliation and almost wholly sectional, was as follows: 6-13-45

For the bill—131 Republicans, 118 Democrats, 2 minor party members.

Against the measure—Eighty-six Democrats and nineteen Republicans.

The delegations of these seven States, Texas, Tennessee, Virginia, South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi and Arkansas, were almost solidly opposed to the measure, with only five members, Representatives Gore and Priest of Tennessee, Thomas and Thomason of Texas and Patrick of Alabama, voting for elimination of the tax.

The Democratic leadership was split as Representative McCormack of Massachusetts, majority leader, voted for repeal, and Representative Ramspeck of Georgia, majority whip, voted no.

On two previous occasions the House voted anti-poll tax measures, one in 1942 by 252 to 84, and in 1943 by 265 to 110. Both bills, however, died in the Senate, where more liberal rules of debate are now depended on by opponents to permit successful filibusters against the present measure.

During the debate in the House, the most heavily attended in some time, foes of repeal argued that such an action by Congress would be an unconstitutional invasion of States rights; that the States were slowly abolishing the poll tax, and that they should be permitted to make their own decisions on it.

Proponents insisted that such barriers to suffrage were in themselves violations of the spirit of the Constitution; that they encouraged a small and sometimes a corrupt vote, and were anachronisms that must be eliminated.

Representative Sumner, Democrat of Texas and chairman of the Judiciary Committee, was the leader of the opposition and Representative Marcantonio, American Labor, of New York, led for repeal.

THE POLL TAX ISSUE

New York Times

For the third time in recent years the House has passed a bill outlawing the poll tax as a requirement for voting in Federal elections. As usual, the opposition came largely from poll tax States in the South. As usual, the poll tax was defended, not because it leads to government by minorities but because the States are said to have a constitutional right to impose it. As usual, the Senate die-hards are prepared to talk the bill to death. A minority of them can do this, and will do it. 6-14-45

This newspaper has held, and still holds, that the election of Federal officials on a limited franchise is a matter of concern to the whole country. Poll tax members of Congress, elected by an absurdly small fraction of the adult population, help make laws for all of us. Enlightened opinion in the South itself is alive to this evil. There does exist, however, an honest doubt as to whether a Federal act outlawing the poll tax would be constitutional. Remedy by constitutional amendment would be sure and might get us further in less time than the attempt at remedy by statute, which has been vainly made since 1942. We suggest that those who are fighting for a just franchise throughout the nation adopt this course. The showing in the House on Tuesday certainly indicates an overwhelming support for it.

South-Baiters and Poll Taxes

Richmond-Times-Dispatch

MORE is involved in the effort to repeal the poll tax by Federal action than the mere enfranchisement of disfranchised persons in Virginia and six other States. This issue has become a sectional one, with overtones distinctly unpleasant, if not alarming.

We presume that readers of THE TIMES-DISPATCH are fully aware that this newspaper has no sympathy for the poll tax, and is convinced that it should be repealed as soon as possible. But it should be repealed by the people and Legislature of Virginia, rather than by Congress. Richmond-Times Dispatch

From some of the loud rantings in Washington, one would imagine that the only opposition to Federal repeal comes from hardboiled bourbons who have been grinding 10,000,000 Southerners into the dust, and denying them the ballot. No allowance is made in these rantings for sincere doubts as to the wisdom of Federal repeal, or for the view, held by many eminent lawyers, that such repeal would be unconstitutional. Much of the fight is pitched on a hate-the-South key, and the whole South is denounced as though it were inhabited by ruthless exploiters and conscienceless quasi-Fascists. 6-15-45

The best answer to this sort of nonsense is furnished by the House delegation from North Carolina. That State has had no poll tax for a quarter of a century. Yet the entire North Carolina delegation in the House voted on Tuesday against repeal by the Federal government.

In other words, the gentlemen from North Carolina all felt the bill to be unwise, if not unconstitutional, wholly apart from the question whether there should or should not be a poll tax. Presumably they are against such a tax, since their own State did away with the levy in 1920, and no demand for its return has been heard, but they object to the Federal government's attempt to repeal the tax for the seven States which still have it. 6-15-45

The action of REPRESENTATIVES VAUGHAN GARY and CLIFTON WOODRUM, of Virginia, in voting against Federal repeal on Tuesday also is significant, for both are openly in favor of repeal by the State. The most meaningful thing of all, however, is the position taken by the 12 Representatives from North Carolina. They, and the advocates of repeal who stood with them, will doubtless be bracketed by the professional South-baiters as just so many Southern reactionaries who are opposed to genuine democracy. It ought to be obvious from the foregoing that there would be no justice whatever in such an appraisal.

JUDGE BOYD DISCUSSES POLL TAX

Editor, The Advertiser: Montgomery Advertiser

Notwithstanding the recent overwhelming and resounding defeat of the poll tax abolitionists in Alabama a few of our editors still continue their criticisms of our state representatives because thereof; and, in yesterday's News, our congressmen are reproved because of their votes against the anti-poll tax bill of the Communist, Marcantonio, of New York. 6-15-45

This Marcantonio bill is so clearly invalid as an attempted invasion of the sole and constitutional right of our State to fix the qualifications of its voters that our congressmen need no further defense.

But a few words in answer to all of the anti-poll tax arguments and also in support of our state representatives, who refused to tear the motto of White Supremacy from the banner of Alabama Democracy, may help to clarify all this untimely anti-poll tax agitation.

When, in 1874, the carpet baggers and scalawags and their negro dupes were driven from public office in Alabama there remained large masses of negro voters. Years later the writer has seen a line of negro voters in Shelby County extending from the office of the local Republican leader to the polling place more than a block away.

In order to insure white man's rule in Alabama and to guard against a return to something like conditions existing during the Tragic Era, when elections were held with federal bayonets, and many negro soldiers, at every court house in Alabama, Democrats throughout the State felt justified in resorting to all kinds of election frauds.

This soon led to a general disrespect for all election laws and later resulted in the counting out of Farmers Alliance and Populist candidates.

The spectacle of white men counting out white men created widespread indignation and a sentiment for a return to legal elections which culminated in the Constitutional Convention of 1901.

Inasmuch as the election frauds had stemmed from the presence of many thousands of negro voters it was obvious that the partial elimination of this basic cause would be necessary for a return to legal elections. 6-15-45

Accordingly the cumulative poll tax device was borrowed from Mississippi and several other states and it was overwhelmingly adopted by the members of the Convention and ratified that year by the people of Alabama.

Now, repeating the arguments of the NAACP, we are told that conditions have changed and that the suffrage section of our Constitution is archaic.

Conditions have changed, in that a hostile and hellbent NAACP is now in the congressional saddle, but Alabama has about the same number of negro residents as in 1901; and white supremacy is not archaic.

With the adoption of the cumulative poll tax the widespread election frauds were discontinued, and since 1901 Alabama has made, by far, the greatest progress in its history; and nowhere else have racial relations been more increasingly friendly and helpful.

Why then all this agitation for the repeal of the poll tax?

The answer is the NAACP and other negro Northern organizations with a total membership of well over half a million which, with the aid of some Communists, now are able to command a majority of the Congress in racial matters, such as the poll tax and the FEPC.

The NAACP has frankly proclaimed its main objective to be the general enfranchisement of negroes throughout the South and the Communist, Marcantonio, imagines himself in the role of a modern Lincoln.

The NAACP well knows that only two obstacles have to be surmounted—the poll tax and registration.

The NAACP also knows that section 181 of our state constitution provides in general for the registration of all resident applicants who can merely read and write any section of the U. S. Constitution and for those who, though illiterate, own 40 acres of land or pay taxes on as much as $300 of property.

Therefore the requirement of registration offers no real obstacle to the NAACP.

But registration is futile unless the applicant has paid all poll taxes due by him for the public schools, and thus the NAACP knows that the poll tax is the key to its main objective. 6-15-45

It is erroneous to assume that only the Black Belt counties are vitally concerned in the retention of the poll tax, since Birmingham has more than 100,000 negro residents and Jefferson County has nearly three times as many as any Black Belt county.

Already numbers of negro applicants are being escorted to the registrar's office in the Jefferson court house by one or more negro leaders, who it must be admitted are well within their rights, though they may be members or agents of the NAACP.

No prophet is needed to foresee that the repeal or weakening of the poll tax law would be lifting the Pandora box of innumerable foreseeable and unforeseeable evils; and that your vote and my vote and the votes of many thousands of lifelong Democrats would often be nullified or cancelled.

Most of our negroes, who were Republicans until they became Roosevelt Democrats, will soon return to the party of the Great Emancipator.

All taxes are unpopular but a dollar and a half a year for the public schools is not too much to pay for the protection of a citizen's vote and for white supremacy and good government in Alabama.

We have many good and worthy negro citizens who are qualified voters in Alabama and their numbers are steadily increasing.

Is it not better to continue in this orderly and legal way than by abolishing the poll tax to reopen the many grave problems which were solved by the adoption of the cumulative poll tax law in 1901?

The writer was born and reared in Alabama and he has long had a sympathetic and friendly understanding of our negro citizen and his problems and this continued during the many years he was in public office. He never joined the Klan, though, when on the bench, he was invariably opposed for reelection by a member of the Klan or an erstwhile Klansman.

He was sometimes unjustly charged with being too liberal in the trial of cases under the then extremely harsh Workmen's Compensation Law—a law of prime importance to our negro citizens, very many of whom are employes. 6-15-45

After his retirement from the bench he spent several months at the request of the A. F. of L. drafting and presenting to the Legislature the amended Workmen's Compensation Law of 1936, which among other improvements, increased the average compensation of injured employes and their widows by more than 20 per cent—a fact which is brought to mind whenever he reads of the accidental injury or death of an employe.

In his official report, Mr. Robert R. Moore, chairman of the A. F. of L.'s legislative committee in 1935, said, "Our improved Workmen's Compensation law was drafted by Judge Boyd who bore the brunt of the fight for its passage. He declined to accept any remuneration for his very valuable services and, unfortunately, was painfully and seriously injured while actively engaged in this work, but he should not let it take him out of the fight which he ably directed from the beginning to its successful termination; and to him we owe a debt of gratitude that will indeed be hard to pay."

The overwhelming defeat of the poll tax abolitionists by our representatives in the Legislature faithfully represented the sound judgment of our people on the issue of the repeal of the poll tax.

ROMAINE BOYD.

Birmingham, Ala.

A Communication Washington Post

IT PASSES my understanding how a newspaper as well co-ordinated as The Post could print two editorials so contradictory in spirit and thought, on the same page on the same day, as those of June 12 entitled "Headlock" and "Poll Tax Again." 6-17-45

Why is it a "futile rigmarole" for the House to pass the anti-poll-tax bill? Presumably because a handful of Southern Senators, elected by a handful of voters, have filibustered it to death twice in the past and intend to use the same method again to prevent a Senate vote. How does that frustration of government differ from the "shocking tyranny" of the House Rules Committee in preventing a vote on the FEPC? If, as you say about the FEPC refusal, "such arrogant irresponsibility constitutes a peril to the whole legislative process," surely the effort of the House to enact a law in the face of a Senate filibuster deserves some better epithet than "futile rigmarole."

ALLOW ME, now, to comment in brief detail upon your editorial against the anti-poll-tax bill. You call it unnecessary because Georgia's example in abolishing the poll-tax restriction "will certainly be contagious" in the seven other poll-tax States. The truth is that Governor Arnall coerced the Georgia Legislature by threatening to use his emergency power to suspend tax collections between legislative sessions. That would have forced the legislators to face a temporarily free electorate in the next election. They didn't dare face it, so they obeyed his demand to repeal the tax. No such club exists in any other poll-tax State. State constitutions, combined with existing disfranchisement, form an almost insuperable barrier to relief except through Congress. 6-17-45

Your editorial writer calls the anti-poll-tax bill unconstitutional. That is his opinion, and he is entitled to it. Against it I would place the twice-stated opinion of the Senate Judiciary Committee that it is constitutional, the opinion of numerous professors of law (three from Yale Law School) and other eminent lawyers that it is constitutional, and the clear implications of Chief Justice Stone's opinion in U. S. v. Classic that it is constitutional. What we actually have, every two years, is a Senate filibuster to prevent the question of constitutionality from being voted on either by the Senate or the Supreme Court. You cannot dispose of this legislation by cavalierly calling it "this unconstitutional measure."

This brings us to the crowning feature of your editorial—the proposal that Congress cut down the congressional representation of the seven poll-tax States. Congress, you say, is under actual obligation to do this because the fourteenth amendment says it shall be done if the States "in any way abridge" the right of citizens to vote. Thus you grant that the poll tax abridges the right of citizens to vote.

Let us consider four citizens in a poll-tax State. One pays his tax and votes. The second has plenty of money to pay his tax, but does not do so and cannot vote. The third has enough money to pay his tax, but his children need shoes, so he buys them and does not vote. The fourth is totally unable to pay the tax, therefore is totally unable to vote. 6-17-45

TAKING THESE four as typical, whose right to vote has been abridged by the poll tax? What will be the constitutional reduction in the State's representation? Three fourths? One half? One fourth? Who will decide what citizen goes in what class? Will there or will there not be a Senate filibuster against the bill? At what point in time will the effort to pass it become "futile rigamarole"?.

By the time you have worked out the statistical basis of a constitutionally valid reduction in representation, the anti-poll-tax bill will be on the statute books and upheld by the Supreme Court.

In advocating reduction of State representation, you have destroyed the basis of your argument against the anti-poll-tax bill.

First, as to Federal-State comity: You abandon the argument that the poll-tax question should be left to the States and argue for a measure which is punitive and coercive. In this respect your proposal goes far beyond the anti-poll-tax bill, which is a Federal regulation of Federal elections. 6-17-45

Next, as to constitutionality: Your concession that the poll tax so abridges the right to vote as to invite punitive action, taken in conjunction with the actual workings of the poll tax, makes it a clog on the Federal ballot which Congress can deal with under its power to regulate elections. Judged by its general effect as a deterrent to voting, it invites—nay, it demands—an exercise by Congress of its authority to guarantee the republican form of government—and that means majority government—in the several States.

Read what Benjamin Franklin said in the Constitutional Convention of 1787 about the right of "the lower class citizens" to vote (Formation of the Union, page 935):

"If denied the right of suffrage it would debase their spirit and detach them from the interest of the country . . . One British statute excluded a number of subjects from a suffrage. These immediately became slaves."

IRVING BRANT.

Washington, June 13.

Senate Subcommittee Named To Study Poll Tax Bill D.C.

A five-man subcommittee (Washington Post) to handle the House approved bill to outlaw the poll tax as a requirement for voting in national elections in seven Southern States has been appointed by Chairman Pat McCarran (D., Nev.) of the Senate Judiciary Committee, thereby arranging a prelude to another bitter Senate scrap over this highly controversial legislation.

Twice—in 1942 and again in 1943—the bill has emerged from the Judiciary Committee only to be filibustered to death on the Senate floor by Southern members.

Hatch Heads Group

Senator Carl A. Hatch (D., N Mex.), who voted against a favorable report the last time the bill was considered by the Judiciary Committee, was selected to head the subcommittee. Another member who opposed sending the bill to the Senate floor is Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney (D., Wyo.). He took the position that if the poll tax is abolished it should be done by constitutional amendment and not by an act of Congress.

Other subcommittee members, all for the measure in 1943, are Senators Harley M. Kilgore (D., W. Va.), Alexander Wiley (R., Wis.), and William Langer (R., N. Dak.).

In picking the subcommittee, McCarran explained, he followed the line of seniority of both Republicans and Democrats, and the three to two division that resulted, he said, did not represent any attempt to "stack" the membership. The only exception was Senator Albert B. (Happy) Chandler (D., Ky), who was skipped because he plans to leave the Senate soon for his new $50,000-a-year job as high commissioner of organized baseball. The substitution of Kilgore for Chandler, however, made no change in the final setup, McCarran explained, since both of them voted to allow the bill a Senate hearing.

Wants Quick Action 6-18-45

"The committee has heretofore voted this bill out by a fair majority," said McCarran. "Personally I would like to see it taken up with a degree of promptness and disposed of one way or another.

"It is a vexatious question and has a very perplexing phase of law connected with it in that it is a serious question whereby the Federal Government should attempt to regulate the qualifications for voters in the respective States.

"It is a serious question from a factual standpoint in that if $1 can be exacted as a prerequisite to the exercise of suffrage, then $1000 or $10,000 could be exacted with the same degree of legal propriety. And by this method great blocks of Americans could be deprived of their right to vote.

"I've always been of hope that the respective States would take hold of this question themselves and settle it within their own borders."

The bill turned over to Hatch's subcommittee was passed by the House Tuesday by a 251-to-105 vote, despite the almost solid opposition of delegations from the seven Southern States which still cling to the poll tax—Virginia, South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Tennessee and Texas.

GOLD AND THE POLL TAX

To the Editor of The News: (B'ham News)

In a letter of recent date mention was made that the poll tax law of 1901 was designed to complement a national act that became law March 14, 1900, known as the gold standard act. Both of these acts had their inception under rather peculiar auspices. They were the products of a period in our history when there existed many fears and uncertainties about the future which were due principally to the fact that three momentous events had occurred during 1898, the second year of McKinley's first administration, the annexation of Hawaii, the discovery of gold in Alaska and the Spanish-American War, which left the Spanish possessions of Guam, the Philippines and Porto Rico in American hands. 6-26-45

These occurrences had in them the makings of imperialistic expansion. A cabal had been at work before the war started to resort to expansion as a means of pulling this country out of the long depression that preceded the prosperity brought about by the war of 1898. The gold standard of finance was an absolute essential to these ambitious plans. In 1896 was witnessed the last of the argument over bimetalism vs. the gold standard. With the nation's finance rigidly held under this standard which made gold the measure of value, the nation had four depressions almost exactly seven years apart, with each one progressively more severe than the one that preceded it until 1929 was reached. This one lasted right up and into the year 1933.

It is significant that President McKinley, under whose administration this act became law, died from an assassin's bullet slightly over one year afterwards. It is likewise significant that the president-elect in 1932, Franklin D. Roosevelt, narrowly escaped assassination at Miami, Fla., Feb. 15, 1933. He was destined to take this act apart, prohibit the private ownership of gold, to impound all gold in the U. S. Treasury and in various ways emasculate the power this substance—gold—held over the destiny of this nation. 6-26-45

The inexorable operations of this device—the gold standard—was constrictive by nature, conducive to monopoly and to the elimination of competition, which is something just as abhorrent to politicians as it is to interests connected with any other factor that enters into our system of economy, if not more so.

Gold itself is something real, it is concrete. The gold standard is something the exact opposite. It is sometimes described as a norm of value, but in reality it is an abstract proposition based on scarcity, and therein lies the connection. The poll tax law is devised to provide a scarcity—of votes. The gold standard of finance is devised to provide a scarcity of those who share in the wealth of a nation. Those who are caught between the upper and nether millstones of these two devices are the grist, the dispossessed and the disfranchised, and this is a free country.

Akron, Ala. BEN T. COUCHMAN.

BOSTON, MASS.
HERALD
Circ. D. 134,036 - S. 205,480
JUN 17 1945

The Poll Tax Again

Once more the House of Representatives has gone through the familiar effort to abolish the poll tax in seven southern states. The measure was forced out of committee by petition, passed by a vote of 251-105, and sent to the Senate. There it is expected to encounter delays once more and all the traditional obstacles, perhaps even a filibuster and ultimate rejection. The line-up in the House was largely sectional, with the delegations from the seven poll-tax states voting in solid opposition, as usual.

Objectionable as the poll tax is, it is subject to at least two widespread misconceptions. It is not primarily racial and anti-Negro, as it disfranchises more whites than Negroes, although it certainly operates drastically against the whole colored population. It is not a by-product of the Reconstruction days following the Civil War, as it originated in most states between 1889 and 1903. The adoption of it was an effort to restrict the rising political power of the poor whites.

Some southern states have voluntarily abolished the levy. Georgia did so only recently. The others have been so slow, however, or have shown such a disposition to do nothing that most people have become convinced that the only hope of remedy lies in Congress — and, unfortunately, procedure in the Senate is of such a kind that a small minority can have its way.

No Poll Tax

(Detroit Free Press)

TO THE EDITOR: Maynard Follin makes the statement that he is in favor of a poll tax of $5 for every adult who may vote but sometimes does not avail himself of the privilege. Meh.

The kind of poll tax to which every right thinking American objects, North or South, is the kind that deprives southern Americans of their right to vote.

There is a vast difference between having the right to vote, whether a few people avail themselves of it or not—and being deprived of that right as the colored and poor whites in the South are deprived. 7-29-45

We in this great Democratic North would not stand for such unconstitutional behavior, and if Southerners would develop enough Americanism to rise up and kick out of office the tricksters who deprive the public of their rights there in order to perpetuate themselves in jobs for which they are unfitted, we would have a better Country.

BILL SIMMONS.

50 Senators Commit Themselves To Vote Against Poll Taxes

(The New York Age, New York, N.Y.) 7-13-45

WASHINGTON, D.C.—More than half the members of the Senate have committed themselves definitely in favor of the federal anti-poll tax bill, it was announced Monday, by the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax.

They include both New York Senators.

The 50 Senators who have taken a stand in favor of Congressional action to enfranchise ten million whites and Negroes in Southern states face an almost certain filibuster when the measure reaches the floor. To marshal support for cloture to end any such filibuster, some 500 delegates from several score organizations will head a two-day rally in Washington, October 29 and 30.

Mrs. Katherine Shryver, executive secretary of the anti-poll tax committee, issued a warning today against an alternative measure proposed by Sen. O'Mahoney (D.-Wyo.) to abolish the tax by Constitutional amendment.

The amendment proposal is so "obviously impractical and impossible of ratification," said Mrs. Shryver, "that even Sen. Bilbo (D.-Miss.) has said he will support it."

MERCHANTVILLE, N. J.
COMMUNITY NEWS
Cir. W. 2,329

JUN 21 1945

POLL TAX, FAIR PRACTICE ARE NOT 'MUSTS' ON THE LIST

If our officials with authority and our national legislators would classify subjects according to their immediate value, we think Congress and state legislatures would place the Poll Tax and Fair Employment Practice, far down on the list of "musts."

But in spite of a war that may run on for years, the partial reconversion of industry to former production, the care for discharged service men and of those ill and permanently disabled, the necessary guard against inflation, the correction of errors that affect supplies to civilians, the erection of baffle boards against unemployment—and we could go on and on.

In spite of all of these IMPORTANT "Musts," we find Congress divided and finally voting to outlaw the poll tax by which, it is contended, the South has deprived Negro citizens of a right to vote. At the same time, Congress sidesteps the Fair Practice bill, adopted by several states, bringing cries of indigant protest from some columnists and some newspapers.

Until the past year, this country went along through good and bad times with its citizens enjoying the freedom to employ any kind of workers they preferred. It is true that, as a rule, they preferred whites to Negroes; in some cases, Gentiles to Jews, Protestants to Catholics, or vice versa; "Americans" to "foreigners." It isn't, we agree, a custom to encourage.

We believe unfair practice in employment is an evil that should be corrected. We believe it could be more successfully corrected, with the preservation of good will, by a persistent national campaign of appeal. If churches, women's clubs and all fair-minded organizations would join in a campaign to end discrimination that would change an American custom, practically hereditary, those inclined to discrimination would be influenced by the fear of public opinion.

We fear the Fair Practice laws will create with one class a permanent resentment against being deprived of freedom of choice, and an offensive "cockiness" with a class expected to benefit by such laws.

There is nothing fair in the practice of the South in depriving the Negro of the right to vote. But how can we, of the North, decide the poll tax is not an actual necessity and the only protection the South has against the use of the purchasable Negro vote (it long has been purchasable, in part, and still is purchasable, in part, in many northern sections) by unscrupulous politicians?

In moaning about the poll tax, "uplifters" are never honest enough to discuss the subject of a citizen's mental and moral eligibility to vote. To say that a citizen of no education, of low intelligence should not share in electing public officials, would be to oppose the very principles of democracy.

Yet, while we are not courageous or honest enough to propose a citizen be competent to vote for or serve as a public official; because that would be depriving a citizen of freedom, the "uplifters" are demanding a national law to deprive a citizen of the freedom to choose his workers. It would seem that if a man shall be free to worship God with associates he prefers, and organizes a church for that purpose, he should be free to associate with the kind of people he prefers in a business he has established. Freedom can mean but one thing.

Honest people will agree that a poll tax never deprived a citizen of the right to vote. It discouraged voting by people with not enough interest and pride in government to spend a dollar or two for the privilege of being a real American. Politicians have raised a hullabaloo about the poll tax to attract votes.

We could settle the argument over these subjects in a national referendum—which will never happen. But, considering all of the vital subjects demanding the attention of Congress and high authorities, neither are worth the time being given them now.

When we have the time, both subjects are worth national interest. Just now they are being pushed out front by impetuous people who hurdle REAL issues in seeking a social Utopia.

Amendment Favored To Outlaw Poll Tax

The Courier-Journal Louisville, Kentucky
10-3-45

Washington, Oct. 2 (AP)—Two Southern senators said today they have no objection to submitting a proposed constitutional amendment which would outlaw poll taxes as a requirement for voting.

A third, Senator Ellender (D., La.) predicted: "There will never be enough States to ratify it."

Senator Bilbo (D., Miss.) said he would not filibuster against an amendment, and Senator George (D., Ga.) said submission to the States for ratification "is undoubtedly the proper approach."

House to Get Bill.

Their comments, to reporters, followed a decision of the Senate Judiciary Committee to send to the Senate for action:

1. A House-approved bill forbidding collection of poll taxes as a requirement to vote for Federal office.

2. The resolution of Senator O'Mahoney (D., Wyo.) for a constitutional amendment.

O'Mahoney's amendment would declare that the right to vote shall not be denied by reason of failure to pay any tax.

Senate Has Killed Plan.

The poll tax has been a time-consuming and work-consuming issue regularly for Capitol Hill. The House has passed the legislation time and again, but it has bogged down in Senate filibusters.

Opponents criticize it as an unconstitutional invasion of States' rights. Proponents say Southern poll-tax requirements keep millions of Negroes and poor whites from voting.

Seven States have poll tax laws: Tennessee, Alabama, Texas, South Carolina, Virginia, Mississippi and Arkansas.

Taft Says G.O.P. for It.

Senator Taft (R., Ohio) predicted that most Republican senators would favor the constitutional amendment method, which requires approval by the legislatures of 36 States.

Ellender, while not as critical of the amendment as he was of the House bill, said that "on general principles, I would not want to mar our great Constitution with such an amendment."

Ellender Opposed Bill.

As for the bill the House approved June 12 by a vote of 251 to 105, Ellender said:

"I would talk against it as long as I have breath, in the hope that the remaining States which haven't passed laws repealing their poll tax may be left to judge for themselves."

Louisiana has had no poll tax since 1934, Ellender said, and repeal "did not in any manner increase the colored vote in my State."

See Committee OK on Bill to Kill Polltax

The CIO News
9-24-45

Best information on HR 7, the polltax repeal bill, is that it will be reported favorably by the Senate Judiciary Committee early this week. The vote is expected to be close, but it will support the bill. 9-24-45

Next job is to get it past the threatened amendment that Sen. O'Mahoney (D. Wyo.) wants to introduce in the bill's place. Constitutional amendments take about 20 years to be ratified—an historical fact that O'Mahoney is aware of.

After that, the bill will have to go past the filibuster that Bilbo and similar polltaxers will put up.

Get your Senator prepared to vote for cloture to gag the filibuster, to vote down the amendment trap and pass the bill.

61e-1945

Poll Tax and Voting

South Links Repeal Of Poll Tax Drive With White Primary

Houston, Texas
The Informer
3-10-45

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — Repeal of poll taxes in the south is definitely linked with the struggle to retain white primaries.

That was the view taken by many of the nation's leading political experts last week after Tom Watson, Florida's Democratic chairman, pleaded for the right of Negroes to vote in the state primaries. Watson, like other southern leaders, argued that the South can still preserve "white" primaries while letting the Negro vote. 3-10-45

The South, it was pointed out, has no intention of surrendering its old racial traditions nor should its sudden efforts to voluntarily repeal poll taxes be interpreted as a sincere about face on the question of equal rights for the Negro.

"Let's go ahead and repeal the poll tax," they argue. "We still have our white primaries." 3-10-45

Gov. Eugene Talmadge, a white supremacy champion, argued this in Georgia before the repeal of the vote levy in that state a few days ago. Gov. Olin D. Johnson, now U. S. senator, of South Carolina called an extraordinary session of the legislature for the purpose of stripping the statute books of all reference to the primaries in order to give the Democratic and other parties liberty to make their own rules and regulations to block the Negro vote.

Georgia Has Answer

Under Georgia's new constitution a method is being planned to control the Negro vote. No reference to primaries is included. Alabama plans to "permit those Negroes who believe in the principles of the Democratic party and who have property registered and have paid their poll taxes to vote in "our primaries," according to a recent proposal by Gesser T. McCorvey, Democratic chairman.

McCorvey believes that the way to handle the situation is to see that only qualified persons register. He proposes to vest boards of registrars with judicial authority and give each prospective voter the right of appeal and trial by jury if his registration is denied.

On the other hand, Arkansas Democratic leaders have drafted legislation calling for separate primaries for state and federal offices and to allow political parties to set qualifications for the voters in their primaries. These bills, which passed the state legislature, would in effect prevent Negroes from voting in primary elections for state offices.

The Texas decision has aroused only academic interest in Tennessee and North Carolina, states where Negroes already vote in primaries. Tennessee, a pol tax state, repealed the levy in 1943 but the supreme court held a constitutional amendment was necessary. Anti-poll tax forces have been unable to complete repeal of the measure since the supreme court's ruling.

North Carolina and Florida have no poll tax. The trend of the arguments in favor of repeal of the poll taxes in the seven states is seen as an indication to definitely link the levy with grim fight to retain "white" primaries rather than any move on the part of the South to be really democratic toward Negro citizens.

This Evening

5-18-45
Birmingham News

THE POLL TAX

A shrewd and experienced observer of legislative affairs in Alabama is of the opinion that little that is constructive will be coming out of Montgomery this session. He reports a great deal of trading—more, indeed, than usually prevails—which is another way of saying that obstructionism is in the saddle, since pooled commitments from several groups on a single issue can bring about the appearance of overwhelming sentiment. That happens often enough to have become a familiar aspect of the legislative way of life.

And that is probably the explanation of the snuffing out of poll tax bills Wednesday. The Black Belt, which is always represented by adroit manipulators, proved again that it is mighty enough to control the rest of the state. If such political skill were linked up to a progressive outlook, what forward steps Alabama might be taking! But in this instance, as in the past, the Black Belt remains a rock of ultra-conservatism. 5-18-45

When the constitution of 1901 was being written, all the Black Belt asked was that it be permitted to retain its hold on the Legislature. By that deal the rest of the state sold itself into bondage. For elect whom you will to be governor, the state's destiny is shaped by the General Assembly. And the upshot is that when an enlightened proposal like Mark Hodo's is brought forward, it is promptly swamped by the stubborn prejudice of the gentlemen who know so well how to make the special designs of others serve their purpose. Throughout the country Alabama is now being heralded as proudly backward.

The worst of it is that such an attitude strengthens the movement for federal action. If the Legislature had shown a willingness to get rid of the cumulative feature of the poll tax, that concession might have had a persuasive value in Congress. As it is, national sentiment against an unnecessary and harmful voting requirement is certain soonor or later to break through the screen of filibustering which alone stands in the way of a decisive vote against the poll tax. We had a chance to yield gracefully in preference to being forced to do the unavoidable. But that was not to be, and now we'll have to lump it.

In spite of all that Mr. Hodo did or could say to prove that revision of the poll tax would mainly benefit white persons who are now shut out of the right to vote, it was the Negro bugaboo which turned the trick. So race antagonism muddies the water again, "white supremacy" is used another time to injure whites, and the old, futile game of exploiting color for ulterior purposes continues. For the politicians who play it are not really worried about Negroes voting. What bothers them is that a swelling of the white electorate might threaten their control. Woe unto them that call black white and white black!

POLL TAX IS DOOMED

Birmingham News

It is pleasing to note that an anti-poll tax bill will be introduced in the Alabama Legislature when it convenes next May, as the indications are that Alabama and Mississippi will be left practically alone as poll tax bitter-enders if we cling to the outdated and undemocratic impost. For the Senate of South Carolina has just voted almost unanimously to repeal the tax in that state, with the indications being that the House will go along, and sentiment against the tax is growing throughout the South. 3-15-45

But when we speak of the poll tax as being undemocratic we are subject to call by State Senator James A. Simpson, of Birmingham, who is quoted in the March 2 issue of "Alabama" as having taken Senator Lister Hill to task for that same observation. It would seem, however, that Senator Simpson was misquoted or else he has forgotten some of his Alabama history. For while he is correct in attributing authorship of the "grandfather" clause in Alabama's Constitution to the late Judge Thomas W. Coleman, of Eutaw, he is incorrect in stating that Senator John T. Morgan favored the poll tax provisions.

As a matter of fact, the franchise law was opposed by Morgan, ex-Govs. Jones and Oates; Frank S. White, later to become a senator; George P. Harrison, H. S. Dent and scores of other students of government. They not only regarded the tax as unconstitutional, but believed that it would establish "a permanent hereditary governing class, which is undemocratic, unrepublican and un-American." They also contended that it was an insult to the white people of the state to proclaim, by implication, "their inferiority to the Negro by requiring of them as suffragrans a lower standard of capacity and intelligence than that required of the Negro." 3-15-45

Their contention that the law would be impractical of administration and that it would foster sectional animosities has been verified, as has their belief that many white voters of the state would be disfranchised along with the Negroes. "We adhere firmly to the Jacksonian doctrine of equal rights to all, special privileges to none," they stated in a minority report to the constitutional convention. Moreover, the prediction made by Booker T. Washington that the better class of Alabama Negroes would be driven from the state if there were no hope of reward held out to them likewise has been borne out, and the tide of emigration has not stopped as yet. 3-15-45

Senator Morgan was especially vigorous in his opposition to the "grandfather" clause. "Political heredity and all its appurtenances, such as prerogative and titular nobility and primogeniture," he said, "and all its protecting laws, such as corruption of blood, premunire and excommunication, perished and were placed under the heel of prohibition by our (federal) constitution." And in spite of the fact that he was voted down, the far-seeing wisdom of that grand old man, the ablest statesman in all Alabama's history, has been vindicated by the course of events.—Anniston Star.

THE POLL TAX ISSUE

Birmingham News

Senator Hill says the poll tax in Alabama must go and presents several good reasons to substantiate his statement. As Senator Hill points out, we have exempted in Alabama all members of the armed forces in World War I and in the present war. We have exempted those over 45. There are several ways of looking at it. The man who stayed at home and worked in a war plant, or helped win the war by working on a farm, has some claim for poll tax exemption. If you are going to exempt most of the men, then will we continue to discriminate against the women voters by taxing them? 3-12-45

Essentially, it can be summed up in the fact that the poll tax is undemocratic.

This old argument that the poll tax disfranchises a lot of people is probably true. However, we are too apt to look at the trees and fail to see the forest. The danger lies in that growing majority of people who have no interest in voting, whether with or without a poll tax. We are afraid that the abolishment of poll tax will fail to change the old feeling that voting is a privilege. We need a realization that voting is a duty that must be performed. We agree with a recent statement by John Temple Graves II that what is needed is a $1.50 tax on those who fail to vote. Also it might help considerably to revive the two-party system. No doubt the one-party system has kept more people from the general elections than has the poll tax, as shown by the small percentage of qualified voters who exercise their franchise.—Jasper Advertiser.

Hill Urges Repeal of Ala. Poll Tax

Afro-American
Md.

WASHINGTON

Calling it 'the most burdensome, ocratic m-- t hobgShoar hoaroa restrictive, indefensible and undemocratic of those of any States," Democratic Senator Lister Hill of Alabama, majority whip of the Senator, last week urged his Legislature and people to abolish the poll tax. 2-24-45

In his plea to follow the example of Georgia, which just repealed its poll tax, Senator Hill asked the State Legislature to submit the question to voters as a constitutional amendment when it meets in May.

The Senator, who has opposed Federal action to end the tax, implied that repeal would not open the vote to colored persons inasmuch as eligibility is determined under State registration laws and county boards, and not by the poll tax.

POLL TAX IS DOOMED

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REPEAL THE POLL TAX

Editor, The Advertiser: Montgomery Advertiser

I have been reading the arguments, pro and con, on the poll tax question, and I agree with Lister Hill one hundred per cent. The advocates of the poll tax must be hard pressed for an argument when they contend that the poll tax cannot be repealed because it would please northern agitators. They admit that the poll tax is a tax on a sacred right, but it cannot be repealed till northern agitators stop laughing at us. Suppose a man had an ugly wart on his face; the doctors say they can remove it without doing him any harm. But he declares he will not have it removed till people stop laughing at him. Who is the poll tax hurting anyway? Not any one in New York. 2-23-45

Democratic Chairman McCorvey says to repeal the poll tax would "open the floodgates to radical elements..." What radical elements have we in Alabama that are barred from voting by the poll tax? It is always the honest poor man who is disfranchised by the poll tax. A man whose vote is for sale can always find some one to pay his poll tax. The more free and independent votes we have the harder it will be for machine politicians to control elections. Of all the poll tax laws on the statute books Alabama's is the most iniquitous. In Mississippi if a man fails to pay his poll tax he forfeits his right to vote for one year. But in Alabama he has to pay the accumulated taxes of all the years he has failed to vote or he is disfranchised for life.

To a politician any man is radical and dangerous if he is on the other side. From the trend of the last few elections the radical element is gaining. We elected one for President in 1932 and like him so well he is still there. They elected one for Governor of Georgia, and now they are seriously considering changing the state constitution so they can elect him again. Who knows, we may some day elect a radical Governor of

Alabama, with a radical Senate, a radical House and radical courts, and invite the whole world to a radical state where the poorest man's rights are sacred.

Some are weeping crocodile tears over the loss of revenue to the schools. These same men have fought advance in public education since the Civil War. The poll tax should be repealed because it is a tax on a sacred human right. There are plenty of things to tax to raise all the revenue we need without taxing a man's right to vote.

THOS. J. ROBINSON.

Toward Poll Tax Repeal in Alabama

Richmond Times
3-13-45

An Editorial From the Birmingham News

SENATOR LISTER HILL, forthrightly favoring the repeal of the poll tax, makes the suggestion that the people of Alabama have a right to vote on the question and expresses confidence that the Legislature will afford that opportunity. Immediately after publication of the Senator's statement, it was announced by Representative Ivy Gwin, chairman of the Jefferson County legislative delegation, that this group will hold public hearings in the month of April at which citizens may express themselves on the issue. Both these developments testify to the steady accumulation of indications that new action on this matter is virtually certain to be considered in the forthcoming session of the Alabama Legislature. 3-13-45

Georgia's recent repeal of its poll tax gave great impetus to the advocates of such reform in Alabama and the six other States still imposing such a levy.

Senator Hill, in his formal statement, was sweeping in his denunciation of the Alabama poll tax. Because of its cumulative requirements, he said, it "is the most burdensome, restrictive, indefensible and undemocratic" of all such now prevailing levies.

He pointed out that in North Carolina, Florida and Louisiana, where the poll tax has been repealed for some years the fears of the opponents of repeal proved groundless and the repeal has proved so wise that there are none who are seriously advocating a reinstatement of the tax. 3-13-45

Many supporters of the tax hold that it is a barrier against the voting of ignorant and irresponsible persons. But, as Senator Hill correctly emphasizes, the fitness and eligibility of citizens to vote in this State are subject to State registration boards. Mere payment of a poll tax does not qualify a citizen for the ballot. If, by paying the tax, insufficient barriers remain to guard against the voting of irresponsible and unqualified persons, then it is the registration laws that properly should be amended accordingly.

The poll tax is operating to keep many thousands of otherwise well qualified Alabama citizens from the polls, particularly because of its cumulative feature. Senator Hill says that the effect of the poll tax in this State "is to disenfranchise several hundred thousand white men and women who are fit and qualified to vote."

The junior Alabama Senator expresses his faith in the ability of many more Alabamians to contribute to the functioning of democracy in this State and nation. Their reasonable qualifications granted—and he evidently would be liberal in this regard—he believes sound government would be advanced by the participation in the balloting of these additional voters. 3-13-45

This is a courageous stand by Senator Hill. It will contribute to the speeding up of the reform that eventually is certain to come in this State.

Teachers And Poll Tax

Birmingham News

Defenders of Alabama's cumulative poll tax often try to shame the opposition by saying that everybody should be glad to meet this levy because its proceeds go to education. Everybody does realize, of course, that there is urgent need for all available funds for Alabama's schools and their underpaid teachers. But as to relying on the poll tax for mitigation of that situation, that is something else. 2-23-45

Such a contention strikes us as very unimpressive, both because such revenue could not make any very substantial contribution to an improvement of the school situation and because it does not meet the point whether a poll tax is otherwise justifiable. Ala.

Especially pertinent testimony in this respect, however, might be expected from teachers. Consider, therefore, the fact that the February issue of the *Bulletin* of the Birmingham Teachers Association comes out editorially for repeal of the poll tax. It suggests that this should be one of the legislative objectives for Alabama teachers this year.

"It will mean more to education in Alabama," declares the *Bulletin*, "to have the citizens we have trained take part in the settling of politic questions than to receive the pittance from the tax and then see the vital matters of the state decided by only 10 to 30 per cent of the people, many of whom have been prodded by political leaders to dig up the price of the tax." 2-23-45

This is plain speaking from a significant source. It should have wide influence.

Simpson Wonders Why Hill Joined Outsiders On Poll Tax

Montgomery Advertiser
2-24-45
Ala.

By ATTICUS MULLIN

Senator James A. Simpson, of Birmingham, takes sharp issue with United States Senator Lister Hill regarding the abolition of the poll tax in Alabama, although Senator Simpson is not yet ready to say that he will oppose its abolition.

The view of Jefferson County's senator is particularly interesting at this time because of the "horse race" between the two men last year. Senator Simpson, talking about the views of Senator Hill in a letter to a constituent says: 2-24-45

"He (Senator Hill) characterizes this act (the poll tax) as most restrictive, indefensible and undemocratic. I am rather surprised at Senator Hill speaking this way of a law which was drafted by one of Alabama's greatest citizens of reconstruction days, Judge Thomas Coleman, of Eutaw, and he was supported and approved by others of Alabama's great men such as Senators Pettus and Morgan.

"I am aware that some of our friends in the East and North have recently become very much convinced that the poll tax in the South 'must go.' Their active interest in the South is in this matter alone apparently, and I am at a loss to understand why our own United States senator takes up the cry of those who are reviling Alabama when he lived here nearly 50 years and said never a word against the poll tax so far as I know until this hue and cry was raised against us from afar. This is a matter Alabama should be allowed to settle for herself without any directives or 'musts' from anywhere else. 2-24-45

"I also notice that Senator Hill says that those who support the poll tax do so for the corrupt reason that they wish to control the politics of the State. I should like very much again to hear someone in a high place say what his views are on this and other matters and then say that others may think differently and that he gives them the right to differ with him and still concede that they may be honest. Such a statement would be a refreshing change from the hot and intolerant blasts that we are accustomed to receive from high places in the East and North these days.

"I feel very much like Gov. Sparks has said he feels, and that is that we in the legislature in Alabama can't give this matter our free and calm consideration as long as we are being told from above what we must or must not do. As one member of the legislature of Alabama, I shall give every argument for and against the poll tax my fullest consideration and then vote my convictions." 2-24-45

JAMES A. SIMPSON

Senator Simpson's statement will add interest to the consideration of the poll tax question. The legislature will not submit an amendment to the people for its repeal. It seems that the more outsiders discuss the matter, the more firmly the legislature sets itself to keep the poll tax. That, of course, to the writer's mind, is unfortunate.

PURPOSE OF POLL TAX

Editor, The Advertiser:

Montgomery Advertiser

Since the repeal of the poll tax in Georgia, there has been quite a stir about the matter here in Alabama. Articles both for and against the repeal of this tax have appeared in The Advertiser, but it is my opinion that neither the cumulative provision in the law, nor the yearly payment of $1.50 is the true issue. I don't know who is trying to fool somebody, but there is no use keeping the truth about the poll tax from anyone. The poll tax is one of the last bulwarks in our traditional stand (here in the South) against social equality. There is no use denying that the poll tax is, and will continue to be until repealed, a barrier to the negro voter. We will keep the poll tax if we are to keep white supremacy, and there are a few good white men left here in the South who will die, if necessary, to perpetuate that tradition. 2-22-45

LLEWELLYN H. DUGGAR.

Hope Hull, Ala. Ala.

61e-1945

Hill Poll Tax Volley Divides Opinion Here

Montgomery Advertiser
Ala: 2-16-45

Commendation Is Heard On Downtown Streets But Not In Legislature

By ATTICUS MULLIN

The bold and straightforward statement of Senator Lister Hill advocating the abolition of Alabama's poll tax provisions, received both commendation and condemnation in Montgomery Thursday, downtown Montgomery seeming to endorse it and the legislators on the Capitol privately expressing themselves that Senator Hill ought to stay out of the fight.

There were 20 or more members of the legislature on Capitol Hill and the writer contacted a dozen or more of them. In not one instance was it found that Senator Hill's statement had any effect on the situation insofar as legislative voting was concerned.

The writer has previously expressed himself to the effect that the poll tax ought to be abolished. And it ought. But it is political heresy to say so insofar as the old line conservative Democrats of Alabama are concerned. They take the position that any man or woman who has no more interest in education in the State than to dodge paying $1.50 a year from 21 to 45 for the privilege of voting, ought not to vote. 2-16-45

The situation for the abolition of Alabama's long established poll tax looks dark on Capitol Hill. Gov. Sparks is against it and it appears that a big majority of the legislators are against it. It may be that the cumulative feature has a chance to be abolished.

Senator Hill's statement in Washington has stimulated discussion on the subject. Last year when the writer advocated repeal of the poll tax, the letters of condemnation that poured into The Advertiser office showed that at least the vocal end of the population was against it.

The opponents of poll tax have talked to this writer and I believe their arguments are summed up in one made by Senator Richard Kelley of Talladega. Senator Kelley is a world war veteran, a graduate of both Howard College and the University of Alabama, and a successful Talladega County farmer. The writer was arguing with him about the repeal of the poll tax. 2-16-45

"Dick," said the writer, "what's the use for Alabama to try to buck the sentiment of this whole country? The poll tax in itself means nothing except those who have failed to pay it had no interest in their government or in education for their sons and daughters?"

"You have the wrong slant," said Senator Kelley. "A man or woman who has no more interest in education than $1.50 represents for 24 years of their life ought not to vote. A man or woman who has children ought to be happy and willing to pay that small sum into the treasury for the education of the children they have, the children they may expect or the children of their neighbors." 2-16-45

"And another thing," continued Senator Kelley, "I don't want to be dragooned into doing something. If they would let us alone up North we would settle this question and settle it right."

There is little chance, in the judgment of the writer, for poll tax repeal to be considered, even mildly, in the forthcoming session of the Alabama legislature.

But, in the opinion of the writer joining with Senator Hill, it ought to be repealed.

Poll Tax State Matter, Says Bankhead

WASHINGTON, Feb. 15—(AP)—Senator Bankhead (D), Alabama, said today he would leave the decision of abolition of the Alabama poll tax "to the State without comment."

The senior Senator was asked for comment on a statement by Senator Hill (D), Alabama, that "the poll tax in Alabama must go."

"I had not heard of Senator Hill's action," Bankhead told a reporter. "He did not discuss it with me. It is his own decision. As far as I'm concerned, it's a matter of State decision and I leave it to the State without comment." 2-16-45

Hill described the Alabama poll tax as the most "burdensome, restrictive, indefensible and un-Democratic of that of any State" and urged that the State legislature submit repeal to the voters.

Poll Tax Must Go, Jim Folsom Declares

Montgomery Advertiser
2-17-45 Ala.

BIRMINGHAM, Feb. 16.—(AP)—Jim Folsom, runnerup in Alabama's 1942 gubernatorial race, said today that "the poll tax in Alabama must go."

He asserted further in a statement here that "unless earlier repealed, the poll tax will be made an issue in the 1946 governor's race." 2-17-45

The Cullman, Ala., insurance salesman said his statement that the poll tax must go is a reiteration of one he made in the 1942 campaign.

Folsom was a delegate to the 1944 National Democratic Convention.

Poll Tax- Alabama

Horace Wilkinson Disagrees With Senator Hill On Poll Tax

Birmingham Advertiser
2-21-45 Ala.

By ATTICUS MULLIN

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., Feb. 20.—The Alabama poll tax law and the Birmingham city election are the main topics of conversation in Birmingham now and Judge Horace Wilkinson, an ardent supporter of Senator Lister Mill, not only took issue with him on the abolition of the poll tax, but came out in favor of a $5 a year poll tax.

The writer talked to Judge Wilkinson as well as many city politicians and gathered that the Birmingham city election which will be held May 1 and for which entries are due to close in March will not only prove interesting but also disastrous in some respects. They say that it is probable that the two incumbent associate commissioners, Bull Connor and Jimmy Morgan, are liable to be in the run-off against each other for one place, that an outsider will probably win first place.

So far there is no opposition to Mayor Cooper Green but his political opponents are said to be moving heaven and earth to get somebody out. It seems that Cooper Green opposed his own city and county man, Jim Simpson, for the United States Senate in the Hill-Simpson race. Simpson's friends, of course, do not relish the idea of Cooper staying where he is. 2-21-45

While Birmingham voters will elect a mayor and two associates in the May election, the two associates run in one bracket and the mayor in a separate bracket. To date the two incumbents are opposed by Osa Andrews, a courthouse politician and Marion Hogan, a City Hall politician. And they say that Chester Mullins, another City Hall politician, is a probability in this race.

Birmingham has strange politics. They vote in groups here. There are more than a dozen groups that call candidates before them. Unless you pledge yourself to every group, or a majority of them, you have little chance. You've got to pledge yourself against unions and for unions, against civil service and for civil service, against this and against that to get anywhere.

Usually all candidates pledge themselves for everything this or that group wants and against everything this or that group is against. That, of course, makes politics in Jefferson a little different. 2-21-45

Speaking about the poll tax Judge Horace Wilkinson has a new slant on the subject. He promised the writer he would send a letter to The Advertiser giving it.

Judge Wilkinson, who is about the most powerful individual in Jefferson (but independent of groups) not only does not favor the abolition of the poll tax or its cumulative features, but he favors adding to it.

"The poll tax is the only salvation of the white man and decent politics in Alabama," he said. "I disagree with my good friend, Senator Hill. If we break down the poll tax, negroes will be voting by the hundreds of thousands in Alabama before long. We will be back where we were in reconstruction days, or immediately thereafter. A man to be elected will have to spend money on this illiterate portion of our population and there will be no use for a poor man to run for office.

Of course Judge Wilkinson skipped lightly over Alabama's excellent registration laws. Only by a boss-dominated registration system can such a result as he envisages obtain. 2-21-45

POLL TAX
Birmingham News

Apparently the Alabama House has decided that whatever fundamental reforms our governmental structure may need can well await the return of the thousands of Alabamians now in the armed services. 3-30-45

The House this week turned thumbs down on legislation which would have changed the poll tax requirement for voting or which would have eliminated the tax altogether.

It may well be that some reform is needed in our voting laws, including the poll tax. However, there is every indication that the time is not too far distant when our men and women will doff their uniforms and return to their civil status. They have earned the privilege of consultation in these matters.—Decatur Daily.

NO CONFIDENCE
Birmingham News
Ala.

Alabama will continue to be the only state which requires its citizens to pay up all back poll taxes before they can vote.

The House of Representatives last week declined to submit a constitutional amendment to repeal the cumulative feature of the poll tax law. If adopted, this would have allowed citizens to vote upon paying the current and two years' back taxes. 5-3-45

Submission of the amendment would not have repealed the law. The people would have had to approve.

By declining even to submit the proposition, the House not only shows it has no confidence in the voting wisdom of those now disfranchised; it even distrusts those who now vote!—Brewton Standard.

A New York View
Birmingham News Ala.

With reference to Senator Hill's appeal to the people of Alabama to get rid of the poll tax, the *New York Herald Tribune* points out that the situation is particularly indefensible in our state because of the cumulative provision. It says: "An annual $1.50 tax as a prerequisite for voting must be paid for 24 years. . . . Thus, if a citizen, stirred by the momentous issues of the war, wished to qualify after 24 years of non-voting it would cost him $36, or, if his wife also wished to vote, $72. Out of the average per capita income in Alabama, which was $263 a year in 1940, a $36 additional tax is very often a prohibitive barrier. Even in a presidential election hardly a fifth of Alabama's possible voters cast ballots." 2-20-45

This is old stuff to any informed Alabamian, but who among us with a proper pride can fail to be embarrassed by this disclosure in a metropolitan newspaper of the system which prevails in this state to keep a great body of men and women from exercising their right to vote? Run any variation you please on this theme of a cumulative tax and the result is the same. It is simply without justification.

The *Herald Tribune* is no believer in federal action in the premises. It believes the poll tax should go, but it wants the states to do the eliminating. But it does not hesitate to challenge the position of states which oppose federal encroachment but fail to do anything on their own. "When an anti-poll tax measure comes up in Congress, members from those states, even those who like Senator Hill find the poll tax system indefensible, either refrain from voting or vote nay." 2-20-45

If, through poll tax reform, we join the column already made up of North Carolina, Florida, Louisiana and Georgia, we will be not merely saving from embarrassment our spokesmen in Congress. We will be proving that when we talk about independent action we are capable of taking such action. We will make the democratic process in Alabama stronger and truer by enfranchising a vast number of Alabamians who are now shut out from the privilege of suffrage.

House Kills Off Assaults On Poll Tax

Montgomery Advertiser

Rer umulative Down a Roll Call

ier Is Junked

As Indefinite Postponement Moved By Author After Less Drastic Bill Loses

Two anti-poll tax bills met sudden death in the Alabama House of Representatives yesterday, but advocates of proposals to abolish Alabama's $1.50 annual voting levy served notice they had not given up. 5-17-45

By a margin of 25 to 70, the House failed to pass a bill calling for a Statewide vote on a constitutional amendment abolishing the requirement that a citizen must pay all back poll taxes before becoming eligible to vote.

Object of the bill was to abolish the present "cumulative" feature. When it was defeated, another bill calling an election on absolute abolition of the tax was indefinitely postponed at the author's request.

Principal argument of opponents to the bill to do away with the cumulative provision was that any change in the poll tax law would endanger "white supremacy in Alabama." Representative Mark Hodo, of Jefferson, sponsor of the measure, denied that the race question was involved.

Representative Moody Redd, of Lauderdale, had his bill, eliminating the tax entirely, indefinitely postponed — in effect killing it for this session. Redd told the House, however, that he would "not relax my efforts" to repeal the tax, or at least give the people a chance to vote on the question.

Senator John Sherrer, Dallas, announced he would ask the Senate Constitution committee to postpone indefinitely his bill proposing abolition of the poll tax. The committee is scheduled to meet today. 5-17-45

Later, the House Constitution committee approved a bill by Boswell, of Geneva, to raise the qualifications of applicants for the franchise. Under Boswell's bill, the applicant would be required to "understand" the Federal Constitution, and present property requirements would be taken out.

Under present law, the voter is required to be able to read and write any article of the Constitution, else own $300 worth of property. Boswell explained his proposal was to give county registrars more authority in determining citizenship eligibility.

Income Tax Compromise

Bills to reapportion income tax revenues, on the House calendar, were carried over until today amid reports that Gov. Chauncey Sparks and health-education-welfare leaders had agreed upon an acceptable plan. 5-17-45

The original bills would channel the income tax money into the general fund for the Legislature to appropriate, instead of going to property tax reduction. The new plan, reportedly agreed to, would give education and welfare more money out of the general fund than the administration had promised originally.

Well-founded reports of the compromise followed introduction in the Senate yesterday by Senators Walton, of Chambers, and Bradford, of Clarke, of bills to earmark the revenue for education, health and welfare.

Legislative reapportionment bills appeared yesterday on each side of the corridor. Sponsored by Representative E. C. Boswell, Geneva, and Senators Tully Goodwin, of Covington, and Reuben Newton, of Walker, they would give each county a senator, and re-assign House membership on a population basis.

The House voted 69 to 23 to reconsider its action of Tuesday in killing a bill to set up a pension system for State employes. Then it passed Representative George Stone's bills repealing 1943 acts which extended the terms of tax collectors and assessors from four to six years. 5-18-45

The House constitution committee, in addition to reporting Boswell's registration bills, approved one by Segrest, of Macon, to abolish the office of justice of the peace, another by Robertson of Cullman calling a vote on the question of authorizing the State to accept Federal funds for a hospital system. The latter bill permits the State to engage in public construction, now prohibited by the constitution.

Alabama women, who have been voting since adoption of the 19th Amendment to the Federal Constitution, would be placed on the eligible list in Alabama formally by another proposed amendment authored by Segrest and reported favorably by the constitution committee.

That group, headed by Representative Wilbur Dearman, also approved an amendment written by Golson of Elmore to abolish so-called "legislative courtesy."

Golson proposes that the people of a county be permitted to vote on any local measure passed by the Legislature before it becomes effective. 5-17-45

The House banking committee voted a favorable report to Representative Norman Harris's bill to place regulation of small loan companies under the State Banking Department.

New Bill

New bills introduced yesterday included those by:

Senator Bruce Henderson, Wilcox, to repeal a 1939 act setting up county tax equalization boards.

Representative Tarvey Bennett, Calhoun, repealing the law requiring numbering of ballots.

Senator L. J. Cobb of Cherokee—for a constitutional amendment permitting citizens of a county to vote on a special tax of not more than 10 mills per $100 of assessed property valuation, the revenue to be used exclusively to build hospitals in the county.

Senator Walton—To amend the teacher retirement act to include some teachers who, because of technical reasons, do not come under provisions of the law.

Senators Walton and Orlan Hill of Lauderdale—to provide supernumerary judges in circuit courts.

The Senate health committee in the afternoon heard arguments for and against a bill by Bruce Henderson of Wilcox to provide for sterilization of hereditary insane and mentally deficient persons, but postponed action until Tuesday.

Representative Joe Sullivan, who spearheaded opposition to the measure, asked for the delay to hear from Senator Vincent Kilborn, of Mobile, who is on military leave. Sullivan said Kilborn was getting a discharge and was expected to return to his legislative duties this week.

The bill was supported by the Rev. W. M. Marmion, rector of St. Mary's-on-the-Highlands at Birmingham, and by representatives of various women's organizations.

The Senate judiciary reported for second reading a bill to raise the present $25 monthly garnishment exemption to $50. While the education group approved a measure to authorize the University of Alabama to operate hospitals in conjunction with the medical school at Birmingham.

Poll Tax Roll Call

Roll call on the anti-poll tax bill, defeated in the Alabama House, follows: 5-17-45

FOR: Armstrong, Bagley, Beebe, Bennett, T. W., Black, Brown, Carnley, Carter, Chichester, Coburn, Deason, Dodson, Edwards, Fite, Hodo, Jackson, M., Kirby, Lowe, Miller, Porter, D., Redd, Segrest, Sessions, Snyder, Ward.

AGAINST: Mr. Speaker, Ard, Austin, Barrett, Boswell, Brantley, Byars, Christopher, Cobb, Dearman, Dobbs, H. M., Dobbs, M. C., Duffee, Elrod, Frasier, Gillis, Givhan, Golson, H., Golson, J. S., Green, Gwin, Hankins, Harris, Harrison, Henderson, Hodges, Hooton, Jackson, D. W., Johnston, Jones, H. R., Lee, Locke, Martin, McCurdy, McDonald, McGinty, McIlwain, McPherson, Merrill, Molette, Nettles, Norman, (Lowndes), Payne, Perry, Petrey, Pill, Porter, J. L., Posey, Pruet, Pruitt, Robertson, Robinson, Sanders, Sanderson, Sightler, Smyer, Stell, Stewart, Still, Stone, Sullivan, Taylor, Thomas, Tidmore, Walker, Weaver, Weston White, Wood, Wright.

And 'Education', Too

Senator Will O. Walton, of Chambers County, took the floor in the Alabama Senate yesterday morning to make it clear that the bill he and Senator Gerald Bradford, of Clarke, introduced jointly the day before took care of education as well as health and welfare.

The Bradford-Walton bill proposed a constitutional amendment, ratification of which would earmark the surplus in the income tax fund for education, welfare, and health. A reference to the bill in yesterday's Advertiser omitted the word "education." It was one of those accidental things that happen even in newspaper offices, a reporter explained to Senators Bradford and Walton, after the latter had made of the incident an occasion for a speech.

ISSUE IS NOT DEAD

Birmingham News

Governor Sparks indicated, in an address he made Monday to the graduating class of Judson College, that he will continue his fight to relent the poll tax in Alabama.

In pointing out that the poll tax was levied to solve the problems of "a generation ago," the governor said:

"Most of us recognize that it was a necessity of the times. Yet many of us today cannot get away from the thinking of that day, and solve our problems in our own surroundings and environments, and not according to the pattern set by another generation."

There is the milk in the cocoanut. The poll tax was levied in all the Southern states to meet a problem peculiar to the times. It served a useful purpose. 6-2-45

But times have changed. Education has become more widespread. Registration has been adopted, to provide a curb on illiterate voting. Therein lies the check upon a mass influx of ignorant, vicious and unintelligent voters.

The poll tax, with its cumulative feature in this state, has served to disqualify a great host of our best citizens, and to discourage others from exercising the right of suffrage.

The Legislature, at the behest of its Black Belt leaders, has seen fit to vote down a referendum on abolishing the cumulative feature of the Alabama poll tax. It will not let even the presently restricted list of qualified voters pass upon the issue. Yet the same group, with little thought, and by almost unanimous ballot, submitted an amendment to exempt all service men and women—both white and black—literate as well as illiterate—from payment of all poll tax the rest of their lives.

Such action is inconsistent. It smacks of the Legislature not thinking the problem through.

The poll tax issue is not settled. It will come forward at the next session of a new Legislature, or at another, until this obsolete bar upon suffrage is abolished.—Huntsville Times.

61e-1945

Poll Tax-Alabama

Laws On Negro Voting Before Interim Group

Birmingham News Ala.

BY HUGH W. SPARROW
News Staff Writer

2-9-45

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—Recommendations of the State Democratic Executive Committee as to what changes—if any—should be made in Alabama's poll tax, registration, primary and general election lows and in any other laws affecting Negro voting were expected Friday as the legislative interim committee on constitution and legislative procedure convened at 10 a.m.

Gessner T. McCorvey, Mobile, State Democratic Executive Committee chairman, was scheduled to go before the committee and give the official position of the Democratic state organization on the state's voting and election laws and a large group was on hand to hear him.

Though the questions of poll tax repeal and changes in election laws and voter requirements have been discussed frequently here since the interim committees settled down to work, the Democratic party officially has kept silent until now.

While the constitution and legislative procedure committee met to hear Chairman McCorvey, the state, county and municipal governments committee held a brief session Friday morning to receive recommendations from subcommittees working on various phases of the legislative program backed by the Alabama League of Municipalities.

The third interim committee in session here this week—the committee on appropriations and finance—was not in session Friday. That committee recessed until Feb. 20 after a busy session Thursday afternoon during which Commissioner of Agriculture and Industries Joe Poole and Walter Randolph, State Farm Bureau Federation head, outlined several farm proposals. Among them was the demand that the state exempt from gasoline taxes fuel used by farm tractors and machinery. 2-9-45

* * *

EARLIER THURSDAY THE APPROPRIATIONS and finance committee heard State Finance Director Hayse Tucker explain his 1945-47 biennial general fund budget recommendations and the constitution and legislative procedure committee heard C. A. Donehoo, Gadsden, reiterate the A. E. A.'s program for resubmission of the income tax and use of the proceeds for teacher salary increases. Mr. Donehoo is state A. E. A. head.

The state, county and municipal governments committee at the same time heard Rep. W. C. Beebe, Baldwin, urge a program for further state aid for cities and counties. Rep. Beebe, scheduled to become administration floor leader, recommended, among other things, that the state take over city and county support of public welfare and at the same time clip the strings now tied to special appropriations voted by the 1943 Legislature for city and county use in matching state and federal welfare allotments.

In addition, Rep. Beebe urged that the state use its resources to aid counties in refinancing bonded debts and in providing additional revenue to be used by counties in matching farm-to-market road funds. 2-9-45

The state, county and municipal governments committee also heard State Sen. Bruce Henderson, Wilcox, request that elected officials be permitted to succeed themselves, but with their tenures limited to two terms.

Negroes Registered To Vote In Alabama

N.Y. Amsterdam News

GREENVILLE, Ola., (ANP)—For the first time since adoption of the 1901 Alabama constitution, Negroes here were permitted to register to vote during the January registration period, it was reported Wednesday. 2-3-45

Seven of eight Negroes who applied for registration were registered, one being refused because he had been charged, but never convicted, of forgery. Citizens here claim that the petition to register had been addressed to the registration officials, and that the names of the seven allowed to register were attached to it.

Bankhead To Leave Poll Tax Up To State

Birmingham News Ala.
2-16-45

WASHINGTON—(AP)—Abolition of the poll tax in Alabama is a question which Sen. Bankhead (D., Ala.) says he is going to leave "to the state without comment."

Bankhead, discussing a statement in which Sen. Hill (D., Ala.) urged that the State Legislature submit repeal to voters, said that Hill "did not discuss it with me. It is his own decision."

The Alabama poll tax was described by Hill as the most "burdensome, restrictive, indefensible and undemocratic of that of any state."

Alabama Election Officials Indicted In Ballot Frauds

Memphis World Tenn.

2-20-45

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Reporting the absentee ballot system and the failure of election officials to perform their duties properly to be the two main sources of illegality, the jury recommended that state absentee voting legislation be repealed, the solicitor declared. It was said that formal service of the indictments had not been made. 2-20-45

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In its report the inquisitorial body urged "a better and different system of preparing and purging and preserving" a list of qualified voters.

ORIGIN OF POLL TAX

To the Editor of The News: Birmingham News

The poll, or head, tax originated back when people were scarce, things to tax were still scarcer, and when there was no method of finding anything else to tax. So taxing took on its stride with a poll tax upon the male population, usually from the age of 21 to 45, each inclusive. The moneys so raised in some instances became the nucleus, with perhaps odd sections of lands from the government, for school purposes. Ala. 3-7-45

Not until some 50 years ago perhaps did the poll tax become connected remotely with the question of suffrage. Alabama, in its constitution of 1901, when trying to eliminate the unwieldy balance of power of a few counties which voted colored people in bulk, and waited for the other sections to report so that they would know how many votes were needed, laid this head or poll tax as a condition to voting in Alabama, fixing the tax at $1.50, and authorizing the Legislature to lay it from the age of 21 to 45, with also authority to lay it up to and including the age of 60 years, all on male inhabitants of Alabama. The present setup covers only from 21 to 45, inclusive, and under that section of the constitution it cannot be paid except from October to Feb. 1, inclusive; no fees or commissions for collecting, and no process or remedies for collections, merely the question of each person laying the poll tax upon the barrel head.

The poll or head tax has nothing to do with one registering as a legal voter in Alabama. One registering to vote does so independently of the poll tax; and this registering is provided for in the constitution of 1901, with an elaborate system, a board of registrars, many and varied tests in order to qualify, with rights of appeal, jury trial, and with lifetime certificates to those qualifying as legal registrants. By Section 259, Article XIV of the constitution, all poll tax shall be applied to the support of the public schools in the respective counties where collected. 3-7-45

To be able to vote at any election by the people in Alabama, one must have resided in Alabama two years, in the county where voting one year, in the precinct or ward three months, immediately preceding such election; must have been duly and legally "registered," and shall have paid on or before Feb. 1 next preceding the date of election, "all poll taxes due for the year 1901 and all subsequent years." It is further provided that "no person shall be qualified to vote, or participate in any primary election, party convention, mass meeting or other method of party action of any political party or faction," who shall not possess the qualifications prescribed for an elector, or who shall be disqualified from voting under the provision of this article (Article VIII). 3-7-45

With the poll tax ramifications eliminated, there are still all the safety provisions for taking care of the necessary intelligent, educational and other character attributes necessary for a splendid American setup of qualified voters. Only some six states now have this poll or head tax condition requisite to casting the vote in elections and to participate in all other political angles which Americans and Alabamians participate in occasionally. Both major parties have gone on record against the voting angle of this poll tax; Alabama has the leadership in the United States Senate, to wit, Hon. Lister Hill; if we expect to lead, we must pay the fiddler.

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Andalusia, Ala.

SECOND CHOICE

Birmingham News Ala.

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The Hodo bill, of course, is a halfway measure to remedy the poll tax problem. The full remedy would be abolition of the tax from start to finish, not merely for a two-year period that involves only $3. We would like to see the full remedy applied, to avoid federal meddling and to deprive the agitators of their chief complaint against our political system. 2-9-45

However, we are not so naive as to believe repeal of the law will be accomplished any time soon, even though there is growing sentiment in the state for outright repeal. Yet some day repeal is coming, and when it does it will be on the initiative of Alabamians.

Until then cancellation of taxes down to a reasonable figure like $3 would be better than nothing. It would be, in effect, a compromise between advocates of repeal and those who insist stubbornly that the tax law be left as it is. Next to repeal, we would like to see such a compromise become law.

It would increase Alabama's voting strength and that would be politically healthful for the state. There are many voters now disqualified because they owe past-due poll taxes, whose total ranges from several dollars on up to $36, with the average probably $9 or $12. If they had the opportunity to straighten these accounts by paying only $3—for two years—the majority of them would gladly do so.—Dothan Eagle.

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Spokesmen for the Democratic Executive Committee of this county have gone to the trouble of urging a legislative interim group to let the poll tax severely alone. These gentlemen have a right to their opinions and a right to present their views by petition. Those are constitutional privileges. You can't quarrel with them for exercising their privileges as American citizens. But you can deplore their doing so in a poor cause, which involves the denial to others of the right to be first-class American citizens.

According to newspaper accounts, they want to retain the poll tax for the sake of "white supremacy." That's an exploded argument. It has not kept Southern states like North Carolina, Florida, Louisiana from abolishing the poll tax. It has not kept Georgia from getting rid of it. In what respect are conditions in those states different from those

61e-1945

Poll Tax-Alabama

Laws On Negro Voting Before Interim Group

BY HUGH W. SPARROW
News Staff Writer

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—Recommendations of the State Democratic Executive Committee as to what changes—if any—should be made in Alabama's poll tax, registration, primary and general election lows and in any other laws affecting Negro voting were expected Friday as the legislative interim committee on constitution and legislative procedure convened at 10 a.m.

Gessner T. McCorvey, Mobile, State Democratic Executive Committee chairman, was scheduled to go before the committee and give the official position of the Democratic state organization on the state's voting and election laws and a large group was on hand to hear him.

Though the questions of poll tax repeal and changes in election laws and voter requirements have been discussed frequently here since the interim committees settled down to work, the Democratic party officially has kept silent until now.

While the constitution and legislative procedure committee met to hear Chairman McCorvey, the state, county and municipal governments committee held a brief session Friday morning to receive recommendations from subcommittees working on various phases of the legislative program backed by the Alabama League of Municipalities.

The third interim committee in session here this week—the committee on appropriations and finance—was not in session Friday. That committee recessed until Feb. 20 after a busy session Thursday afternoon during which Commissioner of Agriculture and Industries Joe Poole and Walter Randolph, State Farm Bureau Federation head, outlined several farm proposals. Among them was the demand that the state exempt from gasoline taxes fuel used by farm tractors and machinery.

* * *

EARLIER THURSDAY THE APPROPRIATIONS and finance committee heard State Finance Director Hayse Tucker explain his 1945-47 biennial general fund budget recommendations and the constitution and legislative procedure committee heard C. A. Donehoo, Gadsden, reiterate the A. E. A.'s program for resubmission of the income tax and use of the proceeds for teacher salary increases. Mr. Donehoo is state A. E. A. head.

The state, county and municipal governments committee at the same time heard Rep. W. C. Beebe, Baldwin, urge a program for further state aid for cities and counties. Rep. Beebe, scheduled to become administration floor leader, recommended, among other things, that the state take over city and county support of public welfare and, at the same time clip the strings now tied to special appropriations voted by the 1943 Legislature for city and county use in matching state and federal welfare allotments.

In addition, Rep. Beebe urged that the state use its resources to aid counties in refinancing bonded debts and in providing additional revenue to be used by counties in matching farm-to-market road funds.

The state, county and municipal governments committee also heard State Sen. Bruce Henderson, Wilcox, request that elected officials be permitted to succeed themselves, but with their tenures limited to two terms.

Negroes Registered To Vote In Alabama

GREENVILLE, Ola., (ANP)—For the first time since adoption of the 1901 Alabama constitution, Negroes here were permitted to register to vote during the January registration period, it was reported Wednesday.

Seven of eight Negroes who applied for registration were registered, one being refused because he had been charged, but never convicted, of forgery. Citizens here claim that the petition to register had been addressed to the registration officials, and that the names of the seven allowed to register were attached to it.

Bankhead To Leave Poll Tax Up To State

WASHINGTON—(AP)—Abolition of the poll tax in Alabama is a question which Sen. Bankhead (D., Ala.) says he is going to leave "to the state without comment."

Bankhead, discussing a statement in which Sen. Hill (D., Ala.) urged that the State Legislature submit repeal to voters, said that Hill "did not discuss it with me. It is his own decision."

The Alabama poll tax was described by Hill as the most "burdensome, restrictive, indefensible and undemocratic of that of any state."

Alabama Election Officials Indicted In Ballot Frauds

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which prevail in Alabama? The "white supremacy" cry is now a smoke-screen to conceal the real issue.

What is the real issue? It grows out of the fact that our politicians prefer to keep the electorate as small as possible. As things stand, the problem of getting themselves and their friends elected is fairly manageable. But with the poll tax eliminated, they would have to take cognizance of a great body of new voters—mainly whites and only incidentally Negroes. It is only too plain that the poll tax, made specially obnoxious in this state by its cumulative feature, is shutting out of full democratic action a vast army of white Alabamians. 2-9-45

That is the purpose of the poll tax, according to one school of thought, which contends that it was placed in the constitution in 1901 at a time when reactionary interests were still reeling under the impact of the agrarian revolt. The Populist movement, it is pointed out, had thrown conservatives into a dither. Something simply had to be done to keep these wild men and wilder ideas from causing more trouble. So the one-gallus farmer and the underpaid worker were attacked at their weak point—their pocketbook. Under this theory, talk of "white supremacy" has all along been so much camouflage hiding the actual motivation of those who benefit from restricted suffrage.

Be that as it may, the fact is that the slogan no longer fools anyone. The fact is, furthermore, that sentiment in Alabama against the poll tax has grown so formidable that politicians are beginning to worry. There is little likelihood that the present Legislature will remove the tax. Gov. Sparks has given no sign of being interested in the subject. Why, then, are the poll taxers so disquieted? What have they to fear? They are afraid that Georgia's elimination of the poll tax will steel public opinion in Alabama into an incoercible demand for similar action in this state. 2-9-45

SENTIMENT GROWING

Ala.

The poll tax is building up into an issue in Alabama, and within the next few months, as the Legislature has an opportunity to do something about it, sidestepping a decision will be impossible. Fortunately the issue so far is primarily one made by Alabamians in the hope that the settlement will be reached by Alabamians.

Birmingham News

Reports from Montgomery say that in the Legislature there is a distinct sentiment in favor of repeal, but despite this sentiment there is a hesitancy to take action because of the perennial pressure and clamor by outsiders for the tax to be abolished. This stubbornness is directed against the outside agitators, not against those residents of this state who advocate abolition of the $1.50 levy for voting.

Leaders of the opposition are quoted as saying that if Alabama could be left alone, if the badgering by outsiders were to cease, that they would be inclined to get this antiquated law off the books. But they vow determinedly that so long as interference in Alabama affairs on the part of non-residents persists they will be as stubborn as ever. 3-21-45

In view of this situation there would be an unpleasant and unhappy deadlock except for the fact that the number of Alabamians who are urging repeal is growing daily and taking in some of our most level-headed and most loyal citizens. They are sincere in their belief it would be best for Alabama if the poll tax is discarded, and they believe the right time is now so that meddling will cease.

We hope that sentiment within Alabama to abolish this tax continues to grow and spread as it has in recent weeks, and that the proper leadership to put this legislation over will appear. With wise leadership a family fight within the state can be avoided and repeal of this old law can be accomplished on our own initiative. 3-21-45

It is time that opponents of repeal rise above their old attitude of insisting that the tax continue solely because outsiders want it abolished. They are now fighting against their own people, fellow citizens who believe the tax serves no good purpose and want it repealed primarily for that reason, and secondly to halt the unjust and highly vocal tirades against the good name of this state.—Dothan Eagle.

THE POWER TO PRESERVE

Editor, The Advertiser: Montgomery Advertiser

I am enclosing a story for your editorial, and if it should prove fit for such, I would be glad if you publish it, as I only intend it for the help of others. I am at this time unable to do physical labor, so I take this way of trying to do my bit. 3-1-45 Ala.

It seems that poll tax has been the subject in the editorial now for quite awhile and I would like to add, that it is my honest conviction that if all of the true and honest people of our country would come together and pay their poll tax and cast their vote in the usual manner that all would be well. Let us think for a moment what else should we do, trust in that power that was with the Founders of the Constitution, no other than the Father in Heaven. 3-1-45

They bowed their heads every morning before they s t a r t e d their day's work and asked for guidance and direction in forming the Constitution and why not we seek this same power now to preserve it. It can be done.

MISS NELLIE M. GREENE.
105 Rhodes Street.

Hill For Poll Tax Repeal

Birmingham News Ala.

Senator Lister Hill, forthrightly favoring the repeal of the poll tax, makes the suggestion that the people of Alabama have a right to vote on the question and expresses confidence that the Legislature will afford that opportunity. Immediately after publication of the senator's statement, it was announced by Representative Ivy Gwin, chairman of the Jefferson County legislative delegation, that this group will hold public hearings in the month of April at which citizens may express themselves on the issue. Both these developments testify to the steady accumulation of indications that new action on this matter is virtually certain to be considered in the forthcoming session of the Alabama Legislature. 2-16-45

Georgia's recent repeal of its poll tax gave great impetus to the advocates of such reform in Alabama and the six other states still imposing such a levy.

Senator Hill, in his formal statement, was sweeping in his denunciation of the Alabama poll tax. Because of its cumulative requirements, he said, it "is the most burdensome, restrictive, indefensible and undemocratic" of all such now prevailing levies.

He pointed out that in North Carolina, Florida and Louisiana, where "the poll tax has been repealed for some years the fears of the opponents of repeal proved groundless and the repeal has proved so wise that there are none who are seriously advocating a reinstatement of the tax."

Many supporters of the tax hold that it is a barrier against the voting of ignorant and irresponsible persons. But, as Senator Hill correctly emphasizes, the fitness and eligibility of citizens to vote in this state are subject to state registration laws and the action of county registration boards. Mere payment of a poll tax does not qualify a citizen for the ballot. If, by paying the tax, insufficient barriers remain to guard against the voting of irresponsible and unqualified persons, then it is the registration laws that properly should be amended accordingly. 2-16-45

* * *

The poll tax is operating to keep many thousands of otherwise well qualified Alabama citizens from the polls, particularly because of its cumulative feature. Senator Hill says that the effect of the poll tax in this state "is to disenfranchise several hundred thousand white men and women who are fit and qualified to vote."

The junior Alabama senator expresses his faith in the ability of many more Alabamians to contribute to the functioning of democracy in this state and nation. Their reasonable qualifications g r a n t e d—and he evidently would be liberal in this regard—he believes sound government would be advanced by the participation in the balloting of these additional voters.

This is a courageous stand by Senator Hill. It will contribute to the speeding up of the reform that eventually is certain to come in this state.

LISTER HILL

Birmingham News

It becomes increasingly clear to the people of Alabama that they have, in Senator Lister Hill, a liberal representative who is admired and respected by liberal opinion everywhere. It was not by accident that Mark Ethridge, publisher of The Louisville Courier-Journal, chose the name of Lister Hill as an example of a liberal Southern Democrat. Senator Hill deserved the tribute which Mr. Ethridge paid him in his Atlanta speech, for he has been in the forefront of every liberal battle in recent years. 2-25-45 Ala.

Lister Hill's most recent pronouncement has to do with the poll tax, which he calls on Alabama to abolish. He does not advocate abolishing this tax because someone in New York says we ought to do away with it, or because some well-meaning citizen of Los Angeles advocates its repeal, or because of any outside pressure, but for Alabama reasons which Alabamians can understand. In his statement Mr. Hill said that "the Alabama poll tax, because of its cumulative requirements, is the most burdensome, restrictive, indefensible and undemocratic" of the poll taxes.

The cumulative provision of the poll tax law is indeed burdensome, and everybody knows that it has kept many intelligent citizens from voting in Alabama. This is particularly true among women, of whom Mr. Hill says: "The mother of a boy on a fighting front may have to go back and pay $36 to cast her vote and have her say as to what kind of government and nation her boy is fighting to save." 2-25-45

The actual amount of the poll tax is small, particularly in times such as the present, when money flows freely, but it occurs to observers like Hill that the principle is wrong. After all, anybody can scrape up $1.50 once a year. Intelligence and education are the sensible requirements for voters. An intelligent electorate is more important than all the poll tax ever collected in Alabama.

Mr. Hill has given the people of this great state, and particularly the members of the Legislature, something to think about.—Montgomery Advertiser.

EXTENDING THE FRANCHISE

To the Editor of The News-Age-Herald: Birmingham News

The Associated Press, under Washington date line of Feb. 15, reports that Senator Lister Hill is demanding that the poll tax in Alabama must go because "it is the most burdensome, restrictive, indefensible and undemocratic of any state." Our junior senator elects to be more the mouthpiece of the Roosevelt dynasty than a representative of his homefolks. Ala.

Theoretically it is possible to argue that unrestricted extension of the franchise is the essence of democracy, but one has to live in several of the larger northern cities to discover what dangerous nonsense that argument involves. Here one really experiences the rule of, by and for the organized, racketeering scum to the ultimate advantage of verminous wardheelers—the rule of the "great unwashed."

When the Alabama Legislature considers the issue in May it must be remembered that once the franchise is extended the action is final and irrevocable. Birmingham News

The danger of investing political power in the hands of poor whites and politically ambitious blacks who have been raised in the [illegible]cal traditions is great enough. But after the [illegible]ar Alabama may expect a large influx of emigres who have had a totally different education at the hands of left-wing social workers, labor racketeers and shysters, a schooling in the most obnoxious forms of political corruption. Senator Hill must know this, or else he has remained blind to the Washington scene. It is more likely that our respected senator feels it necessary to bolster his own security with a new herd of constituents that can be "organized and directed in a more abundant life." 2-25-45

Before we become too hasty in following the example of Georgia let us understand to what such action commits us. One has but to endure the stench and corruption of self-styled "civilized" Philadelphia politics for a few years in order to appreciate the many virtues of our "reactionary Southern backwardness."

FORD MacELVAIN.
5532 Wayne Avenue, Philadelphia 40, Pa.

POLL TAX TO BE UP

Birmingham News

That Alabama's poll tax will be a subject for discussion during the coming months seems to be a foregone conclusion. That some action may be taken by the Legislature seems almost as sure. And that some changes will be made is the opinion of many of our citizens.

Senator Hill has come out flat-footedly for repeal of the poll tax law and has given his reasons. Senator Bankhead has refused to express himself any more than to say that it should be left up to the people. 3-5-45

Some change in the present law seems to us wise and necessary at this time. The cumulative feature of the present law makes it extremely expensive for anyone to vote who has not kept his poll tax paid up over the years. Even if a person wants to vote, the fact that he may have to pay $20 or $30 in back taxes will frequently keep him from voting. This one feature of the law now keeps many persons from voting who are fully qualified to cast an intelligent vote.

At least, we feel that this part of the law should be changed so that payment of current taxes would entitle a qualified citizen to vote. 3-5-45

It will be only a matter of time until the poll tax law is repealed as a whole. Some will disagree with this statement, but we make that prediction and believe that the time is not far off. Whether the people of the state are ready now for this step may be brought out in the next few months.—Alabama Courier (Athens)

Hot Issue

Time magazine 2-26-45

The voting rights of Negroes continued to be the hottest issue in the South.

¶ Alabama's New Dealing Senator Lister Hill called on his state to "follow the admirable example set by Georgia" (TIME, Feb. 12) and repeal the poll tax. His proposal was 1) cheered by editorialists, 2) ignored by Alabama legislators.

¶ Having taken one step forward by its admirable example, the Georgia Legislature now took two steps back. Up rose grey-haired Senator Roy McGinty to propose that Negroes be permitted to vote in Democratic primaries. The Senate listened politely. When the vote came, down went McGinty in a solid chorus of Nos.

Sparks And Poll Tax

Birmingham News

Reports have been circulating in Montgomery that Gov. Sparks is preparing to recommend outright repeal of the state's poll tax to the Alabama Legislature in his message at the convening of the regular session in May. The governor declined comment on the reports, but in quarters usually well informed it was predicted he would make such a recommendation. 3-23-45

Last September the governor told reporters he would take no action so long as "outside influences" were active in the matter. At the time that did not seem to be adequate basis for the determination of his course of action. The matter is highly important and should be dealt with on its merits, regardless of the advice, gratuitous or otherwise, of non-Alabamians.

The chief executive can hardly expect citizens of other parts of the country, having convictions on such a basic question, to be uninterested in how we deal with it. Whether any such have unduly interjected themselves into Alabama's affairs is a matter of opinion, but whether or not they have, the state's own right and duty to handle the matter on its own responsibility and as it sees fit have not been altered. 3-23-45

Some administration leaders in the Legislature are said to be in favor of outright repeal. Others are said to be favorable to it, except that they are not disposed to act while what they call "agitation" from Washington continues. Two interim committees have expressed themselves for retention of the tax, but there is unquestionably a strong sentiment in the state for repeal.

Gov. Sparks' attitude will be very influential, perhaps decisive, when the time for definitive action comes. We hope he will see the issue in the light of its broadest meanings. If he does reform probably will be assured.

300,000 EXEMPTED

Birmingham News

In all the arguments pro and con about abolition of the outmoded poll tax, practically all of the disputants seem to omit the most obvious fact about it.

That fact is that when the present wars are over, 300,000 men and women, boys and girls, white and black, will be free from its payment for the remainder of their lives in Alabama.

This will be so, because the people at last November's general election approved an amendment, submitted at the last session of the Legislature, exempting all service men and women from the poll tax.

Estimating there are two whites to one Negro in the 300,000 enrolled from Alabama in all the branches of our armed services, that means 200,000 white men and women will be free from all encumbrance in the way of poll tax when they get out of uniform.

There will be no distinction between whether they are good or bad, educated or ignorant; whether they are from the towns or the country; whether they come from the humblest or from the choicest, wealthiest homes.

These 200,000 will be 50,000 more than cast their votes from all the State of Alabama in the November presidential election, and almost as many as normally vote in a state primary.

Of the 150,000 who voted last November, tens of thousands did not pay any poll tax because they served in World War I. 4-23-45

The people that the poll tax hits, and who in the main are excluded from exercising their suffrage and taking part in their city, county state and national governments, are the very ones who ought to be voting.

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Poll Tax Tilt On Early In Legislature

Montgomery Advertiser 5-2-45 Ala

Lawmakers Assemble

Governor Speaks

For Removing Cumulative Feature and Bills To Do This Are Offered, Too

Repealers Introduced In House And Senate As

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Governor's Message

In recommending that the Legislature submit a constitutional amendment abolishing the cumulative poll tax, Sparks set the stage for what may be one of the bitterest conflicts of the 60-day deliberations. In his message he also recommended other changes in the state's voting and registration laws, and presented a fiscal program calling for a multimillion dollar public building plan and for increased aid to schools and to the needy.

He endorsed, too, a suggestion by the Educational Survey Commission that a single board be established to coordinate activities of all Alabama schools, and he called for consolidation of the state's law enforcement agencies.

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Alabama Balks Poll Tax Repeal

N.Y. Times 5-17-45

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOBILE, Ala., May 16—The House of Representatives virtually killed today a move to abolish poll tax in this State. The vote was 70 to 25 against a proposed constitutional amendment providing for the elimination of all but two years of the cumulative feature of the poll tax bill. When the action was taken a bill proposing outright repeal of the poll tax law was indefinitely postponed.

1e-1945

ot Issue

The voting rights of Negroes continued be the hottest issue in the South. Alabama's New Dealing Senator Lister ll called on his state to "follow the mirable example set by Georgia" TIME, Feb. 12) and repeal the poll tax. is proposal was 1) cheered by editorial-ts, 2) ignored by Alabama legislators.

Having taken one step forward by its dmirable example, the Georgia Legislature ow took two steps back. Up rose grey-haired Senator Roy McGinty to propose that Negroes be permitted to vote in Democratic primaries. The Senate listened politely. When the vote came, down went McGinty in a solid chorus of Nos.

Sparks And Poll Tax

Reports have been circulating in Montgomery that Gov. Sparks is preparing to recommend outright repeal of the state's poll tax to the Alabama Legislature in his message at the convening of the regular session in May. The governor declined comment on the reports, but in quarters usually well informed it was predicted he would make such a recommendation.

Last September the governor told reporters he would take no action so long as "outside influences" were active in the matter. At the time that did not seem to be adequate basis for the determination of his course of action. The matter is highly important and should be dealt with on its merits, regardless of the advice, gratuitous or otherwise, of non-Alabamians.

The chief executive can hardly expect citizens of other parts of the country, having convictions on such a basic question, to be uninterested in how we deal with it. Whether any such have unduly interjected themselves into Alabama's affairs is a matter of opinion, but whether or not they have, the state's own right and duty to handle the matter on its own responsibility and as it sees fit have not been altered.

Some administration leaders in the Legislature are said to be in favor of outright repeal. Others are said to be favorable to it, except that they are not disposed to act while what they call "agitation" from Washington continues. Two interim committees have expressed themselves for retention of the tax, but there is unquestionably a strong sentiment in the state for repeal.

Gov. Sparks' attitude will be very influential, perhaps decisive, when the time for definitive action comes. We hope he will see the issue in the light of its broadest meanings. If he does reform probably will be assured.

300,000 EXEMPTED

In all the arguments pro and con about abolition of the outmoded poll tax, practically all of the disputants seem to omit the most obvious fact about it.

That fact is that when the present wars are ... 300,000 men and women, boys and girls, white and black, will be free from its payment for the remainder of their lives in Alabama.

This will be so, because the people at last November's general election approved an amendment, submitted at the last session of the Legislature, exempting all service men and women from the poll tax.

Estimating there are two whites to one Negro in the 300,000 enrolled from Alabama in all the branches of our armed services, that means 200,000 white men and women will be free from all encumbrance in the way of poll tax when they get out of uniform.

There will be no distinction between whether they are good or bad, educated or ignorant; whether they are from the towns or the country; whether they come from the humblest or from the choicest, wealthiest homes.

These 200,000 will be 50,000 more than cast their votes from all the State of Alabama in the November presidential election, and almost as many as normally vote in a state primary.

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He endorsed, too, a suggestion by the Educational Survey Commission that a single board be established to coordinate activities of all Alabama schools, and he called for consolidation of the state's law enforcement agencies.

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from voting many good men and women. Many of our citizens neglect or forget to pay their poll tax. Several successive years of neglect or forgetfulness pile up a very real barrier."

The poll tax, he said, is not a qualification to voting, but rather a "condition precedent" to use of the ballot. He added:

Purity In Registration

"The procedure through which the ballot is kept pure is registration, not the payment of poll tax."

In that connection, the governor asked the Legislature to give "Careful consideration to the strengthening of our registration statutes in order that our election rolls shall be as pure as we can make them."

He asked, too, that thought be given to "any revision of our election laws, both general and primary, which recent developments may require."

He mentioned specifically "lately announced rulings by the Supreme Court of the United States." The court recently held that negroes are entitled to vote in Texas Democratic primaries.

Governor Sparks also recommended:

1. That the absentee ballot law—"The avenue of much corruption and fraud"—be strengthened or repealed.

2. Easier facilities for soldier voting. In the last national election, he said, "we found in Alabama there was such limitation as almost to prohibit our soldiers in foreign fields from voting."

3. Tighter restrictions and "adequate laws" regarding presidential electors, lest the state "wake up some day to find that failure to provide rules and regulations has brought us trouble."

Enactment of proper regulatory measures in this field "is a duty and function of the state that seems rather sadly to have been overlooked," he declared.

Would Abolish No Boards

In recommending creation of a single agency to supervise the school, the chief executive said it "does not contemplate the abolishing of existing constitutional and statutory boards for institutions of higher learning."

Rather, he explained, it would be conceded principally, it would ordination the state's education system, and individual boards could be retained to "function in the management and control of their respective institutions as the law now provides."

The Governor expressed the hope the Legislature would find a way to make what increases in school appropriations as it deems necessary to "carry on a standard of education currently needed."

One source of money for that purpose, he told the legislators, is revenue from the state's income tax, now pledged to reduction of state ad valorem taxes after retirement of the 1932 floating indebtedness.

And, as he had indicated previously he would do, the governor submitted a formal request for a constitutional amendment to divert the tax revenue into the general fund. That accomplished, he said, the money would be available for education.

Another recommendation was that a regional education program be set up to meet the problem in states "which, as does Alabama, have a two-race school system, generally limited education facilities, and moderate money resources."

He advocated a regional interchange of facilities "until such time as Alabama will be securely equipped financially to make its system complete."

$25,000 Fund Urged

To do this he suggested:

1. A $25,000 contingent appropriation "for use in allotting to educational institutions in other states along these lines and for providing scholarships for those entitled to opportunities which the state does not offer."

2. That the State Board of Education be authorized to contract with other states on a reciprocal basis whereby Alabama can acquire facilities for education subject to small demand without having itself to build expensive institutions."

The governor's proposal for consolidation of law enforcement agencies called for putting under the Department of Public Safety the highway patrol, the state toxicologist and "all enforcement of prohibition laws and of the alcoholic beverage control act."

He excluded liquor licensing which he said should be left with the ABC Board.

Aside from establishment of a building commission to supervise public construction, Governor Sparks also proposed that the State Docks Board be authorized to pledge future revenue to payment of debt incurred for repair or expansion of dock facilities at Mobile.

Present laws prohibit the state, he said, from pledging its credit for such developments.

Additional Recommendations

The governor also recommended legislation to:

1. Establish a state department of veterans' assistance, and through it the organization of local service commissioners, "either one in each county or one in a group of counties."

2. Continue the present State Guard in existence until the National Guard once more becomes effective.

3. Establish a network of regional hospitals in the state to "bring out people to a higher plane of health and happiness."

4. Provide "relief and improvement" to farm tenants and landlords.

5. Finance the building of a central livestock show place which also could be used to exhibit "products of our soil and fields, our forests, our mines and our industries."

6. Enable the state to purchase land for timber development and for public hunting preserves and game propagation.

7. Put in force a state retirement act in which counties and cities also could participate.

8. Regulate small loans, perhaps by the State Commerce Department.

9. Establish a state wage and hour law for employes not covered by the federal statute.

In concluding, the governor acknowledged frankly there is a "wide difference of opinion" concerning some of the measures he proposed, but declared:

"I would be neglectful of the sacred trust imposed upon me as governor if I avoided an issue merely because it is a controversial one."

THE POLL TAX

To the Editor of The News:

With 21 years of continuous residence in the South, where ample opportunity abounds to observe and study the workings of the poll tax law, and from the vantage point of a war veteran who has enjoyed exemption from payment of same, I long ago arrived at the conclusion that exemption amounted to what commonly is called "a gift horse" that deserved looking in its mouth.

It so happens that the very year, 1901, the poll tax became a part of the Alabama Constitution I reached maturity and cast my first vote in an Illinois town. There I voted exactly as I had a right to do, as guaranteed by the constitution. I needed no exemption from the payment of a poll tax. The right to vote was a part of my heritage as a free-born American citizen.

It is a mistake for veterans to feel that exemption from the payment of this tax is a special privilege extended to them, when it is nothing more than the restoration of a right that they were already entitled to beforehand.

As voting is not only an inherited right of an American citizen, it is a duty as well, and this tax interferes with the discharge of this duty. It also operates as an inducement to evasion of discharging the citizen's duty to vote by its dual purpose of providing funds to support the schools. The inducement to evade both these duties is there, and by design no doubt. By evading one, the other is evaded, whether by neglect or intent or by the inability to pay this obligation of citizenship, imposed by this tax. The tax is indefensible except from one viewpoint, that of the politicians who have a one-party political system that cannot survive with a healthy opposition party or by an expanding electorate. Its survival depends on a restricted electorate, and, unless they can bamboozle the young generation of veterans who will return with the end of the war into believing that exemption from the payment of this tax is a special privilege and not the restoration of an inherited right, the jig will be up, because there will be an awful lot of them, and some at least will not relish the idea that dad, mom, sis or brother are denied this right because of this tax.

If the centralized school system, with its conveyances that bring children from remote places to school, were dependent on the revenue derived from this tax, there would be no such system. The fact that this system exists and is here to stay is a guarantee that illiteracy does not now exist, as may have been the case at the time this tax was devised to shut this element out, which it never did accomplish entirely, but did succeed in disfranchising others who were neither illiterate nor irresponsible, but only unfortunate.

With a restricted electorate, what was there to prevent a candidate for public office to pay up the poll tax of an irresponsible person in order to get his ovte? It has been a common practice and will continue to be, regardless of the cumulative feature, and there is such a thing as this element exercising a balance of voting power in any close election.

Akron, Ala. BEN T. COUCHMAN.

MORE ABOUT POLL TAX

Editor, The Advertiser:

For some time now I have watched the controversial poll tax question being discussed in Alabama, and so I take occasion to write this "open" letter to the Governor of Alabama on the matter. I hope you will do me the honor of including it somewhere on your editorial page.

ERWING W. WADSWORTH.

Gulfport Field, Miss.

P.S.: I am a constant reader of your paper.

His Excellency,
Gov. Chauncey Sparks,
Governor of Alabama.

Dear Governor:

I have been dismayed at the attitude of certain of our legislators toward the repeal of Alabama's poll tax requirements. I, along with thousands of other loyal Alabamians, have long been in favor of its abolition. You have indicated recently that you were in favor of removing its cumulative feature, and, if the Legislature approved, the entire law. Unfortunately, the Legislature of Alabama is too conservative at this time to seriously consider the repeal of the poll tax law, that is, unless the movement receives your entire support and leadership. Senator Hill has already given his endorsement to this movement, along with many other prominent Alabamians, who are agreed that the poll tax has served its period of usefulness. It seems only reasonable then that you, the Governor of Alabama, should lend more than lukewarm support to this progressive undertaking.

Let Alabama, like its sister State of Georgia, remove forever from its statutes this law, which was drawn up by its authors to restrict the right of certain citizens to vote. We are big and intelligent enough to see that this law has, in many ways, been harmful to our State. Many thousands of intelligent citizens, both colored and white, but principally white, have been denied the right to vote due to its existence. This unfortunate fact has been known by our state leaders for many years now. Alabama's State government is representative, not of the majority of the people of Alabama, but rather a minority of its people, principally because of the present poll tax law. This badge of backwardness, a target of ridicule by the nation, must go, and Alabama and its people walk into a new era of progressive state government.

The man of courage, wisdom, and foresight who lends his whole support for the repeal of Alabama's poll tax will be remembered long in Alabama history, and will be gratefully praised by generations of Alabamians yet unborn. Lend your entire support to the drive! The poll tax must go!

ERWING W. WADSWORTH.

Poll Tax Repeal Voted in House

By M. L. ST. JOHN.

The Georgia house of representatives, by an overwhelming 141-to-51 count, has voted to eliminate the poll tax in the state.

The senate previously has voted, 31 to 19, to abolish the voting tax, but a house amendment will require the bill to go back to the senate before Gov. Arnall receives the measure to proclaim it law.

The house changes, made to retain a permanent registration system for voters, are expected to obtain quick senate approval.

HARRIS LEADS FIGHT

Speaker Roy Harris took the floor to lead the successful fight for the house repeal vote.

The victory came after opponents sought in vain to delay action on the poll tax by submitting it to a referendum later this year. When roll call started, however, many who supported the referendum plan voted for repeal.

The house defeated, 129 to 62, an amendment by Reps. Hatchett and Thompson, of Meriwether, and Weaver, of Bibb, providing for a referendum. It also defeated amendments by Weaver to make persons pay up all past due poll taxes before being eligible to vote free under tax abolition action. An amendment to provide 60 days, rather than 30 days, for registrars to purge their lists, was adopted. Speaker Harris ruled out of order a plan of Alexander, of Chatham; Bloodworth, of Bibb; Hicks, of Floyd; Hogg, of Marion, and Lewis, of Hancock, to make poll tax abolition a constitutional amendment.

REGISTRATION PROVISO

Attached to the senate measure was a provision for biennial registration. The house substitute retains permanent registration, but provides for officials to purge from the lists persons who do not vote at least biennially.

Charges that the poll tax issue was being used as a political football in Georgia and over the nation were exchanged by advocates and enemies of the repeal measure. Speaker Harris declared this "flimsy little issue" will be the major factor in the next gubernatorial campaign if something isn't done to repeal it now. Alex Weaver, of Bibb, chief opponent of the bill, declared northern congressmen are trying to force southern states to repeal the poll tax, simply to win favor of Negro voters up north.

Speaker Harris urged the legislature to kill the poll tax and thereby toss out of the window something that has become a political football for the next governor's race.

"We shouldn't let such a false and inconsequential issue as the poll tax determine who shall rule our state for the next four years," Harris—who, along with former Gov. Talmadge, a poll tax repeal advocate, is reportedly seeking the governorship — told the house. "The next election should be determined on issues that mean something, issues such as schools, roads and veterans' aid."

The speaker asked that the poll tax be erased from the statute books and from the state constitution. He advocated total abolition of the poll tax, both as a revenue measure and as a voting requisite. Twenty-five tax collectors have asked that the poll tax be abolished because they cannot determine who is liable for payment and they cannot collect this tax, Harris said.

He declared abolition of the poll tax would not affect Georgia's white primary, nor would it reduce the school appropriation which already has been fixed by the legislature. Answering questions on submitting the poll tax issue to a referendum, Harris observed that persons wanting to kill a measure advocated delaying it for an election. When the poll tax was imposed it was not submitted to a vote of the people, he added.

PRESSURE CHARGED

Rep. McNall, of Chatham, charged that Gov. Arnall was pressuring house members into changing their position on the poll tax, and that the Governor had been influenced by Henry Wallace. Rep. Glisson, of Evans, joined in the charge that the governor's office exerted pressure for the repeal move. Speaker Harris observed that the Governor had not pressured these two representatives to change their opinions.

McNall, a native of New York, warned that northerners are trying to force poll tax repeal on the south to win votes of Communists, Negroes, and to build a Republican party. He feared abolition of the poll tax would bring Negroes to the legislature. McNall said the United States supreme court decision on the Texas primary case has killed the white primary.

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"They mistakenly thought that it was the poll tax that was keeping Negroes from voting. But we know better. It's the white primary and you know and I know we're going to keep that. We are not only going to keep the white primary, but the segregation system and all the other sacred southern traditions we hold dear."

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Poll Tax Repeal Voted in House

By M. L. ST. JOHN.

The Georgia house of representatives, by an overwhelming 141-to-51 count, has voted to eliminate the poll tax in the state.

The senate previously has voted, 31 to 19, to abolish the voting tax, but a house amendment will require the bill to go back to the senate before Gov. Arnall receives the measure to proclaim it law.

The house changes, made to retain a permanent registration system for voters, are expected to obtain quick senate approval.

HARRIS LEADS FIGHT

Speaker Roy Harris took the floor to lead the successful fight for the house repeal vote.

The victory came after opponents sought in vain to delay action on the poll tax by submitting it to a referendum later this year. When roll call started, however, many who supported the referendum plan voted for repeal.

The house defeated, 129 to 62, an amendment by Reps. Hatchett and Thompson, of Meriwether, and Weaver, of Bibb, providing for a referendum. It also defeated amendments by Weaver to make persons pay up all past due poll taxes before being eligible to vote free under tax abolition action. An amendment to provide 60 days, rather than 30 days, for registrars to purge their lists, was adopted. Speaker Harris ruled out of order a plan of Alexander, of Chatham; Bloodworth, of Bibb; Hicks, of Floyd; Hogg, of Marion, and Lewis, of Hancock, to make poll tax abolition a constitutional amendment.

REGISTRATION PROVISO

Attached to the senate measure was a provision for biennial registration. The house substitute retains permanent registration, but provides for officials to purge from the lists persons who do not vote at least biennially.

Charges that the poll tax issue was being used as a political football in Georgia and over the nation were exchanged by advocates and enemies of the repeal measure. Speaker Harris declared this "flimsy little issue" will be the major factor in the next gubernatorial campaign if something isn't done to repeal it now. Alex Weaver, of Bibb, chief opponent of the bill, declared northern congressmen are trying to force southern states to repeal the poll tax, simply to win favor of Negro voters up north.

Speaker Harris urged the legislature to kill the poll tax and thereby toss out of the window something that has become a political football for the next governor's race.

"We shouldn't let such a false and inconsequential issue as the poll tax determine who shall rule our state for the next four years," Harris—who, along with former Gov. Talmadge, a poll tax repeal advocate, is reportedly seeking the governorship — told the house. "The next election should be determined on issues that mean something, issues such as schools, roads and veterans' aid."

The speaker asked that the poll tax be erased from the statute books and from the state constitution. He advocated total abolition of the poll tax, both as a revenue measure and as a voting requisite. Twenty-five tax collectors have asked that the poll tax be abolished because they cannot determine who is liable for payment and they cannot collect this tax, Harris said.

He declared abolition of the poll tax would not affect Georgia's white primary, nor would it reduce the school appropriation which already has been fixed by the legislature. Answering questions on submitting the poll tax issue to a referendum, Harris observed that persons wanting to kill a measure advocated delaying it for an election. When the poll tax was imposed it was not submitted to a vote of the people, he added.

PRESSURE CHARGED

Rep. McNall, of Chatham, charged that Gov. Arnall was pressuring house members into changing their position on the poll tax, and that the Governor had been influenced by Henry Wallace. Rep. Glisson, of Evans, joined in the charge that the governor's office exerted pressure for the repeal move. Speaker Harris observed that the Governor had not pressured these two representatives to change their opinions.

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"Asserting that he was a native of New York, McNall said he was born in a section of the state "where there were no Negroes. We didn't want 'em and we didn't have 'em," he boasted, asserting that "he saw his first Negro when he came to Georgia at the age of nine."

"KISS PRIMARY GOODBYE"

"If you repeal the poll tax, you can kiss the white primary in Georgia goodbye," McNall aserted, "Don't you gentlemen know that a large registration will mean white primary nominations will mean nothing. Why we have 9,000 Negroes already on the books in Savannah and if you repeal the poll tax they will be down there the next day registering in droves. The next time we come to this legislatureed there will be three or four black faces seated on this floor, just like there used to be. Do you want that?"

"This poll tax repeal movement is sponsored by the class of people who are against the kind of government we have enjoyed in the South for lo these many years," he warned.

"Democracy will die of dry rot," declared Representative Harrison of Jenkins, "unless our people exercise their ballot. I was against the poll tax repeal when it was up in the Congress last year, but now I have

seen that I was wrong. I think we ought to penalize people who fail to vote rather than those who are trying to exercise their right of citizenship.

PLEADS FOR TOLERANCE

"The time has come for us to shed those things which have been holding us down,' he said. Interrupted by Representative Brown of Merriwether, who asked "do you mean by that that you want to repeal our Jim Crow laws?" Harrison retorted, "That is not the issue here. Anyway I believe if political hacks would let them alone the God fearing Negro and white people of Georgia would sit down and work out their problems to their mutual satisfaction." 2-1-45

Urging his hearers to "vote for this bill in a spirit of tolerance," Representative Pittman of Bartow, pleaded for fellow legislators to "rise above sectionalism."

"If a man is good enough to carry a gun over there and fight, he's good enough to vote without paying tribute and they are certainly entitled to say who shall sit in this leguslature. The trouble is too many of you are afraid of the plain people, the tenant farmer and the sharecropper. We should by approving this bill free the lowly people of this state from our greed and selfishness," he said.

"AN OPENING WEDGE"

As final speaker for the opposition Representative Weaver, of Bibb County described the poll tax repeal bill as "an opening wedge." After this, he said, "we'll be getting bills to abolish our jim crow laws and protect civil rights of a certain segment of our population. Don't you know, he said, "that you are about to surrender some of your states rights under this pressure from the outside. This is just another move toward abolition of all of our cherished Southern customs."

Capitol observers 2-6-45 expressed the belief that the Senate would quickly concur with the House' amendment on the question of registration and before the end of the week have the bill on Governor Arnall's desk awaiting his signature.

Arnall Signs Abolition Bill On Poll Tax

Atlanta Constitution 2-6-45 Ala.

House Votes Raises For Judges, Legislators And Governor

By M. L. ST. JOHN.

Gov. Arnall has signed the poll tax abolition bill into law, and the house has voted into the new constitution pay raises for judges, legislators and the governor.

Declaring Georgians no longer will have to buy the right to vote, Gov. Arnall signed the bill yesterday shortly after the senate passed a house substitute, 41 to 3. The law, as signed, retains permanent registration and provides for a biennial purging of the voters list.

The house left up in the air the eligibility of a governor succeeding himself. At the request of Gov. Arnall, the house followed Speaker Harris' recommendation to retain a constitutional ban on a governor succeeding himself. Harris said a separate constitutional amendment permitting any governor to serve unlimited number of terms will be introduced this week. Thus the people will vote on the controversial governorship issue without endangering the remainder of the constitution, Harris added. 2-6-45

The house voted to raise supreme and appellate court judges from $7,000 to $8,000 a year, and superior court judges from $5,000 to $6,000. It okayed a pay hike for the governor from $7,500 to $12,000. And it upped legislators' salaries from $9 to $15 a day.

Nearing an end of its work on the constitution, the house decided to make homsteads subject to school taxation. Homesteads now are exempted up to $2,000 on all forms of taxation, except for bonded indebtedness.

In the senate President Gross ruled out of order a bill establishing a peace officers' pension system, terming it an appropriation measure, which should originate in the house. The senate killed a bill that would prevent any bank from holding a majority of capital stock in another bank. It passed a bill creating a War Veterans' Memorial Commission.

Georgia House Votes 141 to 51 For Measure Repealing Poll Tax

Courier Journal Louisville Ky.

Senate Already Had Passed Bill

2-1-45

By the Associated Press.

The Georgia House of Representatives by an overwhelming vote yesterday complied with Gov. Ellis Arnall's request for immediate repeal of the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting. The State Senate had taken a similar stand last week.

The vote was 141 for repeal to 51 against.

The Tennessee House of Representatives at the same time rejected a poll tax repeal bill by a vote of 56 to 34.

Acceptance Indicated.

The Georgia House acted after a day of debate on a measure which was offered as a substitute for the Senate-approved repealer. The House act retains permanent registration of voters as opposed to the Senate measure's provision for biennial registrations.

The House ordered immediate transmission of its bill to the Senate where President Frank Gross said it probably would be called up today. Senate leaders indicated they would accept the House substitute. 2-1-45

Speaker Roy V. Harris and floor leader Adie Durden led the repeal forces. They turned back every effort of opponents to delay or oppose the measure.

President Frank Gross of the Senate led the repeal forces in that body to victory last week 31-19 after Governor Arnall told the Assembly in joint session that he would suspend the tax unless the Assembly acted.

Next year's race for Governor was the backdrop for the lengthy debate in the House.

Representative McNall of Chatham said that former Gov. Eugene Talmadge had "forced the hand" of Governor Arnall and other prospective candidates by announcing he favored abolishing the levy. 2-1-45

The Savannah legislator also said he believed that "Henry Wallace (former Vice President) and his crowd had influenced our Governor in bringing this issue before the people.'

The vote by the Tennessee House on the repealer bill, which would eliminate the tax as a prerequisite to voting in party primaries, came after extended debate in which all but one speaker argued against rejection of the bill, stressing the possibility that action on this one bill might result in barring consideration of six other poll tax bills introduced in the House, including one exempting those who have had military service from obligation to pay the poll tax. 2-1-45

The Tennessee Constitution provides that when a bill has been rejected the same Legislature cannot pass a bill of similar substance.

GEORGIA'S CONSTITUTION GIVEN OVERHAULING; NO PLANS MADE FOR NEGRO VOTING IN PRIMARIES

Black Dispatch Okla. City Okla.

Say They Do Not Fear Negro Vote, But That Negroes May Be Hoodwinked by White Group

3-3-45

IGNORE POLITICAL PARTIES IN DOCUMENT

ATLANTA.—(ANP)—A dramatic plea for the right of Negroes to vote in the Democratic primaries of Georgia was defeated in the Georgia senate Tuesday. The plea was made by Senator Roy McGinty, publisher of the liberal Calhoun (Ga.) Times.

The legislature, which recently received national commendation for abolishing poll taxes, turned thumbs down on the Calhoun solon's views in an overwhelming voice vote. 3-3-45

The rejection came upon McGinty's urging the senate to retain in the new state constitution the regulations governing the party primaries.

Redrafters of the constitution and the state house of representatives had eliminated from the proposed new constitution all reference to primaries in a move designed to prevent the decision of the United States Supreme court in the Texas primary case from applying to "white" democratic primaries in Georgia. 3-3-45

Prominent liberal Georgians and organizations had requested the redrafting commission to retain rules governing primaries in the interest of "good government." Such request had been sent Gov. Ellis B. Arnall and commission members when the idea was proposed at the first meeting of the body last year. The requests and efforts were ignored and apparently the Georgia senate was carrying out the view already supported in the house of representatives Sen. McGinty in urging retention of primary regulations, observed that the framers of the present state constitution did not deny Negroes the right to participate in Democratic primaries. He said further that "perhaps we are not so much afraid of the Negro vote as we are the way some white people might use the Negro."

As to the fear of some white people that Negroes might control elections, McGinty said Negro Georgians can now vote in the general election. He expressed fear that in the new proposed set-up politicians might run in the primaries without the people themselves having a voice and that "Georgia needs more, not fewer primary laws."

Defeat of McGinty's proposal came after a reply by Sen. Wallace Harrell of Quitman, chairman of the senate constitution committee, struck the poll tax out of the con-Harrell urged the outright elimination of all references to the primaries, saying that political parties could make their own rules for their parties and that tll citizens could vote in the general elections.

vote overwhelmed McGinty's proposal, and without opposition

McGinty, co-author of the bill to repeal the poll tax, won the Georgia Press Association prize last year for the most courageous editorial. It concerned the move to repeal the poll tax.

Thereupon, the senate by voice

Poll Tax- Georgia

Vet Poll Tax Bill Faces Tough Field

Atlanta World Ga.

BY CLIFF MACKAY
(Atlanta World Managing Editor)

Despite repeated contentions of proponents that the repeal of poll taxes as a prerequiste to voting in Georgia would not affect the political status of Negro citizens, opposition in the state house of representatives to a bill exempting returning veterans from payment of the tax appeared headed for defeat when the house reconvenes Monday morning. 1-19-45

Opponents of the measure, largely Talmadge supporters, based their most heated arguments on the fear that the bill would become an 'opening wedge' in lowering all of the restrictions which have been erected around the ballot in Georgia.

Chief fear was hinged on the possibility that the state's million-odd Negro citizens would become enfanchised.

Though the bill, introduced by Representative Ben Fortson of Wilkes, limited the abolition of the tax to veterans only, opponents debated the whole issue of the poll tax.

Representative Frank McNall of Chatman, served as keynote speaker for the opponents, turning on all of the old organ stops about "Nigras taking over our seats in the legislature" if any of the restrictions, particularly the poll tax were lowered. 1-19-45

"Where did this idea of removing the poll tax originate anyway?" asked McNall and answering his own question, declared, "It's just a Yankee idea to throw open the vote to n . . . . . s and communists."

"The Communist party and the Civil Liberties Union is the father of this bill," he shouted, "It was not born in the minds of any southerners. It's just another trick to give the vote to the n . . . s. I shall never forget when I conferred with a Democratic leader in a northern city. I asked him why was it that his organization was so solicitous to the Negro vote and why they gave them so much patronage. He explained to me that the Negroes had 5,000 votes and those votes were the balance of power. If the Democrats wanted to win they had to have those votes."

Proponents of the measure sought to prove that repeal of the poll tax would not change the status quo on the Negro vote. 1-19-45

"Fear that white supremacy will be threatened is needless," asserted Mrs. Helen Douglas Mankin of Fulton. "The Negro situation can be handled by other means than a voting tax that hits the whites six times as hard as it does the blacks," she asserted.

The poll tax was termed the "most damnable" ever assessed against a free people by Representative John Williams of Coffee County, pointing out that both of Georgia's senators. George and Russell were against it and fought it only in the Congress on the grounds that federal abolition would interfere with states' rights

Asserting that the poll tax was really the brain child of Negro legislators who formerly sat in the Georgia legislature along with "carpetbaggers," in 1878, Representative C. T. Guyton of Effingham, put himself on record as opposed to repeal on the grounds that "now a lot of Negroes and communists want to repeal it so the n . . . . . s can control the South." 1-19-45

Only the adoption of an adjournment motion by Representative J. W. Culpepper of Fayette, is believed to have staved off defeat for the Fortson measure.

Representative Fortson, apparently not distrusted by the opposition to his move, disclosed following adjournment that he intended to introduce another measure calling for the abolishment of the poll tax entirely, even though the bill limiting abolition to veterans is defeated. 1-19-45

Senate President Frank Gross, also declared that he intended to introduce a companion measure on the poll tax in the senate early next week.

Governor Arnall, who heads a self-appointed commissioned to study the poll tax, has steered clear of the current debate in the legislature and his most ardent supporters remained silent in the house Thursday during the heated debate.

Talmadge Trickery Blocks Poll Tax Bill, Fortson Says

Atlanta Constitution Ga.

1-22-45 By M. L. ST. JOHN.

Political trickery to kill efforts in the present legislature to abolish the poll tax, and thereby make it a gubernatorial campaign issue in 1946, has been charged by Rep. Ben Fortson Jr., of Wilkes county. Fortson's bill to permanently exempt all war veterans from paying the voting tax comes up for a decision in the house today.

Fortson observed that although former Gov. Talmadge came out for abolishing the tax, friends of the ex-Governor in the house bitterly fought the Fortson measure.

"It looks mighty funny to me that Talmadge's supporters want to kill my bill when Gene said the best thing this legislature could do would be to abolish the poll tax," Fortson continued. "It looks like Talmadge might be having his workers prevent the present legislature from abolishing the poll tax, so he could run his 1946 campaign as a crusade for poll tax repeal."

The Wilkes countian said he would ask the solons to consider his veterans' bill today in the light of a measure to exempt Georgia's heroes from paying money to exercise the freedom of the ballot, for which they now are fighting. He said the debate Thursday got away from this question and went into a full discussion on the entire poll tax question.

The Fortson bill has unanimous approval of the ways and means committee, headed by Rep. Henry Arnall, when it was reported to the floor. 1-22-45

Fortson sees more strength for is bill today than was indicated Thursday. When debate was suddenly halted by an adjournment motion, the measure appeared certain for defeat.

"I have just talked with a representative of one of Georgia's most conservative counties," Fortson said last night. "He told me he talked with his people when he spent the weekend at home in an effort to learn their sentiments on the poll tax, and also on a governor being allowed to succeed himself. The people were overwhelmingly in favor of abolishing the tax, and of permitting a governor to run as many times as he desired."

Sen. Frank Gross will launch a fight in the upper house, probably tomorrow, for outright repeal o the poll tax.

The final public hearing by senate and house committees on the revised constitution will be held at 2 p. m. today. The committees expect to complete their study this week, and bring the document to the floor next week.

As they approach the features of the revised constitution, Gov. Arnall has reminded the solons that the people want strong home rule, a constitutional merit system and a constitutional penal board. He also said the people want the right to elect a governor as many times as they wish. If these features are not provided in the revised constitution, the legislature will be acting adverse to the wishes of the majority of the people of Georgia, Gov. Arnall declared.

Southern Progress

Survey Mid-monthly

With the repeal of the poll tax achieved at the recent session of the Georgia legislature, only seven states now remain with this form of vote restriction. They are Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. In three of these, poll tax elimination measures are awaiting legislative consideration. A proposed constitutional amendment in Tennessee to this effect must be passed by both houses of the legislature, not only in this year's session but again in 1947, before being submitted to the people for a vote. Similar anti-poll tax constitutional amendments are being proposed in Texas and South Carolina.

April 1945

Though the Georgia legislature repealed the poll tax, it defeated an attempt to eliminate "white primaries" by refusing to include in a proposed revision of the state constitution a guarantee of the Negro's right to participation. Among the social provisions included in the constitution are: creation of a merit board, under which all non-policy making state employes would be hired; establishment of a board of corrections to handle pardons and paroles; creation of a state veterans department to handle veterans affairs. The proposed constitution will be presented to the voters in August.

Among other accomplishments of the Georgia general assembly, which adjourned in late February, were the passage of an improved child labor law; and the creation of the State Citizens Council, a continuation of the present State Citizen's Volunteer Council, "to coordinate volunteer civilian war and postwar programs and promote the development of human resources in the state."

Georgia Poll Tax Appears Doomed; Four Bills Before State Legislature

Southern Editors Join Campaign for Outright Appeal

By Fred Maguire

Southern progressives have high hopes of witnessing the death of the poll tax this year in Georgia, where four bills aimed at the tax—two of them for outright repeal—have been introduced into the State Legislature.

One of the repeal bills is before the Senate; the other before the House. Two other bills in the House call respectively for:

¶ A statewide referendum on abolition.

¶ Exemption from the tax of service men and women, only.

The wave of sentiment which has built up against the tax especially in the past few weeks has caused veteran political observers to predict that no half-way measures, such as a referendum, or class exemption, will do, but that outright repeal will pass, thus ending a tax which has been on the Georgia statute books for the past 75 years.

These observers discount the hostile reception of the Repeal Bill in the House, when it was greeted with cries of 'nigger' and 'carpetbagger.'

Why It Will Pass

They base their prediction principally on these factors:

¶ That Georgia's New Deal Gov. Ellis Arnall favors repeal, though he has not yet made forthright public declaration.

¶ That politicians generally feel that the tax will be repealed by the Federal Government if the State does not act, thus leaving them in the position of facing an enfranchised electorate, aroused by their opposition to enfranchisement.

¶ Growth of newspaper sentiment in the State against the tax especially within the past year.

The sentiments of Gov. Arnall are seen revealed in the fact that the Senate Repeal Bill was introduced by Senate President Frank Gross, administration spokesman; and Progressive Sen. Roy McGinty, editor and publisher of the *Calhoun Times*, influential weekly which has carried on a vigorous campaign against the tax for the past year.

Demagogs on Wagon

This bill was introduced Jan. 9, the second day of the legislative session, and the same day that Gov. Arnall, in a 16-point legislative program, called for a study of the tax.

All three House bills were introduced by Rep. Ben Fortson, Jr., of rural Wilkes County.

With the sweep of repeal so well defined, old-line demagogs are sprinting for the bandwagon. There's super-reactionary ex-Gov. Eugene Talmadge, now attempting a political comeback, who led the scramble by coming out for a sort of repeal Jan. 3, though with characteristic "white supremacy" reservations. Talmadge said:

"Let's have all white people vote irrespective as to whether any taxes have been paid or not. The Negroes as a class don't care to vote anyway, unless they are encouraged by some Communistic elements."

Talmadge's pronouncement beat the filing of the Administration Senate measure, which draws no color line, by six full days.

The long fight for repeal conducted by the progressives of the State began to speed up six years ago when the Georgia League of Women Voters took up the battle. They and other organizations were aided by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, organized in 1938, to cover the 13 southern states and the first organization in the South to fight the poll tax. The Conference promoted the formation of the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, sponsored the first anti-Poll-Tax Bill in Congress. Formed also was the Southern Electoral Reform League, followed in 1940 by the formation of the Georgia Electoral Reform League, headed by Judge Edgar Watkins, of Atlanta, well-known liberal.

Press Support

The movement had at first encountered heavy opposition from the press of the Pecan State, but in 1940, the tide began to swing when the nationally known *Cobb County Times* embraced the cause. Slowly newspaper support was enlisted, including dailies such as the *Atlanta Journal*, the *Macon News* the *Columbus Ledger*, and the *Augusta Chronicle*, and weeklies such as the *Claxton Enterprise*.

Indicative of the attitude of enlightened newspaper editors of the South are the words of Harry S. Strozier, editorial writer for the *Macon News*. In an address last Dec. 22, at an Atlanta meeting of the Committee of Editors and Writers of the South, Strozier said:

Ethridge

Talmadge

Gov. Ellis Arnall

Repeal Not Enough

"We can't fight battles for democracy all over the world unless we have it here . . . I want to see the poll tax abolished and the Negro enfranchised and there is not anybody afraid of either one of these propositions in the State of Georgia, except the politicians who don't know anything has happened in the last hundred years."

Others expressed similar views at that meeting, attended by 51 editors and writers, including eight Negroes, from all over the South, pledged itself to the defeat of the tax.

Chairman Mark Ethridge, publisher of the Louisville *Courier Journal*, in opening the meeting, described the poll tax and other restrictions on suffrage as "a complete denial of the democratic process, a complete humiliation, to my mind, of all people who profess to have a faith in democracy."

But, progressives have no illusions that repeal of the poll tax in all eight states where it is in effect would bring universal franchise.

In an interview here in New York, Dr. James A. Dombrowski, executive secretary of the Southern Conference, told PM that the Conference program includes the wiping out of other artificial restrictions on registration by which the reactionaries have kept their grasp on power.

As illustration, Dr. Dombrowski pointed to "chaos in South Carolina," following a Texas Supreme Court decision outlawing the 'white primary' in Texas.

"The Texas decision," he said, "declared that the primary was part of the regular election, and that no machinery could be set up to prevent any group from participating because of race. South Carolina's 'white supremacy' legislature, to forestall any possible similar action in that State, actually voided the primaries by repealing all laws governing them. This throws nominations back into the hands of party caucuses, thus getting around everything, since nomination in the South usually constitutes election.

"We are convinced that the full franchise will mean the end of the Bilbos, the Rankins and the Coxes. We know that such men are kept in power because the Southern vote average is one out of five, compared with four out of five for the rest of the nation.

"It isn't generally realized," he continued, "how popular resentment against the poll tax has built up in the South."

Governor Recommends

Atlanta Daily World.

Repeal Of Poll Tax

1-24-45

Governor Arnall recommended repeal of the $1 state poll tax and announced that, if the General Assembly does not repeal it, he will suspend it by executive order.

Shortly after the governor made that statement Tuesday in an address before a joint session of the Senate and House, the Ways and Means committee voted favorably on a bill to repeal the poll tax. This action paved the way for another floor battle on the issue later this week.

The governor said in his remarks: "In my judgment the poll tax is on the way out. In my judgment, it serves no possible good and in my judgment it should be eliminated."

SOME MIGHT DISAGREE

He said that some of his friends are going to disagree with him on his position, but he pointed out that he had studied the matter and his decision was based on "an honest conviction about the poll tax."

The governor's action came as the Senate had before it a bill by Senate President, Frank Gross, calling for outright repeal of the tax.

The House on Monday of this week defeated a measure authored and presented by Rep. Ben W. Fortson, Jr., of Wilkes county, which would have exempted veteran from the poll tax forever.

Speaking out on the hotly contested issue for the first time, the governor said Attorney General Head had ruled that he had the authority to suspend the tax until the next meeting of the Assembly.

overnor Arnall termed the poll tax a "symbol to pillage the good name of the south."

Bill to Exempt Vets From Poll Tax Beaten

Richmond Times

1-23-45 Va.

ATLANTA, Jan. 22—(AP)—The Georgia House of Representatives defeated 60 to 108 today a bill to exempt veterans of all wars from payment of the $1-a-year poll tax.

The decisive vote was the first showdown on a drive to eliminate the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting.

Representative Ben W. Fortson, Jr., author of the veterans measure, said he would press for a vote on two other bills—one to repeal the tax outright and the other to submit the repeal question to a general election.

Arnall Demands

Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky.

Repeal of Poll Tax

1-24-45

Tells Georgia Legislature He'll Suspend Levy If It Isn't Lifted

Atlanta, Jan. 23 (AP)—Asserting he was "tired of seeing my state kicked about in Congress" because of its poll tax restriction on voting, Gov. Ellis Arnall told the Georgia Legislature today to repeal the levy or he would suspend it by executive order.

Arnall said the State's attorney general ruled the Governor has authority to suspend the tax until the next meeting of the Assembly. Former Gov. Eugene Talmadge, who was defeated by Arnall two years ago and is regarded as a 1946 gubernatorial candidate, revealed last night that he had contemplated such a suspension in 1936. Talmadge already has advocated repeal of the tax. 1-24-45

Hits At Race Issue.

Arnall hit sharply at the race issue, asserting proponents need not fear that removal of the tax would permit Negroes to increase their voting power as long as the State retained its present white primary system.

Forecasting federal poll tax action unless the State repealed the levy, Arnall said he saw "danger of changing our representation in the Electoral College." Electoral College representation is now based on the size of a State's Congressional delegation.

Reaction to the Governor's appeal varied and it was apparent hot fights were in prospect on the issue. 1-24-45

Assails Talmadge.

Arnall's address to the Legislature followed action of the House yesterday in rejecting, 108 to 61, a bill which would exempt war veterans from the poll tax.

Shortly before Arnall spoke, Senator George Y. Harrell, Lumpkin, debating a poll tax repeal bill, said the measure "originated in Harlem, N. Y., and has no place in the South." Commenting on Talmadge's statement, Harrell said the former Democratic Governor had "joined the Republican Party in principle—and I don't need a durned Republican to tell me how to vote."

Arnall, asserting he had no present desire to seek re-election but might want the office in the future, asked the Legislature to remove a constitutional ban on a Georgia Governor serving successive terms but to make the change effective after he leaves office. 1-24-45

Legislative committees, working on a redraft of the Constitution, acted swiftly on his suggestion. The Senate committee amended its draft to remove the succession ban. The House committee voted 24-12 to retain it. In prospect was a vigorous floor fight on the issue.

Poll Tax Motion Tabled In Tennessee House

Nashville, Jan. 23 (AP)—A motion calling for open hearings on proposed legislation to repeal the poll tax in Tennessee was tabled in the House of Representatives of the General Assembly today.

GEORGIA EDITORS SAY:

Atlanta Journal-Constitution Ga.

POLL TAX 1-23-45

(Dalton Citizen)

The bill to eliminate payment of poll taxes in Georgia seems headed for some tough sledding. It should be approved, however. So many are now exempt from

The Genuine Aspect of Southern Pride

Courier-Journal 1-25-45 Louisville, Ky

Georgia's legislature has defeated the first of a series of bills designed to remove the poll tax as a qualification for voting in its state. But this action is balanced by the instant warning by Georgia's Governor ELLIS ARNALL that if the legislature persists in maintaining this undemocratic money bar to a free suffrage in the American tradition, he will remove it by executive order; and so Georgia is not to be counted off as without hope of emancipation from stubborn and perverse custom. 1-25-45

Governor ARNALL makes plain his awareness that the legislature, doggedly standing for perpetuation of restricted voting, is cutting the ground from under the stock Southern argument that this is a matter which should be left to the states to settle. When the states, however, retire behind this fancied right for the purpose of doing nothing at all, there is no longer any validity to the South's opposition to federal action. Governor ARNALL, of the South, has proved through all his record that he is jealous of the South's prestige for competency and democracy, and he wants the South itself to end the increasing likelihood of reforms applied upon the South from without. For, in the end, there is no way of preventing anti-poll tax legislation, from Washington if not from the capitals of the eight states which cling to an institution generally condemned, even by the enlightened Southerners of whom Governor ARNALL is a type.

The Governor is properly indignant at the fallacies and speciousness of the arguments which Southern politicians, as in his own legislature within the last week, advance in support of the poll tax. Not one argument is founded on truth or reason, and it is hard to see how men may defend them, unless it be out of sheer perversity.

The Georgia debate revealed the old points as threadbare and shoddy. A representative, for example, shouts that the poll tax is not a tax on voting, but a source of revenue which the schools sorely need; and this is not true. Outside of the fact that the poll tax provides but 1 per cent of the total sum spent in Georgia for education, the truth is that it is not a genuine tax in the first place, because no one ever pursues it or undertakes to collect it when the citizen does not pay. However, if it conceivably is needed for revenue, it could be imposed and collected like other taxes and not tied up with the right to vote, as no other taxes are tied. 1-25-45

The principal other point which seemed to concern the Georgia poll-taxers was the fear that the fight to remove the poll tax is a fight on the system of keeping Negroes from the polls. To be sure, the orators on both sides said the Southern states could continue to keep the Negro a non-voter in the essential primary elections by their own customs of registration and more or less intimidation; but it was significant that none of the poll-taxers spoke except with reference to Negro editors and leaders, in the South and elsewhere, who have urged an end of the poll tax. 1-25-45

The simple truth on this point is that removal of the poll tax would enfranchise more white people than Negroes. And the ultimate truth is there can be no defense, under any interpretation of the American idea, in withholding the ballot from Negroes as participants in our life, contributors to and beneficiaries of our institutions.

However, there is no need or intention here to go over again all the ground of debate on the poll tax issue. It would be too much like whipping a dead horse, for everything has been said that can possibly be said, and there remain for defense of the system only the dry bones of rationalization long ago proved fleshless and spectral. The only point just now is to applaud those Southern leaders like ELLIS ARNALL who, in pride which is deeper and more genuine than the racial and sectional sensitiveness of hotspurs on the other side of the argument, want the South to do the proper things for itself which, in default of this, others inevitably will do for it.

payment of this tax it isn't fair to require them to dig down in their pockets for a dollar to pay for the privilege of voting. So long as Georgia has its white primaries, and they'll be here for many years, the race question is no argument for poll taxes. Few Negroes are in general elections anyway. We also like biennial registration. That eliminates the danger of political machines voting so many dead people and persons who have moved to other communities. Don't kid yourself, this is done to a large extent in some sections of Georgia. We recall a few years ago when The Augusta Herald started checking the registry list and found two dozen voters registered from one well known bawdy house. It was well known in that community no more than a half dozen girls stayed there at one time and they came and went so frequently none had time to establish a legal residence. We dare say this is true of other machine-controlled cities in Georgia.

Poll Tax To Die, Arnall Declares

Atlanta Constitution Ga. 1-24-45

By M. L. ST. JOHN.

Georgia's dollar-a-year poll tax apparently is going to be killed, but whether at the hands of Gov. Arnall or by act of the general assembly, remains to be seen.

The Governor yesterday asked the legislature to abolish the tax as a prerequisite for voting—and informed the senators and representatives, with apologies, that if they did not do it, he would end the tax by executive order.

Members of the assembly believed that very few votes were changed by the Governor's appearance, however, as most legislators had definite convictions on this question. Arnall did sway those few who were "on the fence," it was agreed.

The Governor's statement drew the ire of some solons, and Rep. James Dykes, of Bleckley, spearheaded opposition sentiment with a proposal to repeal by law the Governor's authority to suspend collection of taxes. 1-24-45

Dykes, who described himself as a friend of Arnall's, said he was so irked that he had completed an outline of the bill in his mind even before the Governor had finished the hour-and-one-half address in which he traced a broad program of proposed legislation and warned that unless the state acted the federal government would.

"If one man is going to countermand the actions of 257 legislators we might as well go out of business," Dykes said. His feeling was echoed repeatedly in cloakroom conversation of both house and senate. 1-24-45

What amounted to an initial test on the legislature's stand came a few hours after Arnall spoke when the house committee considering the revised constitution voted flatly against including a poll tax abolition section in the new constitution. The vote was 23-14 against a motion by Rep. Pannell, of Murray county. The same body also downed by voice vote a proposal by Rep. Smith, of Bryan county, to eliminate the poll tax and also to require permanent registration of voters.

The senate, which suspended debate on the bill for total abolition to hear the Governor speak to the joint session, will resume its battle this morning. A vote may be had today. Senate President Frank Gross and Sen. Roy McGinty were encouraged by the Governor's stand. Opposition is led by President Pro Tem Spence Grayson, of Savannah, and Floor Leader G. Everett Millican, of Atlanta. 1-24-45

By unanimous action, the House Ways and Means Committee yesterday voted to ask that Ben Fortson's poll tax abolition bill "do pass." House Speaker Roy Harris indicated, however, that the house would await senate action before going back into a poll tax discussion.

There were several legislators who believed the poll tax abolition measure, which is meeting stubborn oppositsion, would be passed if a referendum were attached. The house already has rejected, 108 to 60, a measure to exempt all war veterans.

Representative Claude Pittman, of Bartow, who helped the successful fight to kill the veterans' expansison bill, said he would vote for the bill exempting everyone from paying the voting tax.

"I opposed the measure to exempt war veterans because it is class legislation, and I do not think the veterans want it," Pittman asserted. "It is impossible to enforce such class legislation that exempts hundreds of citizens. If we are going to kill the poll tax, let's do it all at once, and be fair to everyone, and not try to kill it a little at a time." 1-24-45

Sen. N. G. Slaughter, of Athens, expressed belief that Gov. Arnall added many votes for the poll tax abolition measure. Slaughter said the bill would pass, if it had a referendum provision attached. Sen. D. L. Deal, of Statesboro, personally opposed killing the poll tax, but would not predict what action the senate might take.

ARNALL'S SPEECH LAUDED

Reps. Max Looper, of Dawsonville; Jim Evitt Jr., of Ringgold; John Greer, of Lakeland, and Ben Fortson Jr., of Washington, lauded the governor's address and expected it to add a little strength to the bill's chances of passage. Rep. H. O. Hubert Jr., of Decatur, and Rep. Spencer Connerat, of Savannah, were among those who believed the legislature will refuse to kill the poll tax.

However, most of the pros and cons agreed with a statement made by Rep. Connerat:

"The speech was a good one, and it showed the governor is sincere. But it didn't change the opinions of the legislators on the poll tax." 1-24-45

In asking the legislature to kill the poll tax, Gov. Arnall said the federal government would do this within the next four or six years, and he felt it is the state's duty to act.

Arnall asked elimination of the tax in these sharply-clipped sentences:

"In my judgment the poll tax is definitely on the way out."

"NO POSSIBLE SERVICE"

"In my judgment the poll tax renders no possible service."

"In my judgment the people want the poll tax eliminated."

"In my judgment, the poll tax should be eliminated."

Then he added: "I am tired of seeing Georgia kicked about in Washington, and hearing our people called barbarians who hate democracy and prevent the citizens from voting." 1-24-45

Arnall defied any tax collector to look at his list of voters and say accurately who is qualified to vote. So many exemptions from this poll tax make it impossible for an accurate record to be kept.

The Governor said that "without wishing to make any threats," he would suspend the poll tax by executive order if the law remains on the statute books when the legislature adjourns.

Arnall said that abolition of the poll tax would not entitle "unqualified persons" to vote in the white primaries. 1-24-45

ROAD MILEAGE ISSUE

Aside from the hot poll tax issue, Gov. Arnall told the legislature that it is "your responsibility to equalize the system of distribution of state aid road mileage to counties." He said he was informed half the counties received more than their share of the state road money, and added that this was the fault of the law and not the fault of the administration.

Asking indorsement of a merit system in the new constitution Gov. Arnall declared: "There are people on the state pay rolls today who haven't hit a lick of work in six months. I didn't put them there. You members of the legislature had them put on the pay rolls. We must end this mess of patronage and put our state government on the same economical basis we have our private business. A merit system would do this."

Outlining his legislative program, Arnall told the assembly that a bill would be introduced to create a $100,000,000 development authority "to build up our state and more intelligently develop our economy" after the war. One project, he said, would be port development for Savannah and Brunswick, adding that if the state failed to act, the federal government might undertake similar work at Charleston, S. C., and Jacksonville, Florida. 1-24-45

ASKS EDUCATION PRIORITY

He asked legislative priority on measures to give aid to education and promised he would put school teachers on a 12-month pay basis before leaving office "if good luck holds out."

He also asked that the new constitution provide for a "degree of home rule—the degree to be determined by the legislature"; that it establish a merit system for state employes and that it establish the Department of Corrections on a constitutional basis.

He also asked the legislature to set up a $5,000,000 resettlement corporation to provide loans for veterans desiring to purchase homes, farms or businesses.

Solons' Reactions Vary On Arnall Poll Tax Talk

Atlanta Constitution

By The ASSOCIATED PRESS.

Comments of legislators following the "surprise" speech in which Gov. Arnall told the general assembly he would suspend the poll tax if they did not repeal it included: 1

Senate President Gross: I was delighted to know that the Governor will suspend the tax and make it possible for the thousands to vote who are now disfranchised and will continue to be if the bill does not pass.

Speaker Pro Tem Hand: It was a fine, frank speech. It seems evident we will not have to pay any poll tax at the next election.

Rep. Hubert, of DeKalb county: I think the Governor ought to abide by the wishes of the general assembly. 1-24-45

Rep. Culpepper, of Fayette county: No comment.

Rep. Hill, of Clarke county: It was the greatest speech ever made in the capitol.

Senate President Pro Tem Grayson: I think the Governor was sincere but my mind hasn't been changed. I will continue to fight repeal. And now—well, anything can happen next.

Rep. Lovett: I think the Governor has put the legislature in an embarrassing position by making certain demands which the house had already defeated. It puts him in a position of trying to dictate to the legislature legislation that should be passed for the best interests of the people.

Rep. Glisson, of Evans county: I am unconditionally opposed to abolition of the poll tax. (He charged the Governor with cracking a whip.)

Rep. Brumby, of Cobb county: I think the Governor's speech was one of the finest I've ever heard and I'm heartily in accord with his opinion on the issues discussed.

Rep. Young, of Muscogee county: It was an honest, forthright expression of the Governor's views.

Rep. Almand, of Walton county: I am glad the Governor made it. About the poll tax, don't ask me.

Rep. Hicks, of Floyd county: No comment. 1-24-45

Rep. Hooks, of Emanuel county: He was outspoken. I am convinced that he was sueaking his convictions.

Rep. Sumner, of Worth county: It was splendid. It suited me 100 per cent.

Rep. Fortson, of Wilkes county, author of poll tax repeal legislation: It was very welcome but I have no idea what chance there is

GEORGIA POLL TAX

The Guardian Boston, Mass

Abolishment of the Georgia Poll Tax has not created the wild elation of the nation's colored press as was generally expected. Reason is that colored American editors have become realists, "hard-boiled," politically intelligent. They know that the Southern Poll Tax was knocked out months ago by the Supreme Court and public opinion; that prevailing high wages made it easy for anyone to pay the tax and that returning colored veterans would eliminate the evil in a short time. The Georgia Governor's "study" of the case revealed these facts all too plainly. Moreover, by eliminating the troublesome tax, Gov. Arnall got rid of the more racial elements which the south fears most on "race" questions. Thus Georgia and other poll tax states act in their own interest at this time. Benefits to colored? We shall watch with interest.

POLL TAX DOOMED

Birmingham News

Georgia has deserted the band of eight states that have held out so long against the poll tax as a requirement for voting.

Both houses of the Georgia Legislature responded to the call of Gov. Ellis Arnall and eliminated the tax with little ado.

Now there are only seven states left. Alabama is one of them.

Virginia probably will be the next to desert this number, as there has been much stirring toward overhauling its electoral laws.

Tennessee knocked out the poll tax two years ago, but the action was nullified by the Supreme Court in a 3-2 decision. Further action was forestalled in the 1945 Legislature, now in session, by the Crump-Biggs machine, which opposed repeal of the poll tax.

Action in Alabama probably is going to be slow, but it is inevitable. There is growing sentiment to dispense with the poll tax, especially as all veterans of both World Wars I and II, white as well as black, are exempted from its payment.

The poll tax yields comparatively little revenue. It will yield a great deal less after this war is over and veterans return.

As long as this tax is maintained we face federal control of our elections. That would be a calamity, in our estimation. There is ample strength in Congress to pass an anti-poll tax bill; only a filibuster has saved us so far. That may not be enough when this war is over and Congress is prepared to give more time to domestic matters.—Huntsville Times.

Straw In The Wind

The Washington Post

The action of the Georgia Senate in voting to repeal the payment of poll taxes as a prerequisite to voting will hearten those foes of the poll-tax method of disfranchisement who believe, as The Post does, that the cooperation of the poll-tax States is essential to achieve the purpose sought by advocates of Federal anti-poll-tax legislation. Governor Arnall's threat to suspend collection of poll-tax levies, if the Assembly should defeat the repeal bill, is another indication that the South has been aroused by alien criticism of the undemocratic poll-tax laws. Events in Georgia strengthen our hope that before very long reform will come from within—not only in Georgia but in the few remaining poll-tax States.

Recently the legality of elections to Congress in the poll-tax States has been challenged on the ground that these States have more representatives than they are entitled to under the provisions of the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution. It may well be that this threat to reduce the representation in Congress of States that disfranchise their citizens for failure to pay poll taxes will strengthen the local poll-tax-repeal movement. At any rate, the cutting down of representation would be the most effective possible means of bringing pressure to bear upon recalcitrant poll-tax States. It would, moreover, be a method of pressure in strict conformity with constitutional mandates. The States could not protest that their constitutional rights had been invaded by Federal dictation of qualifications for voting. They would still be free to levy poll taxes as before, but they would have to pay a heavy and fitting penalty for doing so by submitting to a reduction in their representation in Congress.

1945 Will Go Down As Year Of Poll Tax Fight

Birmingham News

BY HENRY LESESNE

ATLANTA, June 12—(AP)—This will be remembered as the year of the poll tax fight in the South—and of the movement to retain the white primary.

The issue, or issues, came up in every state where the Legislature met.

The principal result is that Georgia repealed its poll tax. In other states the repealists made some progress.

Georgia's action leaves only seven states now levying the poll tax. In recent times, three other Southern states have abolished the tax—with, election officials insist, no noticeable change in voting.

Why did Georgia, alone among the poll tax states this year, repeal the levy which long since had become an issue nationally—an issue which, some Southerners have said, never will be settled so long as there is any outside agitation?

The answer is the state's young governor, Ellis Arnall. Arnall, who admits his granddaddy got rich working Negroes for 25 cents a day, says the Negro problem is mostly economic, and for the rest political; not a social problem at all.

"This poll tax is a political football," said Arnall. "Let's get rid of it, once and for all."

* * *

THE SAME LEGISLATURE THAT "got rid of it" adopted a streamlined constitution, for submission to the people, which omitted any reference to primaries—leaving them outside state control. This, admittedly, was intended to permit political parties to make their own membership rules.

This is an expedient, already employed in some other states, to retain the white primary in the face of the Supreme Court decision holding that Negroes could vote in the Texas Democratic primaries.

South Carolina already had removed from its lawbooks any reference to the primaries. Since the Georgia action, Arkansas has followed suit. The plan has come in for much discussion in other Southern states, notably Alabama and Florida.

After Georgia repealed the poll tax Sen. Hill, of Alabama, and three Alabama congressmen came out in favor of repealing their state's poll tax. The Legislature, however, turned thumbs down, and declined even to remove the cumulative feature of the $1.50-a-year tax. The law excuses a voter from the poll tax after the age of 45.

* * *

THE TENNESSEE LEGISLATURE repealed the poll tax a few years ago only to have the state Supreme Court declare the repealer unconstitutional. Since then, however, the privilege of voting without cash payment of the tax has been extended to service men until 1949.

A magistrate in Tennessee recently held the collection of the tax illegal, contending that the Supreme Court had, in effect, re-levied the tax. Courts can't levy taxes. Now the whole question may rum the gamut of the courts again.

The South Carolina Senate voted this year to eliminate the poll tax as a voting requirement but not as a revenue source. The House did not reach a vote, however, and the proposal goes over to January, when the Legislature meets again. The proposal, involving a constitutional amendment, would have to be approved by the voters.

A special session of the Virginia General Assembly voted in March to establish a suffrage commission to make a full study of voting requirements in Virginia, including the $1.50 a year poll tax, and to recommend changes to the next session of the Legislature in January.

North Carolina, two-party state which allows Negroes to vote in primaries, repealed the poll tax as a voting requirement as far back as 1921. State officials say that repeal has had little, if any, effect on the voting.

LOUISIANA REPEALED THE TAX in 1934. Negro voting in Louisiana is restricted by laws under which an election official may, if he wishes, require would-be registrants to "interpret satisfactorily" the constitution. Negro registration is considerably under 2,000.

Florida followed in 1937. Secretary of State R. A. Gray, who has charge of Florida election machinery, says "I think that it is well we did away with it, but if it had the slightest effect on our elections, it was not noticeable."

Ruling Savannah 'Party' Worried Over Poll Tax Abolition's Effect

By M. L. ST. JOHN,
Constitution Staff Writer.

SAVANNAH, Ga., July 14.—The smooth-working "Party" which has ruled Savannah and Chatham county without successful opposition for 20 years is concerned over abolition of the poll tax, as provided in the new constitution, because it may double the number of voters here.

Without the widespread criticism that has smeared Augusta's Cracker Party, and minus any organized opposition in its home town, the "Party" came into being about three generations ago. It was upset in a mayor's race in 1923, but quickly returned to power in 1925, and has picked the people's city and county rulers for them ever since that time.

The voters apparently are pleased with the type government they are getting from the "Party." Very few persons have bothered to even run against a "Party" candidate in many, many years.

UNSUCCESSFUL VENTURE

In 1938, Shelby Myrick and Girard Cohen, both of whom formerly had been sent to the legislature by the "Party," and Spencer Connerat unsuccessfully opposed "Party" Candidates Spence Grayson, Frank McNall and David Atkinson for the legislature. Today, Connerat is a member of the legislature as a "Party" man.

Paul Seabrook, an independent, upset the "Party" in 1923 when he was elected mayor in the general election, beating the "Party's" incumbent Mayor Murray M. Stewart, who was running as a Democratic nominee. Stewart had a close call in the Democratic primary. He defeated James M. Rogers by only nine votes. While an enemy of the Savannah "Party" organization, Rogers refused to run as an independent after participating in the Democratic primary. The opposition ran Seabrook. He served one term and did not offer for re-election. "Party" Candidate Robert M. Hull defeated A. W. Moorehouse.

CHANGING OPPOSITION

The opposition to the "Party" reportedly changed from time to time, and therefore does not consolidate into a standing opposition party as the Citizens' Union against the Cracker Party in Augusta. The "Party" apparently tries to give a good city and county administration, heeds the voice of critics and wins over much of its opposition in this way.

Latest instance of this is seen in the administration's cleanup of the slot machines here. When Judge Dave Atkinson, who was a "Party" man when he was in the legislature; the grand jury, women's organizations, churches and the newspapers demanded a halt to professional gambling, the "Party's" city administration resented the criticism at first.

But within a short time city council outlawed the pinball machines, and thereby gave its temporary critics what they wanted. While there were rumors that this campaign of Atkinson's marked the split of the "Party," few believed it to be anything other than an incident which has been solved satisfactorily.

LOOSELY KNIT PARTY

The Savannah "Party" is a more loosely knit organization than Augusta's Cracker Party. It does not even have a name. Its congenial leader, Johnny Bouhan, prominent lawyer and member of the state highway board, holds no title, was not elected, but is merely recognized as the head of the "Party." He probably does not hold in his hands the potential dictatorial powers held by Cracker Party Leader John Kennedy, who personally watches Augusta's city government from within (serving as public safety commissioner). Unlike the Augusta Crackers, the Savannah "Party" does not assess city and county employes for "voluntary" contributions to the party's war chest.

Where the Augusta Crackers profess to be a democratic organization in which the lowliest member can have a voice in nominating candidates, the Savannah "Party" frankly admits that its candidates are handpicked by the small innercouncil.

WARDS ORGANIZED

The Savannah "Party" has its wards organized just as the Crackers do the Augusta wards. In Augusta the Crackers say their candidates for city council are nominated at ward meetings. Since Savannah councilmen are chosen from the city at large rather than from wards, this is impossible.

Asked how an ordinary "Party" member would go about having his choice nominated, a leader said:

"He would make the recommendation to his ward leader, who, in turn, would make the recommendation to a district leader, who, in turn, would make the recommendation to the innercircle."

That is, of course, if each of these subleaders saw fit to transmit the recommendation. If anyone is not satisfied with the way the "Party" selects the candidates, there is nothing to prevent them from running independent candidates in the primary or general election. It is hardly feasible, however, in view of the "Party's" strength.

RELIGIOUS PHASE

The "Party" keeps is strength by dealing fairly in patronage with the various religious faiths. Memberships of the city council and county commissioners are proportioned among the Protestants, Catholics, Jews and German-Americans. In the city council are seven Protestants (or "Crackers"), two Catholics (or "Irish"), two Jews and one German-American.

The county commissioners include three Crackers, one Irishman and one Jew. The inner circle of the "Party" includes leaders of these faiths, and they are the ones who decide who will be the "Party's" candidates.

The Irish in the inner-circle pick the Irish candidates, and the Crackers, Jews and German-Americans do not interfere. The Crackers pick the Crackers, without interference from others, etc. The head of the "Party" is an Irishman, but the Crackers get the most patronage, based on voting strength.

It is interesting to note that one law firm here furnished three leaders of the "Party." W. W. Osborne headed the Party several years ago. Now Bouhan, a third law partner, is the leader.

BOUHAN POPULAR

The friendly Bouhan is well liked down here. Two years ago he was awarded the Lucas trophy, a civic award given annually to the citizen making the most worthwhile contribution to the city. It was given to Bouhan for his work on highway development—before he joined the State Highway Board.

Unlike the Augusta Cracker Party, which is fought by its two local newspapers, the Savannah "Party" is not opposed by the local newspapers. (The Augusta Crackers say this lack of an unfriendly press is the reason the Savannah "Party" is not as widely criticized over the state.)

The attitude of the newspapers on the "Party" is seen in this editorial comment from the Savannah Morning News:

"We believe most thoughtful citizens will join the Morning News in agreeing that on the whole our mayor and our commission have given first-rate leadership in their respective spheres, and that they have frequently fought for and advanced the best interests of the city and county."

PEOPLE APPEAR SATISFIED

The city and county are reportedly in good financial condition, and most people apparently like the administrations. Major criticism of the "Party" recently has been that it condoned wide-open gambling.

Like the Augusta Crackers, the Savannah "Party" has paid poll taxes of many citizens as an added precaution to stay in power. Abolition of the poll tax will end these poor citizens' obligations to the "Party" and, at the same time, will enfranchise thousands of new voters. The "Party" is apprehensive as to what will be the attitude of these new citizens.

JACKSON, MICH.
CITIZEN-PATRIOT
Cir. D. 28,376 — S. 28,129
AUG 12 1945

No Poll Tax in Georgia.

Georgia, long considered the most backward state of the Solid South, has adopted a new "streamlined" constitution that omits all mention of the poll tax—the one device which prevents Negroes from voting in the South.

But even before the new state constitution was approved by the voters the state legislature had voted to repeal the poll tax. So the new constitution simply writes into the basic law of the state what the popular assembly had already decided to do.

A federal bill to abolish the poll tax has been talked to death in the Senate, although given approval in the House on three different occasions. The question has always been raised whether it was the right of the federal government or of the states to determine the qualifications of a voter.

Now we have evidence that the Solid South is not so solid as it once was. The individual states are one by one abolishing the poll tax, and that not only gives the Negro the right to vote in those states but the reform is accomplished in keeping with American traditions that states determine the qualifications of the voters and not the government in Washington.

A young governor is giving Georgia an enlightened leadership in this and other needed reforms. He has set a pace for other southern states to follow.

YOUNGSTOWN, O.
Vindicator and Telegram
Circ. D. 77,362 - S. 94,069
AUG 11 1945

Georgia Kills the Poll Tax

World-shaking events connected with the war have monopolized attention so that few noticed a recent favorable development at home: abolition of the poll tax in Georgia.

The Georgia legislature had previously voted to repeal the poll tax. The new "streamlined" constitution, adopted Aug. 7 by popular vote, confirms the legislature's action by making no mention of the tax in the section on voters' qualifications. As the dynamic Governor Arnall has said, the new constitution "puts but two qualifications upon the right of all Georgians to vote: that they shall be at least 18 years old, and that they shall be literate enough to be able to understand what they're voting on and about."

Only seven states now make a citizen pay a tax before he can vote. The requirement has been in slow retreat since 1920, when North Carolina abolished it. Later Louisiana and Florida followed suit. The Tennessee legislature voted a repealer, but it was held unconstitutional. In six other states also—Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, South Carolina, Texas, and Virginia—the state constitutions must be amended to get repeal. In most of the states the process is difficult: two approvals by the legislature, which meets only once in two years, and then a referendum by the people.

Because of this cumbersome machinery the poll tax is dying a slow death—intolerably slow, many people feel. But the reform will be the more substantial if it is made by the southern states themselves, instead of being imposed on them from Washington. There is new hope in a widespread change of thought among southerners, expressed by the Columbus, Ga., Ledger as follows:

In our considered judgment two things are bound to happen in the life-span of this generation, probably within this very decade. One is the total elimination of the poll tax as a prerequisite of voting, which has no justification in morals and precious little as a revenue device. The other is universal suffrage for the Negro. It seems to us high time for the Deep South to re-examine its reasons for keeping the Negro out of party politics and determine if local expediency outweighs the larger values implicit in sound ethics and constitutional morality.

A Laudable Effort – Lamentable Failure

Memphis World Tenn

The action of the Georgia House of Representatives in passing legislation outlawing the outmoded poll tax as a condition of voting in this state was a laudable attempt to extending to citizens of Georgia a privilege universally accepted in a democracy. The legislators, in taking this long overdue action, have succeeded in doing themselves what the federal government, under the mounting pressure of public sentiment would have been forced to do eventually. That is as it should be. Too long, we believe, the South has permitted her action, especially with regards to her treatment of its Negro citizens, to be held up to scorn and ridicule by citizens outside the region. To say that the majority of southerners have been responsible for this condition, is to overlook a fundamental fact not generally appreciated. Southern politicians and rabble-rousers have been the chief offenders in creating this impression for the South. 2-6-45

It is they who oppose the extension of the franchise to wider areas of the population. It is they who seek to profit by fomenting discord and distrust between races and classes in the South. And it is they who have a pathological fear of a large, popular vote among the citizens. In all, the abolition of the poll tax is a laudable effort to carry out the wishes of public sentiment in the state, which overwhelmingly supported and inspired the action taken.

On the other hand and on the heels of the same action, the House, in refusing to insert in the new state constitution an amendment regulating primaries, exhibited a lamentable indifference to the constitutional rights and guarantees of fully a third of State's population its Negro citizens. "Just because of the fear that colored might vote, do you think that we ought to take down all the protection we have for our citizens," asked Mrs. Helen Douglas Mankin, of Fulton County, who led the fight to have the safeguard re-inserted into the constitution. That, it would appear, formed the basis of discussion, not only concerning the whole white primary arguments throughout the session, but likewise the fear expressed time and again by one or another of the speakers concerning the poll tax. 2-6-45

The White Primary cannot hope to stand up under the scorn and pressure of enlightened public sentiment. Everywhere there is a growing resentment against it as undemocratic and a great fraud against those whom it debars. Southerners, one by one, are beginning to rise up against it because they know it is a violation of every honest opinion and declaration of aim, not only of the present global war, but the very ends of a democracy. 2-6-45

Moreover, as Mrs. Mankin suggests, to strip the constitution of such safeguards for the primary in an effort to continue to exclude the Negro voter is to open the primary to fraud and corruption. Speaker Roy Harris of the Georgia House indicated this subtle intent to circumvent the United States Supreme Court ruling on the White Primaries when he suggested some weeks previous, to eliminate all reference to the primaries in the new constitution, thus permitting the utmost elasticity in evading whatever decision the Supreme Court may render in prospective litigation from Georgia. Thus, by pursuing a round-robin course, the state can keep an unending chain of suits or appeals to the high federal court by interested Negro citizens who desire to participate in the primaries. Let Mr. Harris and all others of a similar turn of mind make no mistake about it, in taking these props away from the primaries will deceive no one. Negroes know that they are meant to keep the ballot out of their hands. And they do not underestimate the struggle in front of them to remove these barriers. In the meantime, Georgians are subject to the worse type of deception, defraud and dishonesty in government with primaries left unguarded as they stand in danger of being at present. Let us hope the Senate will exercise better judgment than the House.

Repeal of Georgia Poll Tax Puts Gov. Arnall in The Spotlight Again

Times Picayune New Orleans, La. 2-5-45

BY THOMAS L. STOKES

Washington, Feb. 3.—Ever so often a new figure arises on the political horizon to attract attention nationally.

Interest is stirred, at first blush, because of his fresh ideas, his personal ability and force, and the too rare knack of moving men forward on a program. On closer inspection it is found frequently that such a figure is a symbol of influences that have been quietly generating underneath the surface, and it is discovered, too, that what he does in his own sphere ramifies in its effects far beyond his own particular locale.

Governor Ellis Arnall, of Georgia, who has been heard from before, is thrust boldly into the spotlight again by his successful campaign to repeal the poll tax in his state as a prerequisite to voting. It was the climax of a gradual process of education among the people and of continuous personal conferences with members of the legislature. He worked long, hard and assiduously. 2-5-45

Seven Poll Tax States Left

This now leaves only seven Southern states which still impose this restriction on the franchise, and Georgia's action is bound to have its influence upon the people and officials of those other states. Movements to modify the tax are under way already in Alabama and South Carolina, and the success in Georgia likewise should be effective in reviving efforts in Tennessee which repealed its tax a couple of years ago, only to have the state supreme court nullify this action.

But Governor Arnall's success in Georgia also is reacting right here in Washington. 2-5-45

It has opened the eyes suddenly of members of Congress not only from Georgia but from other Southern states, some of whom have slipped through smoothly to re-election year after year by virtue of well-kept, tight little political machines easily sustained on a restricted suffrage, due not only to the poll tax but also, and to a greater degree, to the so-called "white primary" statutes. The latter were outlawed by the supreme court in the Texas case, but other restrictions against Negro voting have been contrived.

Georgia's repeal of her poll tax has its effect upon Southern members of Congress more as a sympol of an awakening in the South than for its practical results, which probably will not be as large as some expect. It is another sign to the politicians of the stirring around that was started among the rank and file in the South by the New Deal and its numerous beneficial measures for the plain people.

It is the Southern conservative tail of the Democratic party that wags it around here so in Congress—on such issues, for example, as that over Henry Wallace. The Southern wing is so powerful because of the key positions it holds in Congress by virtue of the political system that sends the same men back year after year, and elevates them through operation of the seniority rule to posts of command. 2-5-45

Liberalization of the party in the South, which is its year-in-year-out nucleus, will do more than anything else to keep the Democratic party a progressive party. This is recognized by Henry Wallace.

Arnall a "Champion of Wallace"

Governor Arnall recognizes this, too. He is a staunch champion of Mr. Wallace and held his Georgia delegation in line for the former vice-president at the Chicago convention, the only Southern delegation which supported the Wallace renomination. He sent messages here to the Georgia senators urging confirmation of Mr. Wallace as secretary of commerce. Senator George was one of the leaders in the fight against the former vice-president. Senator Russell was on Mr. Wallace's side. 2-5-45

The Georgia governor, who is only 37, is moving to the front among progressive Southern leaders. He broke the grip of Gene Talmadge on the state and has instituted a series of reforms in state government designed to make the state an effective agency for serving its people, in line with his philosophy that the state must earn its "rights."

The young gentleman from Georgia is worth watching.

Georgia Poll Tax Repeal Completed

Times Picayune New Orleans, La.

(The Associated Press)

Atlanta, Feb. 5.—Georgia today abolished the poll tax—both as a revenue measure and a prerequisite for voting. 2-6-45

With opposition dissolved, the Senate passed the House version of a repeal bill 41-3 and Governor Ellis Arnall signed it into law. The House passed the bill over a week ago 141-51 after Arnall warned that unless the Legislature abolished the levy he would suspend it by executive decree.

The action left only seven poll tax states in the South—Tennessee, Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Virginia, Texas and South Carolina.

"Today Georgia spoke for democracy," commented Arnall.

GEORGIA EDITORS SAY:

Atlanta Constitution 2-9-45 Ga.

WHERE IS OUR HOME RULE?

(Augusta Chronicle.)

Georgians who applauded the progressiveness of a legislature that struck down the archaic and outmoded poll tax, and who felt that at last we were on our way to an era of more wholesome politics, are now dolefully adjusting their microscopes to search for what, if anything, remains of the home rule provisions they had been promised in their brand-new constitution.

Legislative tinkering has left only a remnant of home rule in the new constitution, and if anyone recognizes it as such, it is purely coincidental.

Georgia Bans The Poll Tax

Black Dispatch Okla. City, Okla. 2-17-45

Georgia has scrapped the poll tax. Thanks to Governor Ellis Arnall and his big stick. Tennessee and Virginia lean in the direction of a free ballot, and in every way democracy shows signs of rebirth in the Southland.

The passing of the poll tax in Georgia and other southern states means that the common ordinary white man is going to hereafter have influence on government. It does not mean in any sense that disfranchisement of the black man will immediately end, but it does mean that the working class white man has at long last reached the place where he can battle for types of social-economic legislation which will benefit him.

Problems having to do with housing, health, wages, hours of labor, land ownership are now his to pattern and shape. Hitherto these questions have been settled by rich plantation owners and absentee autocrats who controlled the poll tax system. Take Alabama, for instance. It was brought out recently at the Atlanta conference that Alabama's election laws were fashioned to place the state in the hands of big corporations. Only thirty per cent or less of the citizens vote in poll tax states, while the records show that in commonwealths where free elections are held, the voting strength rises as high as 85 per cent. In New Hampshire the voting strength rises as high as 84 per cent and in New York 92. This is what will happen in the Deep South as soon as the potential vote becomes aroused, and have understanding knowledge of the power in the ballot. 2-17-45

The struggle will now start to prevent any changes in the status quo. Power interests, utility corporations and all sorts of combinations that have hitherto throttled the South will immediately resort to every method possible to control Dixie. Labor unions will be fought and every effort will be made to convince the common ordinary working class white man that influences are astir to bring social equality between white and black people. The old red herring of black domination and all sorts of Frankensteins will be paraded around to scare the masses of whites and keep them from forming into a solid phalanx for the things that ought to be.

In the oncoming struggle it is important that Negro leadership see clearly the issues projecting out of this picture. Negro leadership will be approached with stories similar to those told the poor whites. They will be warned of radicalism and, as usual, those whites who show friendly interest in democratic programs will be branded as Reds and direct emissaries of Stalin. Negro preachers will be propagandized with fiction regarding Russian atheism, and the danger that will come to Christianity if Negroes are not kept away from these (radical) democratic whites. In fact, labor leaders will bear the same stigma. They also will be branded as alien ideologists who bring strange doctrines to American shores. 2-12-45

But Negro leadership must not be misled. Negro leadership must keep its eyes centered on certain goals. Negro leadership must hold in mind the thought that the Negro masses must have economic freedom, and that to achieve this end there must be liaison and union between the working class both black and white. Leadership among the white working class has already made this discovery, but apparently there is a lag in vision on the part of Negro leadership.

The danger lies in the fact that democracy may come to America with a large portion of Negroes timidly siding with the forces of reaction. This must not happen. Right now, instanter, the Negro must recognize that the interest of all workers in America are identical and the same. If the poor white man, in his struggle with predatory wealth, wins a place in the sun without the aid of his black brother he cannot be blamed if he develops during that struggle an indifference respecting the rights of the black laborer.

If, on the other hand, the black worker joins hand in hand with the white worker in fighting for liberal causes, the future is bright for freedom for all Americans. The enfranchised working class white man will fight for the enfranchisement of the black if he knows in advance that the black citizen will become his ally in the struggle upwards from economic slavery.

GEORGIA ON ROAD TO DEMOCRACY

Christian Leader Texas

LAST week in the State of Georgia following the example of its State Senators, the House of Representatives voted overwhelmingly to kill its poll-tax law. The people of Georgia will now not have to pay to vote. Georgia is at last on the road to Democracy and seems well bent on a trial of it. For this effort at liberation, Georgians can thank Governor Ellis Arnall for the statesmanlike way he demonstrated his courage and conviction in this matter. 2-8-45

The action of Georgia in repealing its poll tax law of one dollar, as a prerequisite for voting, leaves only seven other states in the Union retaining a poll-tax levy: Those states are: Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. It is estimated that the poll tax in these seven states actually disfranchises approximately 8,650,000 citizens. Of this number there are said to be 3,000,000 Negroes and and 5,650,000 white persons.

Axing the Poll-Tax

Detroit Press

GEORGIA'S progressive Gov. Ellis Arnall backed his request to the Legislature to abolish the poll-tax by a threat that, if this action was not taken, he would issue an executive order suspending its collection. The Georgia legislature has now repealed the tax.

Gov. Arnall has been prominent in the current agitation in the South to get rid of this levy on voting, by State rather than Federal action. That is the best way. Although it has national effects, the tax is primarily the concern of the seven Southern States still requiring payment of it as a prerequisite to voting. 2-16-45

The poll tax was not enacted in the South to disfranchise Negroes but to protect the citadel of political and social conservatism from the rising tide of Populism. Of the 11 States which adopted it back in the '80s, North Carolina soon repealed it, and Louisiana and Florida have done so more recently. As a result of a campaign spearheaded by The Nashville Tennessean, the Tennessee Legislature abolished its poll tax in 1943, only to have its action reversed by the State Supreme Court, where the deciding vote was cast by one of Boss Crump's stooges.

Mich

The energetic action of Gov. Arnall gives hope that in the not too distant future this barrier to a free franchise will be removed everywhere in this democracy.

SOUTHERN POLL TAX

Since Georgia has broken the ice as far as abolishing poll tax is concerned, it will mean that some of the other Southern states will have to do the same thing in the near future. Congress has battled this issue year after year and we have succeeded in keeping the poll tax law in Dixie. However, since one among our midst has broken away from our old custom of charging every citizen a fee for the privilege of voting, it may mean that the others will have to do the same thing. 2-14-45

There have been many views upon the requirements every person should have in order to be eligible to vote in lieu of the poll tax fee. One person was telling us the other day that he thought everyone should be given a current-event intelligence test before they were allowed to vote. He thought we would have better representation in public office and we would use more intelligence in selecting men capable of legislating laws for the people instead of electing "crooners" and guitar-playing cowboys who play a few tunes for votes.

In our opinion, if Alabama should abolish the poll tax the State Legislature should not abolish it outright. They should take the first step by abolishing all but three years. This method would give hundreds of citizens who are in arrears several years the privilege of paying three years' back poll tax and the current year for $6. This extra money is needed by the schools, and it would also give many women who have never paid poll tax the opportunity of voting at only a small cost.—Alexander City Outlook.

We Are Seven

Birmingham News Ala.

The critics of the poll tax used to say much about the eight states that still collected the tax as a prerequisite to voting. Now they must speak of the seven states, for Georgia must be dropped from the list. The Georgia Legislature has passed, and Gov. Arnall has signed, a bill abolishing the tax. 2-9-45

Georgia shows the better of two ways to get rid of the tax. The other way would be through federal action, which would have the defects of antagonizing the states that might want to keep their poll taxes and of further weakening the concept of local government.

Alabama is one of the remaining seven states. It is known as the worst of the poll tax states because of the cumulative feature of its tax. With the example of Georgia fresh in its mind, the Alabama Legislature at its forthcoming session should consider the advisability of removing at least the cumulative provisions of the tax.

Governor Arnall Replies To Prod On Primary Laws

Atlanta World 2-22-45

Promises To Give Assembly Heads Leaders' Position

Governor Arnall's letter dated February 20 was in response to a telegram sent him on February 14 by C. H. Harper, president, Atlanta branch, NAACP, A. T. Walden, president, Georgia Association of Democratic Clubs, J. W. Dobbs, president, Atlanta Civic and Political League and C. A. Scott, editor-general manager, Atlanta Daily World. 2-22-45

The telegram had urged the governor to retain laws protecting the primary.

The position of a group of Negro leaders on the action of the Georgia legislature in removing all legal reference to primary elections from the new Constitution will be placed before legislative leaders by Governor Ellis Arnall, the governor disclosed in letters sent to members of the group.

Problems having to do with housing, health, wages, hours of labor, land ownership are now his to pattern and shape. Hitherto these questions have been settled by rich plantation owners and absentee autocrats who controlled the poll tax system. Take Alabama, for instance. It was brought out recently at the Atlanta conference that Alabama's election laws were fashioned to place the state in the hands of big corporations. Only thirty per cent or less of the citizens vote in poll tax states, while the records show that in commonwealths where free elections are held, the voting strength rises as high as 85 per cent. In New Hampshire the voting strength rises as high as 84 per cent and in New York 92. This is what will happen in the Deep South as soon as the potential vote becomes aroused, and have understanding knowledge of the power in the ballot. 2-17-45

The struggle will now start to prevent any changes in the status quo. Power interests, utility corporations and all sorts of combinations that have hitherto throttled the South will immediately resort to every method possible to control Dixie. Labor unions will be fought and every effort will be made to convince the common ordinary working class white man that influences are astir to bring social equality between white and black people. The old red herring of black domination and all sorts of Frankensteins will be paraded around to scare the masses of whites and keep them from forming into a solid phalanx for the things that ought to be.

In the oncoming struggle it is important that Negro leadership see clearly the issues projecting out of this picture. Negro leadership will be approached with stories similar to those told the poor whites. They will be warned of radicalism and, as usual, those whites who show friendly interest in democratic programs will be branded as Reds and direct emissaries of Stalin. Negro preachers will be propagandized with fiction regarding Russian atheism, and the danger that will come to Christianity if Negroes are not kept away from these (radical) democratic whites. In fact, labor leaders will bear the same stigma. They also will be branded as alien ideologists who bring strange doctrines to American shores. 2-12-45

But Negro leadership must not be misled. Negro leadership must keep its eyes centered on certain goals. Negro leadership must hold in mind the thought that the Negro masses must have economic freedom, and that to achieve this end there must be liaison and union between the working class both black and white. Leadership among the white working class has already made this discovery, but apparently there is a lag in vision on the part of Negro leadership.

The danger lies in the fact that democracy may come to America with a large portion of Negroes timidly siding with the forces of reaction. This must not happen. Right now, instanter, the Negro must recognize that the interest of all workers in America are identical and the same. If the poor white man, in his struggle with predatory wealth, wins a place in the sun without the aid of his black brother he cannot be blamed if he develops during that struggle an indifference respecting the rights of the black laborer.

If, on the other hand, the black worker joins hand in hand with the white worker in fighting for liberal causes, the future is bright for freedom for all Americans. The enfranchised working class white man will fight for the enfranchisement of the black if he knows in advance that the black citizen will become his ally in the struggle upwards from economic slavery.

GEORGIA ON ROAD TO DEMOCRACY

Christian Ender Tenn.

LAST week in the State of Georgia following the example of its State Senators, the House of Representatives voted overwhelmingly to kill its poll-tax law. The people of Georgia will now not have to pay to vote. Georgia is at last on the road to Democracy and seems well bent on a trial of it. For this effort at liberation, Georgians can thank Governor Ellis Arnall for the statesmanlike way he demonstrated his courage and conviction in this matter. 2-8-45

The action of Georgia in repealing its poll tax law of one dollar, as a prerequisite for voting, leaves only seven other states in the Union retaining a poll-tax levy: Those states are: Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. It is estimated that the poll tax in these seven states actually disfranchises approximately 8,650,000 citizens. Of this number there are said to be 3,000,000 Negroes and and 5,650,000 white persons.

Axing the Poll-Tax

Detroit Press

GEORGIA'S progressive Gov. Ellis Arnall backed his request to the Legislature to abolish the poll-tax by a threat that, if this action was not taken, he would issue an executive order suspending its collection. The Georgia legislature has now repealed the tax.

Gov. Arnall has been prominent in the current agitation in the South to get rid of this levy on voting, by State rather than Federal action. That is the best way. Although it has national effects, the tax is primarily the concern of the seven Southern States still requiring payment of it as a prerequisite to voting. 2-16-45

The poll tax was not enacted in the South to disfranchise Negroes but to protect the citadel of. political and social conservatism from the rising tide of Populism. Of the 11 States which adopted it back in the '80s, North Carolina soon repealed it, and Louisiana and Florida have done so more recently. As a result of a campaign spearheaded by The Nashville Tennessean, the Tennessee Legislature abolished its poll tax in 1943, only to have its action reversed by the State Supreme Court, where the deciding vote was cast by one of Boss Crump's stooges. Mich

The energetic action of Gov. Arnall gives hope that in the not too distant future this barrier to a free franchise will be removed everywhere in this democracy.

SOUTHERN POLL TAX

Since Georgia has broken the ice as far as abolishing poll tax is concerned, it will mean that some of the other Southern states will have to do the same thing in the near future. Congress has battled this issue year after year and we have succeeded in keeping the poll tax law in Dixie. However, since one among our

Removal of the laws was interpreted as an effort to evade the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Texas case. South Carolina's then governor, Olin Johnston, called a special session of the legislature last summer to vote removal of laws governing primary elections midst has broken away from our old custom of charging every citizen a fee for the privilege of voting, it may mean that the others will have to do the same thing. 2-14-45

There have been many views upon the requirements every person should have in order to be eligible to vote in lieu of the poll tax fee. One person was telling us the other day that he thought everyone should be given a current-event intelligence test before they were allowed to vote. He thought we would have better representation in public office and we would use more intelligence in selecting men capable of legislating laws for the people instead of electing "crooners" and guitar-playing cowboys who play a few tunes for votes.

In our opinion, if Alabama should abolish the poll tax the State Legislature should not abolish it outright. They should take the first step by abolishing all but three years. This method would give hundreds of citizens who are in arrears several years the privilege of paying three years' back poll tax and the current year for $6. This extra money is needed by the schools, and it would also give many women who have never paid poll tax the opportunity of voting at only a small cost.—Alexander City Outlook.

We Are Seven

Birmingham News Ala.

The critics of the poll tax used to say much about the eight states that still collected the tax as a prerequisite to voting. Now they must speak of the seven states, for Georgia must be dropped from the list. The Georgia Legislature has passed, and Gov. Arnall has signed, a bill abolishing the tax. 2-9-45

Georgia shows the better of two ways to get rid of the tax. The other way would be through federal action, which would have the defects of antagonizing the states that might want to keep their poll taxes and of further weakening the concept of local government.

Alabama is one of the remaining seven states. It is known as the worst of the poll tax states because of the cumulative feature of its tax. With the example of Georgia fresh in its mind, the Alabama Legislature at its forthcoming session should consider the advisability of removing at least the cumulative provisions of the tax.

Governor Arnall Replies To Prod On Primary Laws

Atlanta Ga. 2-22-45

Promises To Give Assembly Heads Leaders' Position

The position of a group of Negro leaders on the action of the Georgia legislature in removing all legal reference to primary elections from the new Constitution will be placed before legislative leaders by Governor Ellis Arnall, the governor disclosed in letters sent to members of the group dated February 20 was in response to a telegram sent him on February 14 by C. [illegible] Harper, president, Atlanta branch, NAACP, A. T. Walden, president, Georgia Association of Democratic Clubs, J. W. Dobbs, president, Atlanta Civic and Political League and C. A. Scott, editor-general manager, Atlanta Daily World. The telegram had urged the governor to retain laws protecting the primary.

61e-1945 Poll Tax Georgia

South's Editors See Polltax As Archaic; Urge Abolition

The Worker N.Y. 2-4-45

By DAVID CARPENTER HOUSTON, Texas.

THE changing temper of political thinking in the South was most clearly demonstrated at an all-Southern conference on the limitations of the franchise which was held at a leading hotel in Atlanta, Ga., late last month. The importance of this conference, which dealt in particular with the limiting effect of the polltax and which was sponsored by the editors of leading newspapers in every Southern state from Virigina clear through to Oklahoma, cannot be overemphasized for the coming months.

As the chairman of the conference, Mark Etheridge, publisher of the Louisville, Ky., Courier-Journal, pointed out: *2-4-45*

"I will be frank; our purpose is simple. Legislatures in seven of the eight polltax states will meet shortly and we frankly hope that this meeting will put useful information in the hands of editors and others who will do something about it."

The significance of the meeting can be measured to some extent by the cry of distress uttered editorially by the Houston Post, organ of the most reactionary elements in the political and economic life in Texas, as follows:

"Political Warwicks of the old South must have turned over in their graves and emitted lusty snorts of disgust Friday at the political heresy of Dixie editors who met at Atlanta and cussed the polltax." *2-4-45*

Undoubtedly, the Houston Post and its feudal friends were also most unhappy about the fact that, for the first time, forty-three white publishers, editors and writers sat down in the same room with eight publishers and writers of Southern Negro newspapers to discuss how to do away with the polltax, that infamous hindrance to the political rebirth of the South as a constructive factor in the life of our nation.

In Virginia, for example, a new constitution will be drafted this year. Advocates of the elimination of the polltax have already begun a campaign to see that the new constitution does not contain any polltax restrictions on voting.

In Texas, a bill to abolish the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting will be presented to the 1945 state legislature.

PUBLIC IS

Georgia House Repeals Polltax

ATLANTA, Ga.—Polltax repeal was approved by the House in this state, 141 to 51, leaving only seven Southern states retaining a levy on the ballot.

The House bill, a substitute for one passed by the Senate, goes to the Senate.

"The voice of the new South will become more audible as the months and years go by," Gov. Ellis Arnall said. "Georgia spoke today for democracy."

SICK OF IT *2-4-45*

The healthy discussion at the conference showed an unanimous desire on the part of those present to abolish the polltax and eliminate all other forms of limitation on the franchise. As editor Jennings Perry, of the Nashville Tennesseean, declared:

"Something artifical has come between the people of the South and the ballot box. The polltax is a vote tax—the price you have to pay to cast your ballot. It is a cost price fixed upon a priceless right."

And Harry M. Ayers, publisher of the Anniston, Ala., Star, reported that the sentiment permitting the Negro to vote in his state, notorious for its anti-Negro activities, was growing. *2-4-45*

"The primary object of the constitutional convention which drafted our constitution of 1901 was to keep the Negro from voting," Mrs. Ayers declared. "The next object was to allow the corporations to control the state of Alabama, which they have done very successfully."

The constructive role of the Negro people in this new period of Southern political life was most clearly enunciated by editor Roscoe Dunjee, of the Black Dispatch of Oklahoma City, who asserted:

"The Negro will join with the white people in the South in doing the things that ought to be done in a democracy."

Other Editors Write

New York Age

GEORGIA REMITS A TAX *2-17-45*

By action of the Georgia Legislature and Governor this week, the number of States in which the payment of a poll tax is a prerequisite for voting has been reduced from eight to seven. One of the seven is Tennessee, which actually passed a poll-tax repealer two years ago but was prevented from enforcing it by a 3-to-2 decision of the State Supreme Court. There is little doubt that Tennessee will eventually get around to passing a new repeal act which will stand a court test. In the remaining six States there is strong sentiment against thet tax. Repeal would not necessarily mean that Negroes not now admitted to "white primaries" would hereafter be admitted. But the enfranchisement of white citizens who were barred or discouraged by the poll tax certainly does not impair the Negro citizens' case for full citizenship rights. *2-17-45*

There is a good argument, as this newspaper has contended, for poll-tax repeal, in so far as Federal elections are concerned, by constitutional amendment. Federal officials elected from poll-tax States help govern the rest of us. If they are not democratically elected we are to that extent not democratically governed. Sooner or later, such an amendment is bound to get through the Senate, filiuster or no filibuster, if the poll-tax States do not act. Or, as Governor Arnall was indicectly quoted as saying in a dispatch from Atlanta, there might be "danger to the State's representation in the Electoral College." But the most determined enemies of the poll tax would rather see it abolished by state action, if this action is taken within a reasonably short time, than by Federal law or amendment to the Federal Constitution. States' rights have value, provided they are not used as a weapon to impair the broader rights of the whole nation.

—New York Times

GEORGIA EDITORS SAY:

Atlanta Constitution

REPEAL THE POLL TAX

(Augusta Chronicle) *1-12-45 Ga.*

Until we in the south make an earnest effort to extend the franchise, and to make it easier to exercise—and, above all, to educate those citizens who are now irresponsible and apathetic in their citizenship duties—until we have done those things, or made an effort to do them, we cannot say that we are being true friends of democracy. *1-12-45*

Real democracy is a goal, not a reality; it is a principle which must be continually striven for in its purest form. We can enjoy its best fruits only if we keep working to develop and extend it. One way we can do this is to repeal the tax on the right to vote, and educate those who are not now participating in government in their duties and responsibilities as citizens of a democracy.

Would Suspend Poll Tax For "Whites Only"

Norfolk Journal & Guide 1-13-45 Va

ATLANTA, (ANP) — Liberal advocates of poll tax repeal gained an unexpected recruit Wednesday when former governor Eugene Talmadge, came out for its abolition, asserting that "the Negro question is not involved."

Talmadge, whose strongest appeal for votes is based on his plea for the maintenance of white supremacy, issued a statement saying the general assembly will have done a good deed for the state if it does nothing but remove the $1 poll tax as a voting requirement. *1-13-45*

"Let's have all the white people vote irrespective as to whether any taxes have been paid or not," Talmadge said. "You will get a fairer expression from the people when this is done."

"There is a great deal of argument that the abolishment of the poll tax would put the Negro to voting," he continued. "Such is not the case. The Negroes as a class don't care to vote anyway, unless they are encouraged by some communistic elements. Allowing all of the white people to vote will not affect the question as to Negroes voting."

State Solons Map Plans for Vote Changes

Atlanta Constitution 1-8-45 Ga.

Poll Tax Abolition, Registration Laws Believed On Slate

By M. L. ST. JOHN

The Georgia legislature, convening here at 10 a. m. today for the primary purpose of rewriting the state constitution, may abolish the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting and may set up laws requiring biennial registration of voters.

This sentiment was shown by legislative leaders and large numbers of solons chatting in downtown hotels yesterday.

Bills will be introduced in both houses to ban the poll tax as a voting requirement and to end confusion in registration lists.

Senate President Frank Gross, of Toccoa, flatly predicted the senate will abolish the poll tax. He will introduce a bill in his house to do this and to provide for biennial registration of voters. The state of republic committee headed by Sen. Bill Freeman, of Forsyth, will be given this bill for study and recommendation.

Rep. Ben Fortson Jr., of Washington, will introduce two poll tax bills in the house. He is confident the house will pass a measure permanently exempting service men and women from paying poll taxes. He hopes the house will pass the major measure—abolishing the poll tax for everybody.

HARRIS ACTS *1-8-45*

House Speaker Roy V. Harris, of Augusta, has come out emphatically in favor of biennial registration of voters, to replace the present permanent registration lists, and yesterday he named a committee to draw a registration revision law.

On this new house committee Harris observed. "By the annualished or not, Georgia needs a new
will be Reps. Guy Connell, of Val- payment of poll taxes, registrarsregistration law to end the pres
dosta; Charles Gowan, of Bruns- supposedly have an accurate checkent confusion," the speaker as
wick, and Fortson. of voters. Actually this is notserted.
Harris declared the present reg- true, because so many Georgians President Gross said the most
istration law has caused confu- are exempted from paying polllogical opposition to lifting the
sion and has resulted in dead peo- taxes. Persons over age 60; menpoll tax requirement is that vot-
ple and former residents of the and women now in the armed ers' lists could not be purged of
staying on the voters' regis- forces; persons between the agesineligibles. Since Gross' bill will
tration lists. of 18 and 21, and women who doinclude provisions for biennial
"The poll tax has failed to serve not vote are among those not re-registration, he feels confident the
its purpose of purging the regis- quired to pay the poll tax. poll tax will be abolished as a vot-
tration list of disqualified voters," "Whether the poll tax is aboling requirement. *1-8-45*

EXPECT ARNALL COMMENT

Gov. Arnall, who has asked for a south-wide study of the poll tax, is expected to make some comment on the poll tax in his address to the legislature Tuesday.

Several important committee chairmanships were announced by Gross and Harris yesterday. They included the committee on veterans' affairs, which probably will be handled by a half-dozen bills for veterans' benefits by the Amer-

ican Legion and other veteran organizations. Guy Stone, of Glenwood, will head the veterans' affairs committee in the senate, and Olin Price Jr., of Athens, will be chairman of the house committee.

Gross named Marvin Moate, of Sparta, to head the committee on county matters; Mell Turner, of Decatur, to lead the committee on municipal affairs, and Ralph Turner, of McDonough, to be chairman of a banking committee in the senate. 1-8-45

Harris appointed F. H. Sills, of Metter, to head the committee on county matters; Luther Bloodworth, of Bibb, to direct the committee on municipal affairs, and David Arnold, of Griffin, to be chairman of the banking committee in the house.

REPEAL OF THE POLL TAX IN GEORGIA RANKS as one of the most encouraging developments in recent weeks on the domestic front. It is an event, however, which can be interpreted two ways. Conservatives are already pointing to the repeal as conclusive evidence that the South will handle the problem satisfactorily if it is not subjected to pressure by "outside agitators." Yet the fact remains that Georgia's action came at a time when the pressure for federal legislation outlawing the poll tax is greater than it has been at any other period since the Civil War. No one is likely to insist on federal legislation if all the poll-tax states will voluntarily rescind their discriminatory restrictions on voting. But as these states have had many years in which to abolish their restrictions by their own initiative and have failed to act, it would seem obvious that greater pressure is necessary. The need for a federal law is further pointed up by the situation in Tennessee, where a bill outlawing the tax was invalidated by the state Supreme Court and the legislature has refused to pass a new bill designed to by-pass the objections of the court.

The Nation 1-20-45

Repeal Ga. Poll Tax; Voters' List Grows

The Chicago Defender
Chicago, Illinois 1-13-45

ATLANTA — (ANP) — A ruling which will add between 200,000 and 300,000 voters, thousands of them Negroes, to the lists of Georgia was made by Atty.-Gen. Eugene Cook this week.

Cook ruled that Georgians whose names were struck from the registration lists for non-payment of poll taxes were automatically restored to such lists when the poll tax was repealed.

Thousands of Negro men and women, prevented from re-registration and voting by the accumulative feature of the outlawed poll tax, will now find their names on the list of voters in the wake of the attorney-general's ruling.

Pay Back Poll Taxes To Vote, Head Rules

Constitution — Atlanta, Ga.
1-8-45

By M. L. ST. JOHN.

While the state poll tax has been repealed, Georgians owing poll taxes for 1944 and prior years must pay them if they expect to cast their ballots, Atty. Gen. T. Grady Head has ruled. Poll taxes for 1945 and future years have been abolished, both as a prerequisite for voting and as a legal debt, the attorney general said in an opinion returned yesterday to Gov. Arnall.

The state cannot collect the past due poll taxes as a legal obligation, Head said, but the citizens must pay these taxes to be placed on the registration lists. The present constitution says that to be eligible to vote a person must have paid all poll taxes he has had an opportunity of paying under law. The citizens had an opportunity to pay these 1944 taxes and all previously due poll taxes before the general assembly repealed the act Feb. 5, 1945.

SEES REVENUE BOOST

Head estimated that Georgia has approximately 750,000 delinquent poll tax payers. Since on payment of their past due taxes they can vote free in the future, a vast number of these delinquents will rush to the county tax collector's offices, Head anticipates. This should bring in a large amount of revenue which has not been collected in the past, he believed. Georgia today has only about a half-million registered voters among its population of three million persons.

In issuing his ruling, however, the attorney general did not answer a question foremost in many person's minds: If the new constitution is adopted, will these past due poll taxes be collectible as a voting prerequisite. Head's opinion, answering only the questions specifically asked by the Governor, was based on the fact that the present constitution requires a person to "pay all poll taxes which he has had an opportunity of paying under law." The proposed new constitution makes no reference to poll taxes. Some believed that striking of this section from the new constitution would abolish the past due as well as future poll taxes as a voting prerequisite as well as a legal debt. 3-8-45

VOTING PREREQUISITES

Regardless of whether the delinquent taxpayers pay their poll taxes now, they are too late to get on the registration books for the August election when the proposed new constitution comes up for a vote. Voters must be qualified six months prior to the general election. Feb. 7 was the deadline for qualifying in the election on the new constitution.

To qualify as a voter in future elections, delinquent poll taxpayers must have paid their 1944 poll taxes and all other poll taxes due since they became 21 years of age, Head said. The seven-year statute of limitation does not apply to the tax as a voting prerequisite, he added. 3-8-45

In another ruling issued yesterday, Head ended hopes of Gov. Arnall to stretch out his consideration of recently passed bills for several months. Head said that measures passed prior to the recessing of the legislature last Saturday must be vetoed within five days or they automatically become law. The Governor had thought the five-day clause in effect following sine die adjournment would not apply to the 1945 session, which is in recess until next January.

350,000 Voters Reinstated In Cook Poll Tax Decision

The Atlanta Constitution-Atlanta, Georgia
1-4-45

In a sweeping decision that will reinstate from 300,000 to 350,000 voters on Georgia's registration lists, State Attorney General J. Eugene Cook has settled the questions of how poll tax delinquents will be returned to the qualified fold.

Cook held that Georgians whose names were struck from the registration lists for nonpayment of poll taxes were automatically restored to such lists when the poll tax was abrogated, and are not required to register again.

This is believed to be the last major question to be answered in the matter of wiping the poll tax issue from the books in Georgia.

It was estimated that as many as 350,000 voters may be added to the list as a result of the opinion.

In Fulton county, Tax Collector T. Earl Suttles said approximately 8,000 persons will be reinstated in the voting register. He added, however, that a special act of the state legislature in 1941 required all persons in "counties of more than 200,000 population"—meaning specifically, Fulton county—to re-register. Cook's ruling will not affect this requirement, Suttles said.

The ruling was requested by Commissioner of Revenue M. E. Thompson, who said he had received numerous inquiries from county officers and other citizens since the legislature removed payment of poll tax as a voting qualification.

Several rulings by the attorney general already have been issued in answer to questions growing out of poll tax repeal in the state. Former Attorney General T. Grady Head, now justice of the state supreme court, ruled that delinquent taxes were not a bar to voting. Upon succeeding to the office, Cook affirmed the opinion and added that delinquent poll taxes were not collectible unless the voter volunteered to make the payment.

Cook, in the registration decision, held that it was one of the paramount purposes of the framers of the new constitution as well as the people who adopted it, to liberalize the voting laws of the state, "and not to build up barriers to prevent qualified citizens from exercising their right of elective franchise."

He said that the matter of registration of electors was not within the discretion of the county boards of registrars to hold this, he added, would "circumvent the will of the people since they have lodged such discretionary author-

Ga. Solons Hark Back To Klan Days In Bitter Poll Tax Repeal Fight

Chicago Defender Ill.

2-3-45

ATLANTA, Ga.—Georgia's Governor Ellis Arnall this week threatened to use his executive powers to suspend the state's poll tax laws unless the legislature repealed them. 2-3-45

Speaking before a joint session of the legislature after the Senate had approved by a vote of 31 to 19 a bill to repeal the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting, Governor Arnall jumped into the fight when it became apparent that the House of Representatives would renegne on abolishing the levy. Earlier in the week the House rejected a proposal to waive poll tax payments for service men.

During the Senate fight one law maker predicted that the repeal of the poll tax would "make Georgia's streets unsafe for white women and white men would have to walk in the middle of the road at night."

The vote came only after a bitter and prolonged debate, the opposition curiously enough coming from senators representing the more thickly populated counties of Chatham (Savannah) and Fulton (Atlanta), while chief support for repeal was given by senators from the smaller rural counties.

"I am tired of seeing my state kicked about in congress," Gov. Arnall asserted, "with our people being described as 'barbarians' who have attempted to disenfranchise citizens." 2-3-45

Talmadge Forces Hand

Governor Arnall, who earlier had suggested that a southwide commission be named with himself as chairman to make an extensive study of the poll tax, was believed to have been forced to take a more definite stand on the issue after former governor Eugene Talmadge, who many believe will run again for the office, came out with a forthright statement urging immediate repeal.

"If Georgia doesn't act on the poll tax question," said Talmadge, "we will be embarrassed by federal legislation on the matter." Talmadge's sentiments, expressed in a letter to a supporter, W. M. Salter of Wadley, Ga., held that the poll tax doesn't keep the Negro from voting and that argument doesn't stand.

"They don't have a poll tax in Louisiana and the Negroes don't vote there any more than they do here," he said. "Why not let's abolish the poll tax and put it squarely on the issue of a white primary, and not allow the Negro to vote? When you put all the white people to voting it creates a purifying influence on the people of this state and does more toward breaking up political rings than anything."

Commenting on Governor Talmadge's sudden conversion to the religion of poll tax repeal the Macon (Ga.) News said: 2-3-45

"One of the smoothest (perhaps slickest is a better word) rabble-rousing politicians that ever appeared on the Georgia scene is Eugene Talmadge. Make no mistake about it, Mr. Talmadge is an active candidate for governor, albeit he has made no public announcement. He will be in the race regardless of who runs, or how many. The more in the field, the better for Gene. He has a great many friends who will support him regardless. 2-3-45

"The red-gallused one has come out in favor of the abolition of the poll tax—which shows you how democratic he is. But the little dark man in the woodpile sticks out like a cotton boll in a tar bucket. Every vicious, onery, ignorant white person in the state would be allowed the ballot, but the Negro, regardless of his qualifications, would be barred.

"Mr. Talmadge's change of heart is easy to understand. He knows that the few remaining states that have saddled this form of discrimination on a large segment of their population, see the handwriting on the wall and will abolish the tax before the federal government does it by statute. 2-3-45

"While opponents of the poll tax claim to be still fighting under the tattered banner of states' rights, it is remarkable how quick they strike their 'honored flag' when its waving might block the influx of federal money."

Administration leaders were hopeful that since Governor Arnall's appearance, they would be able to force the bill through the house in quick order.

Recalls Klan Days

Reaching a new low in demagoguery, Senator Spence Grayson of Savannah, harked back to Reconstruction days and the Ku Klux Klan to stir up new racial fears in the hearts of his fellow solons.

"If you abolish the poll tax, you will effectually eliminate the white primary," shouted the Savannahan a mournful tremor in his voice. "Hordes of 'nigras' and other undesirable elements will vote in the general elections and beat the nominees of the white primary. We must not forget," he continued, "that thousands of Yankees and foreigners have migrated to our state to work in the larger cities.

"They do not understand our sacred traditions of white supremacy, they are not interested in preserving the principles for which our grandfathers fought, bled and died. They are not interested in our welfare nor the welfare of our state." 2-3-45

Sen. Everett Millican of Atlanta, who also fought repeal, based his contention on the fear of a "mass vote," asserting that "the greatest progress the South has made in her history has been under the benevolent protection of the poll tax."

Proponents of the measure stressed chiefly the fact that repeal of the poll tax would not bring about the enfranchisement of Negroes. 2-3-45

Said Sen. Charles T. Edwards of Dublin, "The race issue is not involved here. I live in a county where there are more Negroes than white people, but the repeal of the poll tax would not bother us. We always have handled the race issue in our white primaries and we will continue to do so. Let's do away with this iniquitous poll tax so that we may have a real white democracy in Georgia."

Sen. Roy McGinty, publisher of the Calhoun (Ga.) Times, a liberal newspaper, expressed his resentment of charges made from the floor that the repeal move was started by Communists, disclosing that he has been editorially urging repeal for more than 13 years.

"Removal of the poll tax," he asserted, "will be a signpost of Georgia's determination to move toward progressive democracy."

Interrupted by Senator Grayson, the demagogic senator from Savannah, who asked if Sen. McGinty meant that he favored abolition of the white primary, Senator McGinty relied: "The primary is not under discussion now, but certainly I am in favor of the primary system." 2-3-45

"Are you in favor of the white primary?" heckled Sen. Grayson.

"Well I am not like the distinguished senator from Chatham, afraid of the people," McGinty shot back. "I have full confidence in the judgment of the people and when I say people I mean all of the people. I am of the opinion that real soon every citizen, no matter what his race, will be voting and I am preparing my people for that day now. I think the least we can do is to get ready."

Ending the debate, Sen. William B. Freeman of Forsyth appealed for passage of the measure as a means of "cushioning the shock of social unrest," which he said is certain to envelop Georgia after the war. "We need the largest possible number of white voters to help us in the post-war period," he added.

Governor Arnall in his unexpected appearance before a joint session of the legislature to urge repeal, termed the poll tax a "symbol to pillage the good name of the south." The governor added that he foresaw "no danger" of Negroes participating in Georgia's primary elections because of abolition of the poll tax, so long as the state retains its white primary system.

Senate Votes To Kill Poll Tax, Favors Biennial Registration

Atlanta Constitution Ga. 1-25-45

By ELMO GREENE.

The Georgia senate has backed Gov. Arnall's efforts to repeal the poll tax law by passing, 31 to 19, a bill to eliminate the levy as a prerequisite to voting and to provide for biennial registration of voters. 1-25-45

At the behest of Sen. G. Everett Millican, of Atlanta, vigorous opponent of the measure, the senate voted, 27 to 23, against immediate transmission of the bill from the senate to the house of representatives.

Thus the way was cleared for a motion to be made today to reconsider the legislation. Observers predicted, however, that the senate, desiring to rid itself of the matter, would vote against such action.

If the bill should come up for reconsideration, Millican announced he would offer an amendment to it providing that permanent registration of voters, as now is practiced, supplant the provision for biennial registration.

Under the present method, a voter remains registered for life unless he fails to vote in two successive elections. Biennial registration would require a voter to register every two years.

A vote on the bill, introduced jointly two weeks ago by Senate President Frank Gross, of Toccoa, and Sen. J. Roy McGinty, of Calhoun, came yesterday afternoon after almost three hours of debate. 1-25-45

Gov. Arnall, who had told the legislature the day before that he would suspend the poll tax by executive order if the general assembly did not repeal the law, expressed himself as being "delighted" at the senate's action.

"This is the best legislature we've ever had," said the Governor, predicting that "the next election in Georgia will be without the payment of poll tax."

Although a bill similar to the senate measure is pending in the house of representatives, House Speaker Roy V. Harris announced he would sidetrack it and await the senate bill. He will refer it to the ways and means committee, which thus far has voted out all poll tax legislation.

If the senate measure reaches the house today, Harris said, it will be made a special order of business for either Monday or Wednesday of next week—the two days in the week when the house considers senate measures.

In moves yesterday rebuking Gov. Arnall for declaring his intention to suspend the poll tax if the legislature did not, twin bills were introduced in the house and senate to repeal the law giving the Governor authority to suspend any tax. 1-25-45

They were submitted by Rep. John Lewis, of Sparta, in the house, and Sen. Marvin Moate, also of Sparta, in the senate.

The house state of the republic committee voted, 60 to 3, against Lewis' bill after Rep. John Greer, of Lanier, had termed it "vicious and pernicious legislation" aimed at Gov. Arnall.

Sen. William B. Freeman, of Forsyth, chairman of the senate state of the republic committee, predicted his committee likewise would vote against a similar bill submitted by Moate in the senate.

Millican and Sen. Spence Grayson, of Savannah, leaders in the fight against repeal of the poll tax, attributed passage of the poll tax bill to Arnall's influence. The measure apparently had not gained much support until after the Governor's address on Tuesday.

In debating the issue, Grayson told the senate: 1-25-45

"If you abolish the poll tax in Georgia you will effectually eliminate forever the white primary in your state . . . and abrogate the county unit system."

Although expressing his personal friendship with Gov. Arnall, Grayson said he believed the Governor did not act "within the bounds of propriety" on his poll tax stand. 1-25-45

Charles T. Edwards, of Monticello, urging abolition of the poll tax, asked the question, "Are you going to charge a man in Georgia for the right to vote?"

He termed the levy as "undemocratic" and "iniquitous."

SEEING and SAYING

By WILLIAM A. FOWLKES

Atlanta Daily World

On The Way

No.

WELL, THEY DID IT in Athens, Georgians were saying Saturday. And, there was jubilation in their tone.

11-25-45

The real story back of it, however, was a simple political factor—one which should be an example for other tan Georgians to follow. Prophets in this political wilderness, however, had long preached the doctrine through which Athenians broke the precedent of voting for the first time in 40 years in the Democratic primary.

—O—

Clarke County residents, led by wide awake Athenians, had registered themselves in large numbers, spurred on by the new vote-consciousness and confidence from Judge Davis' recent ruling that the white primary was unconstitutional and a violation of Georgia Negroes' rights as American citizens. They were ready, approximately 500 of them, to vote. 11-25-45

Of three mayoralty candidates on the city tickets, it was reported, one sensed that he could not win under the developments in allegiances and arrangements. So the pressures began through the Clarke County Democratic Committee. Contacts were made, the pressures continued through subcommittee to the full committee which, when the balloting took place, voted 9 to 1 to follow Judge Davis' ruling. This was the side report on the developments. In committee, actually, the members told each other that they were absolving themselves of any action which would lead to contempt of Judge Davis' court order, subsequent fines and imprisonment, or both. They wanted no confusion on election day, they said. 11-26-45

It was a clear-cut victory for those fighting the elements of politicians who vow that Negroes shall vote not for their government rulers. It was won, however in true political fashion—through the need by one or more candidates for voters ON THE BOOKS.

—O—

In Clarke County only about 6,250 persons were registered to vote one source revealed. With 500 of these being persons of color, you can imagine the attraction to the candidates.

This column long has contended that there is no dealing with the force until the Negro gets on the books of registration in large enough numbers to be sought after by the independents, and finally the politicians of the established parties. There's no use fooling ourselves with figments of the mind and imaginations, when nobody wants you, its hard to force one's attention on another. But, possession of a desirable thing brings one running to you on the double.

—O—

We people of color—there are 100,000 of us in Atlanta—ought to stop fooling ourselves, I think, and get more people registered on the books. It seems the hardest thing to get over to us and the efforts of a few seem like peckings of a bird on a stone wall.

The barriers are practically nil in Fulton County. There are courteous to you at the courthouse. Nobody asks you one question about the constitution and there is no poll tax and property qualification. All one has to do is go and express a desire to register. It is done, as simply as that. Why we don't produce ourselves in larger numbers at the Courthouse remains a mystery.

—O—

Perhaps there is need for paid registration activites. The few leaders who bestir; themselves to talk about political activities cannot do the total job. The bickering between the factions must stop long enough for the adoption of a sensible plan of co-ordination of efforts. Our first total effort must be to get the people registered in large enough numbers to be politically attractive. Then we can play politics by faction, it is this column's opinion. Until we get the names on the books then we must work to that end—block by block and street by street.

The Primary Issue In Athens

Atlanta Daily World

The action of the Clarke County Democratic Executive Committee in voting 9 to 1 to accept as binding the ruling of Federal District Judge T. Hoyt Davis in opening the Georgia Primaries to all qualified Negro voters, removes the need for further misunderstanding and provides a logical basis upon which all other counties and municipalities in the state may proceed. In truth, it does even more — it lays the foundation for genuine cooperation between the Negroes and whites; uproots the cause for cynicism on the part of Negroes toward their government, and ushers in a new era and possibility for representative government for the state.

11-25-45

Very wisely, Committee members held that to deny to qualified Athens Negroes the right to vote, in view of the clear language of Judge Davis' decision, would be to defy the Federal law, subject its members to fine or imprisonment and cause confusion on election day. Such a view is sound and sensible and it cannot fail to exercise a wholesome influence upon other communities in the state. It is the view which should have been taken by the Columbus, Georgia Committee in its election two days after the decision was handed down. The fact that Columbus Negroes did not cite the officials for contempt, is further evidence of their patience and long suffering in order to establish the right to vote by orderly process and recourse to the means at their command.

No.

Again, it should be pointed out that the prevailing view of the Committee is that the Judge's ruling covers city, county and state primary elections, as it most certainly does. And for communities or municipalities to act otherwise is but to irritate an issue already well established by the ruling and supported by the best legal opinion.

Finally, that well over a hundred of Athens' five hundred qualified Negro voters, cast ballots in Thursday's election without incidence, is further proof that the enfranchisement of Negroes of the South can be accomplished in an orderly and mutually helpful manner to all groups concerned. We hope the action in Clarke County will be followed speedily in other cities and counties of the state.

75 Per Cent Vote In Athens Primary

Atlanta Daily World

11-24-45

ATHENS, Ga.— (SNS) — More than 75 percent of the more than 400 Negroes registered for voting during the past month cast their ballots Friday in the Athens primary. It was the first time Negroes had voted in a Georgia Democratic primary in more than 40 years.

Robert McWhorter was nominated mayor of Athens for a third term.

The Clarke County Democratic Executive had followed the ruling of Federal Judge T. Hoyt Davis that Negroes were entitled to vote in the State's Democratic Primary.

No Longer Required For Voting

But Talmadge Still Objects To Negro Voter

By CLIFF MACKAY

ATLANTA.—(ANP) — Georgia, Wednesday, deserted the unpleasant company of seven sister poll tax states when the state house of representatives voted 141 to 51 to abolish payment of a $1 poll tax as a prerequisite to voting.

The state senate only the week before had placed its approval on the measure sending it to the house for action. The bill now awaits only the signature of the state's liberal governor Ellis Arnall before the evil of poll taxes are banned in Georgia.

The governor the week before in a joint session of the general assembly had warned the legislators unless they repealed the poll tax, he would suspend payment of the tax through executive order, a move interpreted by many political observers as an answer to former Governor Eugene Talmadge's sudden conversion to the religion of poll tax repeal.

Against Negro Voters

Talmadge had asserted that the poll tax "needs repealing so that every white man and woman in Georgia could vote," adding, "I'm still agin Nigras voting."

Repeal victory came only after a majority of the legislators had been assured that passage of the bill would in no way affect the white primary. Leading off the debate, Adie Durden of Dougherty county arguing on this line, said, "repeal will mean simply that he will be able to put 25 per cent more white voters on the registration lists."

He was joined by Speaker of the House Roy Harris, who, discussing the angle of Negro voters, pointed out that the originators of poll tax repeal in the East had mistakenly thought that the poll tax was the thing keeping Negroes from voting.

"They were wrong and you and I know it," he told his fellow legislators. "It's the white primary and you know and I know we're going to keep that no matter what the supreme court says. We are not only going to keep the white primary, but the segregation system and all the other sacred traditions we of the South hold so dear."

9,000 on Savannah Books

An opposite view was taken by Rep. Frank McNall of Savannah, who admitting that he was born in New York, boasted that he was "no damn Yankee." "If you repeal the poll tax," he asserted, "you can kiss the white primary in Georgia good-bye. Don't you gentlemen know that a large registration will mean white primary nominations will mean nothing?" "Why, we have 9,000 Negroes already on the books in Savannah, and if you repeal the poll tax they will be down there the next day registering in droves. The next time we come to this legislature there will be three or four black faces seated on this floor, just like there used to be. Do you want that?"

Urges Repeal

Urging repeal, Rep. Harrison of Jenkins county, declared, "The time has come for we in the southland to shed these things which have been holding us down."

Interrupted by Rep. Brown of Meriwether county, who asked, "Do you mean by that that you want to repeal our jim crow laws?" Harrison retorted, "That is not the issue here. Anyway I believe if political hacks would let them alone the God-fearing Negro and white people of Georgia would sit down and work out their problems to their own mutual satisfaction."

"Pleading for tolerance, Rep. Pittman of Bartow, declared, "If a man is good enough to carry a gun over there and fight and die, he's good enough to vote without paying tribute and they are certainly entitled to say who shall sit in this legislature. "The trouble is," he asserted, "too many of you are afraid of the plain people, the tenant farmer and the sharecropper."

"We should by approving this bill free and lowly people of this state from our greed and selfishness." Terming repeal a poll tax an "open wedge," Rep Weaver of Bibb county asserted, "after this we'll be getting bills to abolish our jim crow laws and to protect the civil rights of a certain segment of our population. This is just another move toward abolition of all of our cherished southern customs.". . .

RALPH McGILL

Strange Fruit On the Poll Tax Tree

To the list of those forward-looking liberals who have been urging the abolishment of the poll tax in Georgia, add the name of Mr. Eugene Talmadge.

He is a little late, but all bid him welcome to the cause of liberal thought and democracy.

It is true he forgot to notify his few weekly editors and his two daily echoes who last week were carrying on in the old-time manner, not knowing the fires of liberalism were burning in their master's heart and even then were about to burn away the poll tax barriers.

Their flip-flop next week will be interesting to see.

It is true that the ranks of his faithful few are strewn in windrows wherever they may be, their faces blanched, their eyes rolled back, and on their lips the whispered words, "Say it ain't so, Gene"

But it is. And emphatically so, too.

Apparently having communed with his herds, and walked his many fields close to nature, he has seen the light (and also the inevitable), and has issued his pronunciemento:

"Down with the poll tax. Let everybody vote."

He advocates, even, that this legislature, about to assemble, could do no better job than to abolish the poll tax in Georgia. This it was already thinking about doing and this ought to make it just about unanimous.

Obvious

This always has been the obvious position for Mr. Talmadge to take—a position so obvious those opposed to him used to tremble for fear he would take it during some tight race.

For, as others long have said, and as he now joins in saying, the poll tax keeps more white persons from voting than Negroes. The poll tax in Georgia dates back almost to the beginning of the colony and began with the state.

Mr. Talmadge's arguments in favor of abolishing the tax are exactly those presented here time after time. Apparently he sees the tide of public opinion rising against the tax. And, anyhow from his viewpoint, his stand is common sense and the wonder is he did not take it years ago.

There are 40 states in the Union which have no such tax. Opinion runs very strongly against it. It has come to be one of the whipping boys employed by every critic of the state and all others with the tax. But, aside from the moral and ethical principle involved there is the one of good sound political sense. Mr. Talmadge has never been a successful candidate when times are normal. He is a factor only when discontent is rife. When discontent is widespread a large percentage of those who have not paid up their poll taxes are among the most discontented of all. It was this fact which somehow escaped Mr. Talmadge until now, as it has escaped others who run in that sort of atmosphere. It is on this basis that he now wants to abolish the tax.

Well, as I have said, he is late, but welcome.

Weakness

As I have said in the past, I think any state has a perfect constitutional right to have a poll tax law. It has been blind reliance in this sort of "right" which has been one of the great weaknesses of the south and the southern position in the arena of national and, at times, international opinion.

As an example, slavery was entirely legal and constitutional. Yet slavery was wrong and public opinion so held it. The states had an undoubted legal right to secede. Yet states' rights, as a principle, had come to be wrong because they were against the interests of the Union as a whole.

The south was perfectly right, legally, in supporting these two measures. Yet, in the eyes of the rest of the nation and the eyes of most of the civilized world, the slavery position was morally wrong and the issue of states' rights was untenable when placed against the common cause of all.

The poll tax is a lesser issue, but a similar one. It is entirely legal. Yet it is wrong. We have a perfect legal right to it, but we are going to have it taken away from us if we do not give it up voluntarily. Forty states are against it. Their problems are not the same. Much of their opposition, or some of it, at least, is hypocritical. Nevertheless, the poll tax is wrong because it prevents a freer expression of the will of the people.

The poll tax has no connection at all with the white primary. That institution also is under attack. The supreme court, in a Texas case, has ruled against it when it nominates candidates who generally are unopposed in the final elections. Arkansas has abandoned it. It is a party system.

There is some discussion of a measure which would take out from our state laws any reference to the primary so as to avoid, possibly, any supreme court ruling. This would be a backward step, removing any and all laws covering primaries and leaving them open to any and all corrupt practices; returning them to the unsupervised, untouchable control of every ward, county or district handling elections.

It generally is not known in Georgia but there already is in the code, put there during the Hoke Smith administration, literacy and educational qualifications which would put about the primary all the protection it needs.

THIS MORNING

by JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Sense, not dollars, should be the requisite for voting in the South.

* *

Even though he had himself just called most significantly and importantly for a study of the Southern poll tax with a possible view to abolishing it by state action, Gov. Arnall, of Georgia, absented himself from the recent inter-racial conference in Atlanta of Southern editors and writers opposed to the tax. Here's hoping the very great promise in Gov. Arnall's move has not been compromised by this conference. Something for the fine people who took part in it to consider, however, is that their relative extremism (insofar as average Southern opinion is concerned) can do more harm than good to the anti-poll tax cause. The poll tax is an undemocratic abomination. It needs to be done away with by our states themselves (even as they rightly oppose federal interference). But in this and many other respects the hope of advancement in the South has come to lie now, in my opinion, not with the so-called liberals who, whether right or wrong, do not represent majority opinion among educated Southerners, but with those a v e r a g e educated Southerners who are perfectly ready now to have certain reforms and advancements achieved so long as there is not an accompanying threat of more reforms and of advances they will not endure. That is why Gov. Arnall, who is a more-or-less enlightened politician rather than a "liberal," can accomplish far more now than those who held the Atlanta conference.

Primaries Endangered by Proposed Revision

Atlanta Constitution E.

The only dangerous proposal made by the constitutional revision commission, as the League of Women Voters has pointed out several times, is the elimination of a section of the Bill of Rights which regulates who shall vote in a primary. 1-3-45

To most citizens the convention method of nominating candidates is an appalling spectacle and one that is difficult to comprehend. It is obvious that at a national convention, where candidates for president and vice president are nominated, it is the wishes of the well oiled political machine that usually prevail. Only on very rare occasions are the people's voices heard. However, in our state, candidates for congress, for state offices and for local positions are nominated in a direct primary. This is a far more democratic method than the convention, because in the direct primary every citizen has the opportunity to vote and thus to make his wishes count.

Anything that weakens the direct primary weakens the democratic system. And yet the Georgia constitutional revision commission has voted to recommend the deletion of a provision that will seriously jeopardize our Georgia primaries. 1-3-45

In the states that have two parties, each party holds a primary at which candidates for office are nominated. Those who win these nominations then run against each other in the general election. But because Georgia is a one-party state, the primaries are our real elections. There is only one party to put up a candidate in the election. Therefore, whoever is nominated in the primary will usually be ratified without opposition, in the election.

The Democratic executive committee (either city, county or state, as the case may be) is in charge of the primary. In most cases these committees are laws unto themselves. Many citizens are unaware that these committees even exist and do not understand their importance or power. 1-3-45

Elections are the foundation of democracy. Fair, honest, free and secret elections are the basis upon which a democracy is built. In Georgia, the primaries are these basic elections. Therefore, it is not surprising that there are a number of statutes regulating the primaries and the Democratic executive committees that are in charge of the primaries. There is, also, a very important regulation in the constitution of Georgia which has been there since 1908. The constitution provides that:

No person shall be allowed to participate in a primary of any political party or a convention of any political party in this state who is not a qualified voter. In other words, the registration lists which are used for elections must be used for primaries. This is as it should be. Careful regulations have been enacted to safeguard the registration lists, so that only those who are qualified can vote. And because of the above quoted provision in the constitution, the same protections extend to primaries.

The commission which has just finished revising the constitution has voted to recommend that this paragraph be taken out of the constitution. 1-3-45

In the now famous "Texas decision," the supreme court of the United States recently decided that under Texas laws primaries were an integral part of the election machinery and therefore no one could be denied the right to vote in the primary because of race or color. Fearing that the Democratic primary could no longer be limited to white voters, other southern states sought means to get around this decision. For example, South Carolina has attempted to repeal every law that regulates or mentions primaries in any way, hoping that primaries will then be considered purely a party affair.

The League of Women Voters has taken no stand on the question of Negroes voting. But it is deeply concerned with safeguarding our election machinery.

If Georgia votes to delete this paragraph from the constitution, it will be starting down a dangerous road. There has been no claim that primaries no longer need regulating. In fact, those who have studied the matter knows that the primaries and the Democratic executive committees need more regulating, not less. The only purpose in this proposed change is to get around the supreme court decision and we shall be throwing away the safeguards that have been protecting these primary elections for many years. 1-3-45

Unregulated primaries may easily become a tool in the hands of the professional politician and result in the disgrace of our state. Nothing lessens the citizens' faith in democracy so much as the fraudulent use of election machinery. Anything that shakes the citizens' confidence in the ballot box is dangerous. If we follow the line of freeing our primaries from all regulations in Georgia, we are jeopardizing our elections, the foundation upon which our government rests.

In the event the legislature, like the commission, deletes this important section from the Bill of Rights, we urge the citizens of Georgia to be on the alert when the time comes and vote to retain this safeguard in our constitution.

THE POLL TAX

Birmingham News 3-3-45

Certainly a more opportune time for the poll tax question could have been chosen than now during a war. It is an obnoxious problem and will certainly have to be settled before long, and it seems that it will cause as much trouble as the court-packing problem of some years ago.

Anyone will admit that paying a poll tax is a lot of trouble; we wish it could be done away with. It has one good feature, however—all the money goes to the education fund, but that is a mere drop in the bucket compared to moneys needed. The real purpose of the tax is to prevent certain unqualified people from voting. In that, it is a failure. Many who can afford to pay the tax are ill prepared to vote, and a number of intelligent Negroes, who are good citizens and who are respected in their communities, are prevented from voting. There seems to be no way to make the poll tax work. There should be qualifications for voting other than paying $1.50. And what these qualifications should be can be determined locally by each county. Just as the whisky situation was solved by local option, so could the poll tax question be worked.

The poll tax question is not one that can be voted down in a day; it should be studied and then remedied.—Hale County News (Moundville).

61e-1945

Poll Tax- Massachusetts

Massachusetts' Poll Tax

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

I read your remarks in the paper this morning (October 26) about the poll tax in Massachusetts. Since I have been living in Richmond I have found that many people here are confused about the status of the poll tax in Massachusetts and so hasten to inform them about this matter any time they evince any interest in it. I lived in Massachusetts for over 20 years and so know whereof I speak.

The second statement quoted in your editorial was a correct statement of the general situation there, but this statement was misinterpreted by you. It is true that one need not pay the poll tax in order to vote. However, a person not known to be a legal resident there must pay the poll tax or show a poll tax receipt in order to register as a voter, i. e., to prove that he is a legal resident. Judging from your editorial, you are apparently under the impression that this must be done every year, if one wishes to vote every year. This is not the case. Once a person is registered, he need not pay any more poll tax and can vote all he wants, with no disturbance in most cities and towns. I, myself, have voted in Massachusetts for several years without paying any poll tax.

If one leaves the State, but wishes to maintain his legal residence there and so sends for absentee ballots, he must show by poll tax receipt that he is still a resident, or they will not send a ballot. However, here again it is a matter of proof of legal residence, not a fee for the right to vote. I paid a poll tax under these conditions for several years until I became a legal resident and voter in Virginia.

Most people (though not all) in Massachusetts feel that the required payment of a poll tax for the right to vote is a very unjust and high-handed procedure. I shared their views for a long time, but after spending a few years in this State, I can also understand the opposite view, which prevails here. It is very true that it does not seem right to allow irresponsible people to influence, by their votes, the disposition of the tax money and property of those who are more responsible. Unfortunately, there seems to be a greater proportion of people of limited means and responsibility here (white as well as colored) than in the Northern States. Even the "Yankees" might be alarmed to see these people dominating the government, but their answer to this is, "free votes and more education," calculated to increase the sense of responsibility.

As for the first quotation in your editorial about the sheriff standing at the polls to collect the taxes, I have never seen anything like that and it must be very unusual and probably unauthorized, if carried out by force.

A READER.

Richmond.

SOUTH HOPES TO MAINTAIN WHITE SUPREMACY WITHOUT POLL TAX; PLANS TO BLOCK NEGRO VOTE

Black Dispatch
Okla. City, Okla.

Will Fight For Old Slave Racial Traditions Thru Loophole in Supreme Court Decision

PRIMARIES TO BE WHIPPED FROM STATUTE BOOKS

3-10-45

WASHINGTON.—(ANP)—Repeal of poll taxes in the South is definitely linked with the struggle to retain white primaries.

That was the view taken by many of the nation's leading political experts last week after Tom Watson, Florida's Democratic chairman, pleaded for the right of Negroes to vote in the state primaries.

Watson, like other southern leaders, argued that the south can still preserve "white" primaries while letting the Negro vote.

The South, it was pointed out, has no intention of surrending its old slave racial traditions nor should its sudden efforts to voluntarily repeal poll taxes be intepreted as a sincere about-face on the question of equal rights for the Negro. 3-10-45

"Let's go ahead and repeal the poll tax," they argue. "We still have our white primaries."

Gov. Eugene Talmadge, a white supremacy champion, argued this in Georgia before the repeal of the vote levy in that state a few days ago. Gov. Olin D. Johnson, now U. S. senator, of South Carolina, called an extraordinary session of the legislature for the purpose of stripping the statute books of all reference to the primaries in order to give the Democratic and other parties liberty to make their own rules and regulations to block the Negro vote. 3-10-45

Under Georgia's new constitution a method is being planned to control the Negro vote. No reference to primaries is included. Alabama plans to "permit those Negroes who believe in the principles of the Democratic party and who have properly registered and have paid their poll taxes to vote in our primaries," according to a recent proposal of Gessner T. McCorvey, Democratic chairman.

McCorvey believes that the way to handle the situation is to see that only qualified persons register. He proposes to vest boards of registrars with judicial authority and give each prospective voter the right of appeal and trial by jury if his registration is denied.

On the other hand, Arkansas Democratic leaders have drafted legislation calling for separate primaries for state and federal offices and to allow political parties to set qualifications for the voters in their primaries. These bills, which passed the state legislature, would in effect prevent Negroes from voting in primary elections for state offices.

The Texas decision has aroused only academic interest in Tennessee and North Carolina, states were Negroes already vote in primaries. Tennessee, a poll tax state, repealed the levy in 1943 but the supreme court held a constitutional amendment was necessary. Anti-poll tax forces have been unable to complete repeal of the measure since the supreme court's ruling.

North Carolina and Florida have no poll tax. The trend of the arguments in favor of repeal of the poll taxes in the seven states is seen as an indication to definitely link the levy with a grim fight to retain "white" primaries rather than any move on the part of the South to be really democratic toward Negro citizens.

Jarman On Poll Tax

Montgomery Advertiser

Not long ago Congressman Pete Jarman made a clearcut statement in Washington about his position on the poll tax. In some way his statement was bungled in transmission. But here it is, clear as a bell:

"I have always fought the unconstitutional attempt to abolish the poll tax by Federal action and always shall. Whether it is proper for citizens between 21 and 45 years of age to contribute $1.50 annually to education for the privilege of voting, is entirely a matter for the people of Alabama to decide. They are perfectly capable of doing so, which I am confident is true of those of other poll tax States. I have no disposition whatever to dictate to them relative to the matter. I cannot refrain, however, from adding that the position I understand Gov. Sparks takes that the Alabama Legislature should do nothing in the premises so long as outsiders attempt to force action through the national Congress, is thoroughly understandable. 3-17-45

Primary Regulations, Poll Tax Repeal Keep South's Politicos Busy

Birmingham News
2-23-45

BY HENRY LESESNE

ATLANTA — (AP) — One-party states of the Solid South are pondering ways to keep "white" primaries white.

Spur is decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Texas case last year holding that Negroes are entitled to vote in primaries of that state.

One state, South Carolina, already has acted. Elsewhere, in legislative chambers or in party councils, various plans are being proposed. In every approach to the problem, the poll tax is brought in.

Advocates of poll tax repeal in states retaining the levy—seven, since Georgia recently left the fold—argue, "Let's go ahead and repeal the poll tax; we still have our white primaries."

2-23-45

SOUTH CAROLINA ACTED QUICKLY after the Texas decision. Sen. Olin D. Johnston, then governor, called the Legislature into extraordinary session. Lawmakers stripped statute books of all reference to primaries. This left Democratic and other parties at liberty to make their own rules and regulations.

Thus the Democratic party itself can set up qualifications for voters in its primary. In practice, this has been more or less the case in the past.

In Georgia about the same thing is being done. A new constitution is to be submitted to the electorate. Already the redrafting commission and both branches of the Legislature have removed all reference to primaries. 2-23-45

* * *

A DIFFERENT PROPOSAL HAS BEEN MADE IN ALABAMA. Testifying before an interim legislative committee, Democratic Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey opposed both the old convention system and primaries held solely under party authority.

McCorvey proposed — and his proposal was endorsed by Gov. Chauncey Sparks — "permitting those Negroes who believe in the principles of the Democratic party and who have property registered and have paid their poll taxes to vote in our primaries."

The way to handle the situation, he said, is to see that only qualified persons register. To this end he would vest boards of registrars with judicial authority, and give each prospective voter the right of appeal and trial by jury if his registration is denied.

He proposed elimination of a constitutional provision giving any owner of $300 worth of personal property the right to register. A requirement that the prospective voter be able to read and write any article of the constitution would be strengthened so that he must also "understand" the article.

The Alabama Legislature meets in May. One member has already announced he will seek to do away with cumulative feature of the state's $1.50 a year poll tax, limiting collection of back taxes to two years.

* * *

IN ARKANSAS DEMOCRATIC LEADERS have drafted legislation calling for separate primaries for state and federal offices and to allow political parties to set qualifications for voters in their primaries. 2-23-45

In Florida, the issue was brought to the front when a circuit judge issued a writ ordering registration of two Negroes as Democrats. The State Democratic Executive Committee opposed the writ. The case may go to higher courts.

In Tennessee and North Carolina, Negroes already vote in primaries. North Carolina isn't a poll tax state, but Tennessee is. The Tennessee Legislature repealed the poll tax in 1943, but the Supreme Court held a constitutional amendment was necessary. Since then anti-poll tax forces may have not been able to muster enough strength to put another repealer through.

Louisiana is the other Southern state which has no poll tax. Mississippi and Virginia are other poll tax states, but their Legislatures aren't meeting this Spring.

* * *

SHARPEST FIGHT SEEMS TO BE SHAPING UP in Alabama, where the state's junior Sen. Lister Hill, recently issued a statement advocating outright repeal of the tax. Gov. Sparks has said that he will make no recommendation to the Legislature for a change so long as present outside agitation for poll tax abolition continues."

End of the poll tax came dramatically in Georgia, where 37-year-old Gov. Ellis Arnall appeared before the Legislature and threatened to suspend the levy by executive order unless lawmakers repealed it. Within a few days, both houses of the Legislature voted for repeal.

POLL TAX FORCE MAY LOSE FIGHT

Birmingham Age

BY WILLIAM F. ARBOGAST

WASHINGTON, May 30—(AP)—Southern Democrats all but gave up hope today of stopping anti-poll tax legislation in the House.

Their plans for blocking a measure to outlaw the payment of poll taxes as a qualification for voting in any election of candidates for national office evidently were built around the Senate, which has stifled similar House-passed measures in the past. 5-31-45

Poll-tax foes found little encouragement in a study of the names of 218 representatives whose signatures to a discharge petition tossed the issue squarely into the lap of the House. It will come up for a decision June 11.

Among the signers of the petition which took the repeal bill away from the House judiciary committee were 109 Democrats, 107 Republicans, one Progressive and one American-Laborite, Marcantonio, New York, whose bill was the subject of the petition.

Disclosure that more than half the Republican membership had signed—there are only 189 Republicans in the House—led foes of the legislation to assail it as a Republican measure, a move apparently designed to alienate some Democratic votes from Marcantonio's bill. 5-31-45

Most of the 109 Democrats who signed hail from the North, the Midwest and the Far West. But there were a few signers from below the Mason and Dixon Line.

Administration leaders were none too happy over the prospect of a fight almost certain to split the Democratic lines that have held fast in recent months. The Democratic signers represented almost half of the party's House strength.

Frequently in the not-too-distant past, Republicans and dissident Democrats have combined to defeat administration proposals, and the Democratic leadership has sought to avoid issues that might sow the seeds of new coalitions.

But, where past coalitions generally have found Southern Democrats voting with Republicans, the poll-tax fight finds the tables reversed—with the Southerners on what is almost certain to be the losing end of a controversy with Republicans and "Yankee" Democrats.

Threatened Poll Tax Split Worries Demos

Birmingham News
5-30-45 AL2.

Union Strike Notices Have Soared Since Lewis' Vote Demands; Senators Plan European Trip

WASHINGTON, May 30—(AP)—Democratic leaders expressed fear today that a split in the majority party's ranks over the poll tax issue might jeopardize the administration's postwar plans.

Such a schism arraying Southern Democrats against their Northern colleagues appeared almost certain as the House groomed for another tussle on this question:

Whether it shall be illegal for any state to require a poll tax as a requirement for voting in a primary or general election for candidates for federal office. Seven Southern states have poll tax laws.

A discharge petition yesterday circumvented the judiciary and rules committees and threw the issue squarely before the chamber. There the Southern Democrats have little hope of blocking the legislation. But they claim they can stop it in the Senate.

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Congressmen Ignore Poll Tax Hearing

Montgomery Advertiser
2-17-45 Ala.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 16.—(AP)—Seven Southern congressmen failed today to attend a hearing to defend their right to sit in Congress.

Moss A. Plunkett, attorney from Roanoke, Va., who is contesting the elections of 69 congressmen from Southern States in a test of the poll tax, provided seven armchairs, a list of questions and a stenographer-notary public to take down the answers.

He was not surprised when none of the seven he "summoned" showed up at the hearing in a hotel a few blocks from the Capitol.

Those called were Senators Connally (D), Texas; Bilbo (D), Mississippi; Byrd (D), Virginia; McKella (D), Tennessee, and Representatives Rankin (D), Mississippi; Rayburn (D), Texas, and Smith (D), Virginia.

House Poll Tax Foes Prepare To Force Vote

Montgomery Advertiser
5-31-45

WASHINGTON, May 30—(AP)—Southern Democrats all but gave up hope today of stopping anti-poll tax legislation in the House.

Their plans for blocking a measure to outlaw the payment of poll taxes as a qualification for voting in any election of candidates for National office evidently were built around the Senate, which has stifled similar House-passed measures in the past.

Foes of the legislation found little consolation in a study of the names of 218 Representatives whose signatures to a discharge petition tossed the issue squarely into the lap of the House. It will come up for a decision on June 11.

GEORGIA EDITORS SAY:

Atlanta Constitution
CHANGING WORLD 6-2.
1-27-45

(Oglethorpe Echo)

It is remarkable and a source of amazement to us how quickly the public can change its mind and views on public matters. Public opinion is a fickle thing, especially in the realm of politics, and no man dares challenge it.

Just a short while back it was nothing less than lese majeste to suggest doing away with the poll tax. This was anathama to the old true and tried southern Democrat. Our congressmen and senators would read Sears-Roebuck catalogs on the floor of congress for days in their efforts to kill any attempt to abolish it. To do so would imperil white supremacy and grant the Negro political powers that would render us impotent.

1-27-45

But, how time changes things! All of a sudden, we all see how silly we were and the bug-a-boos have suddenly all vanished and we aren't scared anymore. The Negro doesn't enter into the question anymore (Gene Talmadge said so) and white supremacy is no longer challenged. And we believe the legislature is going to do away with it. And what then will the professional south hater in the north bait us with?

We've always been for the retention of the poll tax, but, doggonnit, we're agin it now!

GEORGIA EDITORS SAY:

Atlanta World
1-31-45

HOPE MR. DURDEN IS CORRECT

(Albany Herald)

Rep. Adie N. Durden, veteran Dougherty county solon who is floor leader of the Georgia house of representatives, predicted last week end that the lower chamber of the general assembly would pass the senate-approved bill repealing the $1-a-year poll tax.

We sincerely hope the local legislator's prognostication will be borne out.

Arguments to the effect that abolition of the poll tax would cause our schools to suffer—since money thus raised is placed in the educational fund—leave us cold. In the first place, money derived from the tax is but a very small part of the total outlay appropriated for educating our children. And in the second place, if the schools need more money, the general assembly is certainly empowered to find other means of providing it.

As for charges made recently by some members of the legislature to the effect that the bill originated in "Harlem, N. Y.," these are too ridiculous on their face to deny.

Suffice it to say that the poll tax and "white supremacy" are in no way related.

Georgia's young governor, Ellis Gibbs Arnall, sounded a courageous call in asking for repeal of the tax in an historic address to the assembly last week. The senate responded by passing, by a gratifyingly large majority, the measure sponsored by its president, Frank Gross. The legislation's fate now rests on the hands of the house.

And members of this body should bear in mind that if they kill the bill, there is bound to be passed by the United States congress sooner or later, legislation removing the poll tax as a qualification for voting in all elections for President and members of congress. Georgia should beat congress to the punch.

HOUSE APPROVES POLL TAX DEATH FOR THIRD TIME

Southerners Defeated; Bill Applies To Voting For Federal Posts

Birmingham Age

WASHINGTON, June 12—(AP)—Overriding objections of Southern Democrats, the House passed today and sent to the Senate legislation to abolish the poll tax as a requirement for voting for federal offices.

It was the third time in successive congresses the House has approved the measure, and—as in the past—foes predicted it would die in the Senate.

Passage came on a 251 to 105 roll call vote, after hours of sharp debate before a crowded House. Spirits ran high during the argument, and at one time the chair had to admonish spectators not to applaud.

Most Southerners, and a few Republicans, assailed the legislation as an invasion of states' rights and termed it unconstitutional. Proponents denied this, and contended the bill is needed "to provide freedom of the ballot" for millions of Southerners.

6-13-45

The measure declares illegal any regulation imposing the poll tax as requirement of voting for president, vice president or congressmen. Such laws are now in effect in Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

Several Southerners told the House they opposed the levy, but did not think the federal government had the power to abrogate it.

"The evidence before us is that the states themselves one by one are abolishing the tax," Chairman Sumners (D., Tex.) of the judiciary committee commented. "Give us time."

Rep. Bender (R., Ohio) asserted, however, that federal action is needed now "because the idea persists in many sections that the levy is necessary to the maintenance of white supremacy."

6-13-45

Rep. Patrick (D., Ala.), one of the few Southern supporters of the measure, commented that "the voters of the South are more progressive than the office holders—they want to see this tax done away with."

"I have long advocated repeal of the tax in my state," Rep. Woodrum (D., Va.) said. "But not under the wildest stretch of the imagination has the federal government the power to prescribe the qualifications of the voters in the states."

61e-1945

Poll Tax- Tennessee

Poll Tax Repeal Is Dead

Memphis-Commercial Appeal

Even Tennessee's Advocates Of Relief For Vets Of World War II Can't Revive Issue

Memphis, Tenn. 2-4-45

NASHVILLE, Feb. 1.—The poll tax is dead for this session of the General Assembly, and it is doubtful that even the attempts of the repealists to revive their case through action on the measure to forever free members of the armed forces from payment of the tax will avail them any greater success than was accorded the other measures which were rejected first by the Senate, then by the House.

The experience of this year, coupled with the experience two years ago when the Supreme Court declared invalid the act passed by the 1943 General Assembly, should move proponents of repeal—and proponents of election reform in Tennessee — to only one course of action, a concerted and well-organized drive to amend or rewrite the state's constitution so that poll tax modification, as well as other needed governmental modernizations may be instituted in a manner that is valid beyond the remotest interpretation of the constitution.

Mr. Morris

As long as that section of the constitution remains which declares "all male citizens of this state over the age of 21 years, except such persons as may be exempted by law on account of age or other infirmity shall be liable to a poll tax of not less than 50 cents nor more than $1 per annum," then may it be expected that opponents of repeal will have a staunch leg on which to stand and to base their opposition.

Antis Control, Definitely

Irrespective of whether their opposition is thrown up sincerely on constitutional grounds, or whether it is merely a screen behind which they may hide, he anti-repealists hold the upper hand and by so doing will balk other election reforms such as permanent registration.

Once that section of the constitution is rewritten, if such can ever be accomplished, then the poll tax can be dragged out and repealed or imposed strictly on its merits and demerits, and nothing can stop it.

The sooner the repealists decide on such a course of action and pitch into it, the sooner they may expect to see their goal of freeing the ballot in Tennessee realized.

It is not a course between strictly with roses, but certainly it can be no more rocky than the road they have trod these past years as they suffered rebuff after rebuff, only to return again, again and again to attempt the same sort of attack which brought them defeats.

2-4-45

Shape Job For Ballew

A compromise arrangement has been presented to Governor McCord by a group, composed of business and civic leaders, under which Brig. Gen. T. A. Frazier would be retained as state director of Selective Service although losing his spot as adjutant general. Under the arrangement, the adjutant general's post would go either to J. H. Ballew of Nashville, a former holder of the office and also a former Senate speaker, or to Lieut. Col. G. Hilton Butler, now head of the Manpower Division of Selective Service.

The compromise would give Ballew the choice of accepting either the adjutant generalcy or the commissionership of the new department of employment which will be set up under an administration bill divorcing the unemployment Compensation Division and the Tennessee Employment Service from the State Department of Labor. Ballew's choice would then leave the remaining office open to Colonel Butler, whether it be the adjutant generalcy or the commissionership of the new department.

POLL TAX RULED ILLEGAL

N.Y. Times - N.Y.C.

Tennessee Magistrate Orders State to Refund Levy, Penalty

3-30-45

GREENVILLE, Tenn., March 29 (AP)—Magistrate J. A. Sentelle ruled today that collection of a poll tax is illegal in Tennessee and ordered refunding of the tax and a penalty paid by a landowner under protest.

The Magistrate rendered the judgment in a suit by J. D. Johnson against County Trustee Bruce Graham and George McCanless, State Commissioner of Finance and Taxation.

Mr. Johnson paid the poll tax under protest. He pleaded that the levy of a poll tax against him was unjust, illegal and against a valid statute of the State and the Constitutions of Tennessee and the United States.

He based his plea on a contention that since the State Legislature had repealed the poll tax, the declaring of the repealer law unconstitutional by the State Supreme Court was in effect a relevying of the tax by the court, a function not delegated to it by the constitution.

VETERANS' VOTING PRIVILEGE DENIED

Times-Picayune New Orleans, La.

Tennessee Rejects Full Poll Tax Exemption

2-14-45

(The Associated Press)

Nashville, Tenn., Feb. 13.—A proposal to allow war veterans the permanent privilege of voting without paying poll taxes in Tennessee was voted down this morning by the House of Representatives, which last night approved extension until 1949 of measures giving the free vote to those in active service or who have just been discharged.

The vote was 52 to 32 in favor of tabling a bill by Representative Edward Dotson with five present and not voting.

Dotson, speaking on his bill which was called up as a special order today as result of deferring action taken last Thursday, said that he had agreed to withdraw the veterans' bill in the interest of getting passage of the soldier voting bills which he described as "compromise" measures.

In view of the opposition by poll tax repeal advocates to the withdrawal of the veterans' bill, Dotson said he would leave it to the members of the House to decide what to do with it. He passed when his own name was reached in the roll call.

The tabling motion was made by Representative Frazier Riggins who said mose of the arguments at this session had been on the subject of the poll tax and he felt it had been sufficiently aired.

Representative R. M. Murray sought to speak on the bills but was ruled out of order by Speaker George Woods who also refused to allow Murray to speak on a point of personal privilege while the tabling motion was pending.

The other two Dotson bills, which he called up last night to the surprise of the poll tax repeal bloc, passed without dissenting votes after an extended discussion in which their value was questioned by several speakers.

Tennessee Senate Kills Poll Tax Bill

1-26-45

Montgomery Advertiser

NASHVILLE, TENN., Jan. 25.—(AP)—The Senate of the Tennessee general assembly by a vote of 22 to 9 with one present and not voting, rejected this morning a bill which would have removed the requirement that voters present evidence that poll taxes have been paid 60 days previous to an election. The Senate also rejected a second poll tax proposal which would reduce the amount of the State tax from $1 to 50 cents, by a vote of 22 to 10.

Poll Tax Repeal Goes Ahead

Commercial Appeal Memphis, Tenn.

Tennessee Proponents Have Plan To Put Opponents In Legislature On The Spot

1-7-45

By PAUL MORRIS

NASHVILLE, Tenn., Jan. 6.—Proponents of poll tax repeal, apparently undismayed by on the surface rebuffs handed them by the incoming administration in the organization of the Seventy-Fourth General Assembly, are regrouping their forces for a renewed battle aimed as much at putting members and the administration on record on the perennial question as it is at getting the vote tax removed. Although only one poll tax bill has found its way into the legislative hoppers, there appears to be no shortage of the proposals which are being drawn and are awaiting only the inauguration of Governor-elect McCord for their introduction.

Mr. Morris

1-7-45

Included in the lot is one which will prove extremely embarassing for any member to dodge supporting—it will make the provisions of the 1944-enacted soldier vote bill available to all members of the armed forces from Tennessee, even after they are discharged from the service. In addition to the members of the actual armed forces, it will take in those Tennesseans who served in kindred services just as did the 1944 act, which was passed to pave the way for ome 300,000 Tennesseans to have the right of free and untaxed suffrage.

The 1944 act provides that the poll tax free voting law for soldiers will not be effective for more than six months after the present war, or in no event shall it remain in force after April 15, 1945, "unless, by appropriate action, a subsequent Legislature . . . shall extend the same."

1-5-45

Basis Already Provided

And it may be on that last line that proponents may have something on which to hang their case.

The 1944 act passed the special session called by Governor Cooper without a dissenting vote, and in record time. To have opposed the measure would have been political suicide on the part of any legislator.

POLL TAX RULED ILLEGAL

N.Y. N.Y.

Tennessee Magistrate Orders State to Refund Levy, Penalty

New York Times

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3-30-45

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Poll Tax Repeal Dies In Rut

Commercial Appeal Memphis, Tenn. 1-28-45

Governor McCord Duplicated Cooper's Action In Tossing Buck To Members Of Tennessee Legislature

By PAUL MORRIS

NASHVILLE, Jan. 27.—There is striking parallel between the course of the State Senate on Thursday and that of the Upper House in the 1941 session, when poll tax bills were rejected without discussion on their merits or demerits. By the same token, there is a striking parallel between the attitude or Governor McCord in this week's action and the attitude of Governor Cooper in 1941, when the knife was adroitly applied to poll tax legislation under a publicly proclaimed attitude of "hands-off" from the gubernatorial office.

Mr. Morris

Governor Cooper in his message to the assembly at the opening of the 1941 session emphasized that the question of the poll tax was a matter "that that should be left to the discretion of the Legislature since you know best how it will affect your individual counties."

Governor McCord, in answer to a signed request from members of the press for comment Wednesday on the Senate committee's action on two poll tax bills which set the stage for a repetition of the same sort of knifing action that was meted out to the two bills in 1941, replied:

"These bills pertain to a matter that is entirely in the hands of the Legislature. My administration leaders have been given no instructions as to the position that shall be taken on this legislation." 1-28-45

Cooper Issued Disavowal

After the 1941 episode, Governor Cooper publicly disclaimed any interest or participation in the knifing operation, but irrespective of his disclaimers, the death of the two bills was laid almost directly at the door of the gubernatorial office, and it broke off some political relationships that had flowered luxuriantly for the first two years of the Cooper administration.

Among other things that business saw the Nashville Tennessean and its publisher tear post-haste out of the Crump-Cooper boudoir, never to return during the two remaining terms of Governor Cooper.

Governor Changes Horses

It also saw the Tennessean and a number of other state papers unleash an unrelenting attack on Cooper, which finally drove the former Shelbyville lawyer to about-face and go before the 1943 session and not only ask, but fight, for repeal of the poll tax. It also saw the Shelby County delegation go along and vote for the repeal bill which was later tossed out by the Supreme Court.

Now much the same situation exists as in 1941. The gubernatorial office proclaimed hands-off, whilst the carving was done on the bills pertaining to the poll tax—during this season any further consideration of such measures.

All of which poses the question:

Will McCord be charged with any responsibility in the knifing action or will repealists completely overlook the gubernatorial office in their efforts to place the blame at the feet of various and sundry political bosses? 1-28-45

On the basis of all signs, the repealists apparently are going to absolve Governor McCord of all responsibility in the fiasco this year, and continue to direct their laments only at the political bosses.

Around The Hill

Upping the salaries of officials seems to be the chief concern of members of the General Assembly this session . . . There have been as many, if not more, bills introduced increasing the pay of county and city officials than on any other subject . . . Wagers on a minimum of 50 days for the current session are gaining . . . As soon as the truck weight bills are cleared out, the emphasis on sine die adjournment may take on renewed life . . . Rocky Palmer of Ripley is awaiting his induction call for military service . . . He declined to accept deferment on his membership in the General Assembly.

In Democratic Primary

No Poll Tax Needed as Negroes Vote in Tennessee

Pittsburgh, Pa. Courier 11-24-45

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—Some 7,000 Negroes voted last week in the Davidson County Democratic primary, without the necessity of obtaining a poll tax, for the first time in the county's history. The Democratic primary here, is tantamount to the general election of other States, as not since 1869 have Republican County officers been elected.

TAX STILL APPLIES

Negroes have been permitted to vote always in Tennessee primaries in the majority of counties. The poll tax still applies for all voters in general and Federal elections held in this State.

However, neither white nor colored voters were permitted to indicate their preference on whether or not the city should issue $3,000,000 in bonds to improve streets and sewers without a poll tax.

Race leaders took an active part in the campaigning for county officers here, although all of the candidates were white. Merl R. Epse, president of the Negro Club in the City's Fifth Ward, was active in leading a move to halt "shakedowns" of business men by candidates for sheriff and other offices in the curent election.

61e-1945

Poll Tax Virginia

The Poll Tax

Richmond Times

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

I note one of your subscriber has requested information regarding the poll tax. I would like to inform him and others readers of your paper. 3-19-45

The so-called Democratic party states the radicals enfranchised all of lawful age, regardless of color or creed, in order to send as many men to Congress as possible. All went in harmony until many left the party and went over to the Republican party. One of the reasons was the so-called Democratic party wanted to select and appoint its candidates to office regardless of the wishes of the rank and file in Virginia. The so-called Democratc ringmasters saw the handwriting on the wall and met in Richmond in 1902 and the poll tax was born and put in effect. I have never been able to find out, or anyone else, where they secured their lawful authority. They certainly did not derive their authority from the laws of God or from Locke, Blackstone and Grenleay. 3-19-45

The poll tax is condemned and branded an outlaw by the Constitution of the United States, including the Bill of Rghts and some other amendments, as well as by the precepts of the Declaration of Independence. There cannot be a sovereignty, nationally or in a State, unless it is the free will of the people put in effect and administered to all alike. Otherwise it becomes a monopoly and should be dealt with ere it is too late. 3-19-45

Democracy's mission on earth is like salvation—to leaven the whole lump of mankind. Free speech and free press are handicapped without a free ballot.

V. GARLAND DAVIS.

Virginians and the Poll Tax

Richmond Va.

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

The following statement, more colorful than correct, recently appeared in "The Cavalier's" column:

"The majority of our residents and sovereign voters don't give a tinker's dam about the poll tax." 4-20-45 Va.

If Virginians' interest in the poll tax as a voting requirement is less than "a tinker's dam," why do practically all Virginia politicians find it necessary to take a stand on the question? Why do such prominent organization men as Congressman Woodrum, to mention only one, announce their opposition to the tax and recommend its prompt elimination, as a voting qualification, from our Constitution? Why indeed did Governor Darden and our General Assembly consider it necessary to appoint a committee to "study" the subject?

In the midst of our supreme war effort, the Virginia newspapers daily publish headline stories, editorials and letters from "the people" mostly advocating the abolition of the poll tax on voting. Is it the practice of suave politicians and astute newspaper editors to give such attention to any question about which their constituents and their readers "don't give a tinker's dam"? 4-20-45

Tories there were in our Revolutionary days who resented and tried to tone down the spirit then abroad in our land which found expression in such outbursts as the Boston tea party and Patrick Henry's immortal speech in old St. John's. Modern Tories there are, it seems, who face a poll tax "tea party" and a Yorktown finish. There will be few Virginians to bemoan their fate or to "give a tinker's dam."

ROBERT N. NASE,

Richmond.

CIO Opposes Referendum On Poll Tax

Richmond Times 2-14-45 Va.

Burch Supports Convention Plan

Opposition to the referendum proposing a restricted constitutional convention designed to remove poll tax and registration barriers in order that members of the armed forces may vote in Virginia, was expressed yesterday by the executive committee of the Congress of Industrial Organizations through the State president Boyd Peyton, and the regional director, Ernest Pugh.

The announcement of the two officials of the CIO in Virginia followed the adoption by a meeting of approximately 40 State representatives of the organization in Lynchburg Sunday of a statement terming the convention proposal "a nefarious, well-planned plot . . . to betray once again the people of Virginia." 2-14-45

Meanwhile, Representative Thomas C. Burch, of the Fifth District, issued a statement from his home in Martinsville, announcing his support of the convention plan which is before the people in a referendum election to be held March 6.

"If the proposal to hold this convention is defeated," Mr. Burch said, "such action will in itself constitute a denial of the vote to those in the armed forces. I, therefore, approve of the action of the General Assembly, at its recent special session, in setting in motion the necessary procedure to guarantee the voting privilege to members of the military establishment . . ."

Text of CIO Statement

2-14-45

Following is the text of the CIO's statement in opposition to the referendum:

"The motion was, 'Shall we oppose and vote against the holding of a convention limited to removal of the poll tax only so far as members of the armed forces are concerned?' The motion was affirmatively carried, with one dissenting vote. The bases of reasoning were:

"(1) It is abhorrent to all democratic principles to remove this poll tax from 10 per cent of the voters temporarily and keep it on the remaining 90 per cent of the voters.

"(2) The idea of the General Assembly presumptuously usurping the prerogative of daring to tell a constitutional convention what it shall do and shall not do violates every principle of orderly government by a free and untrammeled electorate.

"(3) A constitutional convention is, or should be, the supreme and unhampered voice of the people of a sovereign State and should be free of restrictions arbitrarily fixed by the General Assembly, which is inferior to a constitutional convention.

"(4) This is a plot, a most nefarious well-planned plot, by the State political machine to betray once again the people of Virginia, this time by means of a straitjacket convention, which, if held, would be bound by the dictum of the machine, 'give the clamoring people this little crumb, but give them no more; they'll be satisfied, and we, the machine, will not be hurt.'

"(5) Let us vote down this plot on March 6 and then let us vote at the August primary to nominate a Governor and members of the General Assembly pledged to give us all a free ballot."

Roanoke Editorial Cited

2-16-45

Wide publication has been given this week to an editoral published in the Roanoke Times Sunday in opposition to the referendum. The newspaper is normally an active supporter of the State administration.

Under the title, "A Dangerous Precedent," the Roanoke paper said:

"If the State Constitution can be changed hereafter only as the State Legislature wants it changed and as the Legislature instructs a hand-picked and fully gagged convention to change it, the hope of Virginia of securing a revision of its complicated and obsolete election processes will be long deferred.

"With the highest regard for our soldiers now in the field, and with the confident hope and expectation that in the years to come men now in uniform will take a large, and perhaps controlling, part in the conduct of State affairs, it is our belief that this hurried effort to change the basic Constitution of the State to meet a special situation is unwise; that it establishes a dangerous precedent, transferring powers from the people to the Legislature that will not be lightly surrendered. In the special referendum of March 6 on the question: 'Shall a constitutional convention be called?' the wisest course will be to vote No." 2-14-45

Administration leaders, including Governor Darden, had no comment on the position assumed by the newspaper with reference to the convention. Governor Darden said merely that he feels confident the people will order the convention in the election.

Plunkett Will Speak At Leesburg

Richmond Times Dispatch 5-3-45

Richmond, Va.

Moss A. Plunkett, of Roanoke, who paid $200 filing fee to the State treasurer yesterday as a candidate for Governor of Virginia, will speak at a meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Leesburg today.

He said his address is not to be taken as the opening of his campaign, because the engagement had been made long before he gave any thought to making the race, but he said he planned to speak on the abolition of the poll tax, the "one issue on which all liberal groups are united."

The Roanoke candidate said he intended to file his petition with State Democratic Chairman Horace H. Edwards early next week and that he would formulate a complete platform and campaign program at a called meeting of liberal leaders here May 15. 5-3-45

Mr. Plunkett was a candidate for Lieutenant-Governor four years ago when he ran against William M. Tuck, but was defeated 108,000 to 25,000. He said today, however, that the liberal movement in Virginia had grown greatly in the past four years, that the question of the poll tax had become more acute and that schools have attracted a Statewide interest in political circles.

Virginia Makes Move To Abolish Poll Tax

The Birmingham News Birmingham Ala

RICHMOND, Va., Dec. 17—(AP)—Creation of a three-man, bi-partisan board appointed by the governor to exercise centralized control and supervision of Virginia's election machinery and abolition of the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting were recommended today by a special legislative commission.

A score or more constitutional changes and perhaps as many as 200 bills amending statute law will be necessary to carry out the revision outlined by the commission and made public by Gov. Darden.

Delegate Stuart B. Campbell, of Wythe, the commission chairman, said the constitutional amendments, if approved by the General Assembly, might be submitted to the electorate as a bloc since they are related and constitute a general program. 12-17-45

Ultimately, the election system would be administered by the three-man state board and 124 local three-man boards it would appoint in the state's counties and cities. This cannot be made fully effective, however, until constitutional changes are approved.

The commission recommended the immediate creation of the three-man state board to take over the electoral duties of the secretary of the commonwealth and the state board of canvassers.

Legislative Council Would Abolish Poll Tax

Journal-Guide

(SEE EDITORIAL, PAGE 10)

RICHMOND, Va. — Abolition of the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting was one of the major recommendations made last week by a nine-man special legislative commission which has been engaged for a year in studying the state's election laws.

12-22-45

Expressing the view that the present requirements for reading and writing are adequate for a literacy test for registration, the commission declined to adopt what is seen as the reactionary recommendation of one of its members, William L. Prieur, clerk of the Corporation Court of the City of Norfolk, who requested that the individual's ability "to read or copy the preamble to the State Constitution," be required as a literacy test.

Norfolk, Va.

Mr. Prieur, however, dissenting from a recommendation by the commission that payment, prior to the penalty date, of all taxes except real estate assessed for the preceding year, be a requirement for registration, urged that all payment of taxes be divorced from the matter of the franchise. But he would permit the General Assembly to levy a capitation tax up to $5, that would not be a prerequisite to voting.

Norfolk, Va.

Annual registration of voters and changes in the absentee voters law designed to correct abuses; the creation of a bi-partisan three-man board appointed by the governor to exercise control and supervision of Virginia's election laws were other important recommendations made by the commission and made public by Governor Colgate W. Darden.

ANNUAL REGISTRATION

Since abolition of the poll tax would do away with the only existing means of providing a list of qualified voters, the commission recommended the annual registration to provide such a list . Persons registered prior to 1904 when the present constitution became effective, would automatically be entitled to registration by passing the literacy test and satisfying the requirements as to residence.

A capitation tax of not more than $3, which would not be a prerequisite to voting, was recommended by the commission to replace the $900,000 annually that would be lost through abolition of the poll tax.

The capitation tax, the commission suggested, might be made a prerequisite by the General Assembly to obtaining licenses or permits for privileges.

Annual registration, which is recommended to supersede the present law which provides that the original registration in this states is sufficient, could be made by the citizens, once he has registered, by appearing annually before his local board and making application: by payment, prior to the penalty date, all taxes except real estate, assessed for the preceding year, or by the mere act of voting in the preceding election.

Alphabetical arrangement of the registration records by white and colored, men and women, is recommended, and questions and answers received from applicants for registration would be made a permanent record.

REGISTRATION

Registration which now continues until 30 days prior to a primary election, would be completed four months in advance of such an election, and lists of registered voters would be made public 90 days before the election or primary.

12-22-45

Mr. Prieur, in his dissent, urged that registration be continued until three months before the primary election.

ABSENTEE VOTERS LAW

Retention of the absentee voters law was requested by a majority of the members of the commission who suggested a number of changes. Administration of this law by local boards of election, this putting it in the hands of a bi-partisan body with exclusive jurisdiction and complete responsibility was recommended by the majority.

The local board would receive appropriations for absentee voters ballots, send out the ballots, have custody of the returned ballots and either deliver them to the precincts on election day or count and tally them as a separate precinct.

CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES

Numerous constitutional changes and amending of existing statutes will be necessary before the sweeping recommendations made by the commission can be carried out. Until such revisions in the constitution make changes in the absentee voters law possible, it was recommended that the law be amended to provide that the registrar, upon receipt of an application, will determine whether the applicant has brought himself within the provisions entitling him to vote by mail.

If he has, the board will send the ballot directly to him and he will return it to the board which will keep it until it is delivered to the judges of election. The view was expressed that this plan for control and supervision by a bi-partisan board "will eliminate the opportunities for fraud hertofore existing when official ballots, either marked or unmarked, were entrusted to the sole custody of a registrar." It was also recommended that the statute be further amended to prevent the registrar from soliciting applications.

OTHER RECOMMENDATIONS

Other specific recommendations were that the law, which is now conflicting, be amended to provide that ten per cent more ballots be printed than there are registered voters, nd that all unused or defaced ballots be returned to the clerk's office, thus providing an additional check and safeguard as to the number of ballots cast; that judges of elections be provided with proper containers for ballots and poll books which would be sealed and returned to the clerk's office by one of the judges, thus fixing personal responsibility for their custody.

12-22-45

As a means of aiding the voter in the proper marking of his ballot, the commission recommended that publicity be given to the form of the ballot and that a copy of it be published in the newspapers.

In addition to the capitation tax which the General Assembly might impose, the commission recommended that localities be empowered to levy an additional $1 tax.

Three members of the commission were appointed by the House, three by the Senate and four by the governor. Delegate Stuart B. Campbell of Wythe was chairman. Other House members were Delegates Vernon C. Smith of Grundy and Delegate Shaffer. Senate members were Robert C. Vanden of Gretna and William D. Medly of Arlington. The governor appointed Prieur, Judge John Paul, republican of Harrisonburg, a U. S. District judge, Dr. Smith and Wysor.

Virginia—Cradle and Grave?

Richmond Times-Va.

GOVERNOR DARDEN'S poll tax recommendation to the special legislative session yesterday goes as far as the inner circle of "organization" leaders are willing to go at this time. He favors further "study," and he supports the idea that the people ought to be allowed to express themselves on the issue—but not until three years hence, at the earliest. 3-20-45

The approach of the Governor to this issue is thoroughly negative, and in accordance with the prevailing view of the machine's inner Sanhedrin. The tactics for years have been "delay, delay." When plans for the constitutional convention were made recently, they included every possible argument for blocking consideration by the people of poll tax repeal. With the convention hurdle apparently surmounted, the Sanhedrin now comes up with the argument that it wouldn't be safe to put this issue before the people by passing a resolution at the current session of the General Assembly, thereby making it possible for the next session to adopt a similar resolution, and then for the people to vote either in 1946 or 1947. No, the people must wait until 1948, at least. 3-20-45

Why? Because we ought to spend from now until January studying what to put in place of the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting. The Governor does not say flatly that he thinks the substitute ought to be written into the State Constitution, although he indicates such a belief. "If it is deemed advisable" to follow this course, he declares, the new constitutional provisions—embodying literacy tests, presumably—ought to be submitted to the voters, along with the repealer of the tax. If this procedure is to be followed, and the literacy test is to be written into the Constitution, then perhaps this constitutional provision ought to be submitted to the voters along with the poll tax repeal provision. However, it seems highly dubious procedure to place this matter in the Constitution. Why should the qualifications for voting be put into the organic law? The Virginia Constitution contains entirely too much extraneous material already.

The registration requirements, with a literacy test, can be handled readily by statute, and the commission which the Governor proposes can consider the proper terms of that statute from now until the first of next year. North Carolina's long experience with its literacy test ought to be a helpful guide. Under such a plan, it would be possible to go ahead with a repealer resolution now, instead of delaying passage of this resolution for a year, and postponing the whole process of submitting the issue to the people for at least two years longer than is necessary. 3-20-45

Already there are strong manifestations in the Legislature of unwillingness on the part of important members to cooperate in the delaying tactics instituted by the Governor and the machine. Resolutions calling for outright repeal at this session have been introduced in both branches, with impressive sponsorship.

Whatever the schemes cooked up by the "organization" in an effort to soft-pedal the issue as long as possible, the poll tax is sure to be a boiling hot question in the gubernatorial and legislative contests throughout the State this year. Those who collaborate in the "organization's" delaying tactics may find their constituents far from appeased by the arguments which have been advanced on behalf of putting the popular referendum off until 1948, or later. 3-20-45

Furthermore, such strategic maneuvers play directly into the hands of the Washington lobby for poll tax repeal by Federal action. REPRESENTATIVE WOODRUM, of Roanoke, pointed out last week that this lobby probably will succeed in getting its bill through ere long, unless the States act first, since both the Democratic and the Republican parties are committed to it. He urged immediate action looking toward poll tax repeal by the Virginia Legislature and people. Georgia has just repealed its poll tax, and South Carolina has taken the first steps. Yet Virginia continues to stall, with its dominant leaders seizing every possible opportunity to block action. Who was it that called Virginia the "cradle and grave of democracy"?

Virginia Poll Tax

Washington Post

Our neighbors in Virginia will encounter a confused situation when they go to the polls next Tuesday to decide whether to amend their State Constitution. The only quesion originally at issue was whether Virginians in our armed forces should be relieved of paying the poll tax. In proposing an amendment for this purpose, the Legislature at Richmond rigidly limited the proposed constitutional convention to that one item. The Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals has upheld it in doing so. Consequently, many Virginians now believe that it would be a mistake to approve the proposed convention because of the power this precedent would give the Legislature over future constitutional amendments. 3-5-45

Chief Justice Preston W. Campbell dissented from the majority opinion, declaring that the referendum act designed to limit the scope of the proposed convention's activities is "subversive of my every concept of democratic principles." It is obvious, of course, that if the Legislature may bind a constitutional convention by stating the purpose of that convention on the ballots by which its delegates are elected, amendment of the basic law will become chiefly a function of the Legislature rather than the people. There is so much resentment against this attempt to muzzle the convention that many citizens have decided to vote against assembling it at all. That trend of thinking is strengthened by the belief that most of our defenders will be home before the next general election, anyway. 3-5-45

Back of the controversy is the protracted fight to free all Virginia voters from payment of the poll tax. Virginia might well become a laughing stock if she should summon a special convention to lift this undemocratic device from only a small fraction of her citizens. At the very least the Legislature should have left the scope of the repeal to the proposed convention and the people. Its refusal to do so has given Virginia's voters only a choice between two evils—between rejection of the war ballot amendment and acquiescence in undemocratic procedure for changing their constitution. We should not be surprised if a majority decides to vote against the convention on the ground that truckling to the Legislature in the matter of amending their constitution is too high a price to pay for such a limited reform.

Va. Assembly Votes Study Of Poll Tax

Washington Post 3-24-45

Richmond, Va., March 23 (AP).—The Virginia General Assembly apparently disposed of the issue of immediate poll tax repeal today in favor of a commission study of the question during lengthy sessions, which paved the way for adjournment of the special session tomorrow.

Administration measures for a study of the tax and suffrage laws were passed by both the Senate and the House without argument and, in the House without a recorded vote. There was no effort to bring to the floor the outright repeal resolutions, which were killed by the House Privileges and Elections committee and pigeonholed by the corresponding Senate group.

Darden Favored Study

Governor Darden stated in his message that he planned to submit the question of repeal of the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting to the regular session in January. The report of the study commission provided for today will be rendered in time for consideration at that session. 3-24-45

The Senate made fast time in its two-hour session in disposing of some of the major items of business before the Assembly. It passed, without amendments the $4,227,000 school improvement bill; the new war voting bill, and the bill providing for the constitutional convention April 30.

The vote on the convention bill was 39-0 after the Senate voted down proposals by Senator Jacob A. Garber of Harrisonburg, Republican, that the number of delegates be 100 instead of 40, and if not 100 only 9 or a single vote by the Governor himself for the "rubber stamp" convention.

'Machine,' Poll Tax and Glass

3/25/45

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

The political machine has scuttled poll-tax repeal. The machine Governor, assuming sacrificial role, accepts responsibility for defeating the overwhelming demand of our citizens for repeal, then he bursts a hole in the Constitution big enough to let the soldiers vote free (where they can't use it), but refuses to let their families do so, as the families are here on the ground and see how the machine is subverting every function of the State government, its power and its patronage to the benefit of its friends and punishment of its opponents who might join the Independent Democrats, the Republicans, the labor interests and the Negro voters in supporting the coalition movement under the Committees of One Hundred and smash the machine.

When the poll tax is abolished, or made payable 30 days before elections, the machine's sacred cow is dead and its power gone forever with the courthouse rings in a hundred counties and a dozen cities. The illegal requirement of payment of poll tax for three years, six months before election, and registration before the registrar closes his book (usually three months before any candidate or platform is announced and always before the public knows what new sculduggery the machine has hatched up since the last "pogrom") prevents fair and intelligent elections and discourages the public interest and participation, which are vital to liberty.

Richmond Times-Dispatch

Whether or not Mr. Glass regrets his part in the convention of 1902, which fastened the illegal "six months in advance" poll-tax clause on Virginia and consequently the machine's strangle-hold on the State, matters little. Suffice it that he and his brilliant secretary, Rixey Smith, who helped organize the Committees of One Hundred, are in the way of the machine, so "off with their heads." Make room for a machine Senator, appointed by a subservient machine Governor, to help misrepresent Virginia and to get his feet intrenched in the trough of Federal patronage at once. They read the handwriting on the wall and dare not risk losing that rich plum by public election after the independents get organized; hence the hue and cry now against Glass. Let us hope the old "Unreconstructed Rebel" tells them where to go in his usual pungent style.

Petersburg. E. D. LUCAS.

In Favor of the Poll Tax

Editor of the Times-Dispatch:

I have read a good deal about the poll tax. Governor Darden is right, as usual.

This thing of voting is the greatest privilege we have, and should not be handled lightly. At $1.50 it is certainly the cheapest, also the least appreciated, privilege we have by the people at large. Few people outside of politicians realize that by paying the $1.50 and having a vote, any hoodlum or sot lor human parasite, the non-taxpayer, etc., has as much voice as to how the people's tax money shall be spent as the real taxpayers do themselves. 1-9-45

And I will say this, anybody who is not willing or concerned enough to pay the $1.50 should not be allowed to vote at all. I myself think that the poll tax to vote should be $5. The privilege would be much more appreciated at that price.

Why not pay for the privilege of voting? We pay for the privilege of doing everything else we do, and how! To practice medicine or law, keep a store or run a truck, even to be allowed to work.

In a democracy it is natural to think any and everyone has a free right to work, on government work especially, without having to pay a private organization for the right—but not so. Two boys near here told me that they each paid $52 to be allowed to work at Fort Belvoir. I have asked around and I find that about 100 per cent are for retaining the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting.

E. M. DE JARNETTE.

Partlow. 1-9-45

Richmond Times-Dispatch

Voluntary Move Planned By Gov. Darden

Norfolk Journal & Guide 1-6-45 Va.

Attorney General And Comptroller Will File "Friendly Suit"

Special to Journal and Guide

RICHMOND, Va. — Virginia officials will not wait for the opposition to go thru with plans to test the validity of the act passed by the special session of the General Assembly for a referendum on a restricted constitutional convention, according to a statement last Friday by Attorney-General A. P. Staples and State Comptroller Henry G. Gilmer. They announced their intentions to test the new act themselves. 1-6-45

Such a court test will be based on the declaratory judgment act of 1944. Both officials expressed the hope that they could obtain "a speedy determination of the questions, concerning which controversy has arisen." They hope by this test to settle the "confusion" from articles and editorials in newspapers challenging the constitutionality of the act.

TO FILE PETITION FOR MANDAMUS 1-6-45

Attorney General Staples will file a petition for a mandamus before the Virginia Supreme Court when it meets Jan. 8 as provided for in Chapter 289 of the Acts of 1944.

The 1944 War Voters' Act was invalidated by the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals when mandamus proceedings were brought recently under the Acts of 1944 to test the law. The Supreme Court at the same time made provisions for payment of poll tax for service personnel from funds appropriated by the state and for their registration by persons other than official registrars. 1-6-45

Since the referendum on the holding of a constitutional convention is not likely to be held before the latter part of February, both the administration and the opposition have ample time to test the act passed by the General Assembly in its special session. Governor Darden and other state officials have expressed the wish that a test of the act be made before the referendum is presented to the voters.

Another test will be presented to the State Supreme Court by John Locke Green, Republican treasurer of Arlington county. Prompt action by the court would possibly lead to an early referendum call for a date about 30 days after the court's decision. Should the election follow around the middle of February, state officials think ample time would be left to amend the Constitution so that soldiers could vote in the next state elections.

FEEL CAUSE WILL BE BOOSTED 1-6-45

Opponents of the poll tax feel that their cause will be boosted in case the State Supreme Court declares the recent act of the special session of the General Assembly invalid. Administration leaders, however, are not discussing this possibility publicly, but the opinion among them is that if the act is invalidated by the court, nothing can be done in time to give servicemen an opportunity to participate in next summer's elections.

The Richmond chapter of the NAACP is throwing its full weight behind those waging the fight against the poll tax. On the other hand, progressive whites opposing the poll tax, especially those connected with the Southern Electoral Reform League and the Richmond Electoral Reform League, welcome the support of Negroes.

Decision Upsets Poll Tax Plans

Norfolk Journal & Guide 1-22-45 Va.

Special to Journal and Guide

RICHMOND, Va. — Plans of Virginia poll tax opponents were upset last week when the State Supreme Court of Appeals on Thursday upheld the right of the General Assembly to provide for a vote on a constitutional convention limited to specific amendments. The court declared constitutional the referendum act passed by the special session of the legislature last month.

Had the court invalidated the referendum act, the voters would have had an opportunity to vote on whether there shall be a constitutional convention without limitations on any specific amendments. This would have given poll tax opponents an opportunity to work for a constitutional amendment eliminating payment of the poll tax as a requirement for voting.

ORAL DECISION 1-27-45

The court gave an oral decision to be followed by a formal written statement. It was in the form of an award of a writ of mandamus requested by Attorney-General Staples in the friendly suit brought by State Comptroller Henry G. Gilmer, and a denial of a writ of mandamus to John Locke Green, Republican treasurer of Arlington County who sought to compel Secretary of the Commonwealth Ralph E. Wilkins to omit from the ballot the "informatory" statement which will advise the voters that a vote for the convention will be regarded a vote for a convention limited to consideration only of amendments needed for a valid war voters law.

Vote for a convention would necessitate another session of the General Assembly to prepare for the convention and to select delegates and at least one more session to adopt a new measure.

DATE TO BE FIXED

Governor Darden postponed fixing a date for a vote on the convention until after the test and indicated last week that a decision on a date would be made shortly to coincide with the date for the special elections for congressional and assembly vacancies. 1-27-45

It was indicated that the date would be set for the latter part of February, as the governor said he would give about 30 days notice.

Provisions of the act require that the election shall be called within 90 days after the passage of the act, which was approved Dec. 16.

While poll tax opponents will not relax their efforts, they have not yet indicated their next strategy. Whatever move they make next, they will have apparently the support of an increasing number of Virginians, for the press on the whole has expressed dissatisfaction with the court's decision and has, on the other hand, lined up with those opposing the poll tax as a requirement for voting.

The Poll Tax Issue

Richmond Times

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

On April 28 you published and endorsed an editorial of the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot declaring poll tax repeal the "paramount issue in Virginia" for the election this year. 5-5-45

Issue between whom? Certainly it cannot be an issue between those who paid their poll tax; nor between those who paid and those who have not paid, since the latter cannot vote. I would hate to have my favorite candidate come out for repeal as "paramount" because he would have little appeal to payers, and the nonpayers, if not ashamed to raise their voice, would have little influence on the payers. As easy to get lipstick users to vote against lipstick.

A slight personal experience in my election to the City Council of Richmond, before the poll tax had broken up the bosses, and to be elected the bosses and even the bums or pub-crawlers, as Mr. Churchill would call them, had to be visited (in my particular ward many were to be found around the saloons), convinces me that the present system offers a far better field for putting forward the real issues upon which good government rests. 5-5-45

A strange statute provides that the failure of a Virginia corporation to pay its annual registration fee shall subject it to a "fine" of not less than double the assessment. Perhaps such a law would be the answer to your prayer and the non-poll-taxpayer would appreciate his privilege and opportunity of voting when made to pay for it. A fine of triple the tax would bring quick results.

On the other hand, repeal would reincarnate the demagogue and establish a beachhead from which the beachcombers or loafers under bosses could control our State, or the ignorant and indifferent hold the balance of power.

There are real issues, such as taxes for education to support the program Governor Darden has well inaugurated. Other issues include control of juvenile delinquency; law enforcement, as opposed to appeasement, as a preventive of crime; stricter divorce laws; repeal of many laws and administrative boards; a return to government by law, and not by men, with its advancement of the moral law through the "inner control" as against the "outer control"; States' rights; economy in government; opposition to subsidies from Washington and to waste.

Putting aside your "paramount issue," let the Richmond newspapers ask the people—what are the important issues? Senator Byrd has presented clearly national "issues" and Governor Darden State issues. Why should we ignore these to recreate the boss system?

FRANCIS HARBOIL.

Richmond.

[Editor's Note: The "issue between whom" is quite simple. It is between those who want the poll tax repealed and those who do not want it repealed.]

'Subdividing' the Poll Tax

Richmond Times-Dispatch 4-26-45

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

In the issue of your paper of April 14, a correspondent suggests a cure for the unsoundness of the requirement of a payment of several years of poll taxes as a qualification before Virginians may express their convictions in the practical operation of democracy in government, by the requirement of the prepayment of only one year's poll tax.

If the poll tax is unsound, it is unsound in its entirety, and manly courage demands that it should be entirely abrogated. 4-26-45

We are witnessing a subdivision of constitutional conventions, and if we witness a subdivision of unsound provisions of taxation, may not the "subdivision" conception solve all of our postwar problems?

Subdivision has promoted the physical development of Richmond and other Virginia cities. Why may it not solve the State's political problems? Give us a little strychnine, but not full doses.

Scottsville. G. M. DILLARD.

No Poll Tax for Virginia Soldiers

RICHMOND, Va., May 2 (AP)—The Constitutional Convention adopted today and proclaimed a single new article of the Constitution abolishing personal registration and poll-tax payments for persons in the armed forces in time of war, and poll-tax payments for three years preceding any discharged which is not dishonorable. The vote was 39 to 0.

61e-1945

Registration and Voting- Alabama

FBI accused of trying to amalgamate the races

Los Angeles Tribune 1-22-45

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — When the FBI investigates methods of registering Negro voters in this state, it is "intimidating registration officials" in an effort to make Negroes a "political factor in the South" to bring about "amalgamation of the races".

Or so a man described by the Montgomery Advertiser, white daily, as "one of the most widely known lawyers and political observers in North Alabama", would have such action interpreted.

According to the article in the Advertiser, the man in question, his identity kept a secret by the paper, sent the following memorandum on an instance in Jefferson county, Ala.: 1-22-45

"Under the law registration books opened in Jefferson County Dec. 4, 1944, and stayed open 10 days. The Board of Registrars of Jefferson County, or its chairman and one or more members thereof, was visited twice by two operatives of the Federal Bureau of Investigation within a very short time before the opening of the books on the above occasion. These F.B.I. men told members of the Jefferson Board that they wanted to find out how registration of negroes was being conducted and was going to be conducted. They asked a great many questions about what examination was made of negro applicants. They said they understood such questions as the following were asked of negroes:

"'What is domestic tranquility?' 1-22-45

"'How old was George Washington when he died?'

"'What are the names of the members of the President's cabinet.'"

"They asked what different procedure prevailed in the registration of white and colored persons and stated they had been sent there for the purpose of finding out about this matter. They asked many questions."

DIRE WARNING

Continuing, the lawyer and "observer" voiced the dire "warning" that this is a trend toward racial amalgamation. 1-22-45

"Before the amalgamation of the races can be made entirely effective, of course, they've got to work out some way for the negroes to become a political factor in the South by getting their names upon the registration lists. As soon as this happens every professional politician in the South will be kowtowing. We will have a new style of carpetbagger.

"County registration books in Jefferson are going to open again in February and the strongest sort of organization has been made to rush our registrars and put on the books a big block of negro voters. Personally, I think the people of Alabmaa fail to recognize what is being done and the people of South Alabama are the only ones I know of that can do anything about it." 1-22-45

The matters raised by this North Alabama man will receive the attention of the Legislature when it meets in May, the advertiser said, adding, "But anything that body does must run the gaunlet of the Supreme Court of the United States. And that is some gauntlet, in these days and times. The writer of the memorandum will personally bring the matters named to individual legislators." 1-22-45

(Ed's Note: What the people of South Alabama can do was not explained. Lynch the Negroes no doubt.)

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.
NEWS
Circ. D. 127,124

MAY 2 9 1945

Negro Vote Question Now Before Federal Court In Trial Here

As the civil suit against Rufus Bethea, Sterling J. Foster and Herman A. Whisenett, former members of the Jefferson County Board of Registrars charged with failing to register W. L. Patterson and other members of the Negro race because of their race or color, got under way in Federal Court today Bethea, second witness for the plaintiff, declared.

"I feel sure Patterson would have been registered if he had read the constitution satisfactorily."

Patterson, in his complaint, alleges that he met all the qualifications to register as set forth in the Alabama code and that he was denied registration solely because of his race. He is seeking a judgment declaring the action of the board unconstitutional, asking a permanent injunction restraining the board from failure to register applicants because of color, and is asking a judgment for $5,000 plus costs.

Bethea, chairman of the board at the time Patterson says he applied for registration in June, 1942, testified on the witness stand that the board members never went beyond trying to find out whether the applicants could read intelligently and that in no instance was extraneous matter brought into the examination before a decision on the qualications of the applicant were made.

"The question of race was never brought up," he stated.

Bethea denied, when questioned by Arthur Shore, Negro attorney, that Negroes have been registered."

Homer Dowdell, Negro, another of the plaintiff's witnesses, said that he had been denied registration but added.

"I'm a very poor reader."

He admitted on cross examination that he couldn't read the constitution properly and that he presented no evidence to the board of property ownership.

LIKE THE NAZIS

To the Editor of The News:

Birm. News

I wish to express appreciation for myself and for many others for the courageous expression of your views regarding the proposed constitutional amendment establishing a new requirement for registration for voting in the state of Alabama. 5-4-45

This seems to be another of those moves apparently intended to put Negroes back in their "places." It is unfortunate for the state and for the country as a whole that Alabama is filled with ignorance of such a destructive type. It is hardly conceivable that really intelligent people would resort to such crude means of maintaining so-called "white supremacy." There is a group of white people in our state who would let educational opportunities for their own people remain inferior rather than accept federal aid to education because of the provision requiring equitable distribution of funds. They would rather let the disease, ignorance, and crime resulting from dirty, overcrowded, shabby tenement dwellings and slum areas continue to exist than to accept federal aid to housing—a means whereby decent housing units could be established and rented at a cost within the reach of families of low income. Now, as another move to insure maintenance of white supremacy, these people through their representatives would draw up an amendment which would almost completely deprive Negroes of the right to vote except in instances where they have already become qualified voters.

This mass ignorance in a group which has been exposed to educational opportunities almost since the founding of the country is utterly astounding. How can the white people of Alabama feel that they can be unaffected by the disease, ignorance and crime existent in the Negro race when the two groups live and work together? Since in many instances Negroes even cook the food eaten by whites, nurse their babies and in many other ways are closely associated with them, it is logical that any effort to improve conditions for these people would be guided protection for their employers. Likewise any move to make worse the living conditions of Negroes increases the likelihood that those who are advocates of such measures will be equally harmed.

It is becoming increasingly evident that Alabama is destined to remain one of the most backward states in the country, largely because of the hatred of unthinking whites for Negroes, and because of certain erroneous conceptions of superiority and inferiority of races. Alabama is rapidly destroying itself in an effort to continue the most violent type of exploitation of the Negro. Many countries throughout the world are watching America. They are not likely to be impressed by a nation suffering so much internal strife. The world at large will not be fooled. America cannot be an example of principles which are not practiced here.

It should be remembered by white and colored alike that the most powerful of nations have fallen. A nation built on race hatred cannot long endure. Alabama, thus far, seems proud of its role in building on the same principles which created the Nazi party and destroyed the German nation. The Negro asks only for an opportunity to work for wages that will provide a decent living, to have justice before the law, to have a voice in the affairs of his government, and to live his own life unmolested as long as his way of life in no way conflicts with the welfare and best interests of society as a whole. It is likely that in spite of discouragement, the Negro will continue his fight for freedom. This is easily understood when one recalls the fact that America was settled by individuals who were in search of a greater measure of freedom than they had enjoyed in the country which gave them birth. Freedom is a natural desire of all human beings and Negroes are no exception to the rule.

GERALDINE HAMILTON COOK.

Can This Be True?

A letter from a Negro journalist which appeared in last Sunday's *News* tells a disturbing story about the experience of Negro applicants for registration in Jefferson County. The figures cited indicate that of the 250 Negroes who applied during the August period approximately 171 were rejected, upon the basis of questions which included the ridiculous "What would be the proper place for a candidate for the governorship to make his first speech?" Even more distressing is the assertion that "hardly any of those trying to register on the literacy provisions were accepted," and that those seeking to qualify had to meet the double test of literacy and ownership of property. Birmingham News

If it be true, as this letter states, that 68 per cent of Negroes who applied during the August registration were turned down, though many of them "do and can meet the legal requirements to register as electors under Alabama laws," a disturbing picture is thereby presented to the thoughtful white community. If it be true that Negroes are not allowed to become voters merely because they are Negroes, and not because they cannot qualify under the law, something should be done to improve our system of registration as well as the conduct of our registrars.

It is understandable, in the light of this disclosure, why there have been efforts to make registrars more arbitrary than ever in carrying out an unwritten purpose to keep Negroes from becoming voters. Instead of setting up qualifications which are relevant and democratic, and instead of insisting that these qualifications be enforced without fear or favor, there seems to be a movement on foot to make matters worse by doctoring requirements to enable registrars to defy the federal constitution.

The "white supremacy" which depends on such methods is leaning on a weak reed. It is a "supremacy" which is afraid to stand on its own feet. The time has indeed come for white Alabamians to be concerned if the best they can do to preserve political control is to rely on subversion of the law. 8-29-45

Ala. Senate OKs Lily-White Vote

Chicago Def.

By JOHN LIFLORE
(Defender Staff Correspondent)

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—In true Dixie style, the Alabama Senate this week approved a constitutional amendment designed to prevent Negroes from voting.

The upper house voted 27 to 3 in favor of the bill which would require prospective voters to be able to "understand and explain" the U. S. Constitution to the satisfaction of the Board of Registrars.

Earlier, the Senate adopted to unusual procedure of resolving itself into a committee of the whole to hear a "man with a gospel to save white supremacy," Rep. E. C. Boswell of Geneva, proponent of the House bill.

7-7-45

Insure White Supremacy

Boswell told the group the amendment was necessary to "insure white supremacy" in the state. later, Sen. Gerald Bradford of Clarke, asserted that the measure would "provide" a means of maintaining" a tradition of this state and the South."

Action of the Legislature in approving the measure is believed to be in line with a Negro vote-control strategy worked out last October at the executive mansion here. The amendment must be ratified by the voters in the 1946 general election before it becomes valid.

"Understanding and explaining" the constitution is nothing new to Negro citizens. This fascist-like subterfuge to prevent a colored electorate of any size in Alabama has been practiced for years. The anti-Negro vote dodge will become legal if the amendment is ratified next year.

Negroes will Attack Bill

It is a foregone conclusion that Negro citizens will attack the law in the courts if this fraud is upheld by the voters. The sentiment of the militant new Negro is that if the government has the right to impose the responsibilities of citizenship upon him, it is as equally obligated to see that the rights of citizenship are extended to him.

The whole scheme is an attempt to get around the U. S. Supreme Court ruling last year in the Texas white primary case. The meeting at the executive mansion between Boswell's committee on constitutional revision and legislative procedure and Gov. Chauncey Sparks dealt with revision of the primary laws.

The governor and State Democratic executive committee chairman Gessner T. McCorvey of Mobile were opposed to the old convention system and also to primaries held solely under party authority.

In his message to the General Assembly on May 1, the governor intimated that "purity" of the ballot could be preserved through the Boards of Registrars.

25 in Tuskegee Sue to Register

Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

TUSKEGEE, Ala. — (SNS)— Charging that three members of the Macon County Board of Registrars wrongfully denied them the right to register on July 2, twenty-five persons filed appeals in Circuit Court here on Aug. 1.

The twenty-five, only a few of those who tried to register, declared in their petitions that they had met the literacy and property qualifications to register although but one is necessary under present Alabama law.

Arthur D. Shores, attorney for the plaintiffs, indicated that an additional case will be filed in District Federal Court soon on behalf of those unfairly denied registration over an extended period of years.

8-11-45

Fight Waged in Dale County

The Tuskegee Civic Association, headed by Charles G. Gomillion, of the Tuskegee Institute department of research, is understood to be backing the case.

At the same time, Benjamin M. Johnson, president of the Ozark Branch of the NAACP, declared that a similar fight was being waged against the Dale County Board of Registrars.

Stating that persons there had been denied a chance to make applications to register during the July session, he stated that legal advice had been sought and that a renewed effort to register would be made.

Tuskegee Citizens Appeal Vote Registration Change

Philadelphia Tribune
8-18-45

TUSKEGEE, . (ANP)—Appeals were taken by 25 citizens here August 1 against registration refusals by the Macon county board or registrants.

Penn.

Atty. Arthur D. Shores filed the 25 petitions in Circuit court under Sec. 35, Title 17, of the Alabama code which provides for a refused registration applicant to appeal within 30 days.

On July 2 when the board held registration sessions a substantial majority of those applying reportedly were wrongfully denied registration. Only 25 of the refused took appeal. In their petition they claimed that they met the literary and property qualifications to register although but one is necessary under present Alabama law.

Shores indicated that next week an additional case will be filed in distract federal court on behalf of those unfairly denied registration covering an extended period of years.

Named as defendants in the petition were Registrars Virgie Guthrie and Mrs. C. W. Wright. The third name was unknown and designated as John Doe.

8-18-45

Petitioners were Henry A. Young, Alton Fleming, Payton H. Williams Z. D. Dickson, Louvenia A. Lee, Daniel Beasley, Jean Norman Davis, Odessa Lee, James M. Woods, Charles N. Smallwood, Coyles Rice, P. D. Davis, Letitia W. Plummer, Mack Hawkins, Matthew W. Plummer, Doris Dunn, James Saunders, Melvin Ross, Seward C. O'Neal, William T. Patterson, Milton P. Crenshaw, P .E. B. Amons. C. S. Williams and Edgar D. Fuller.

The Tuskegee Civic association headed by Charles G. Gomillion of the Tuskegee Institute department of research is understood to be backing the case.

8-18-45

Bennie M. Johnson, president of the Ozark branch of the NAACP, said the two women members of the Dale county board of registrars denied Negroes a chance to make applications to register during the July session. He indicated that legal advice had been sought and that a renewed effort to register would be made.

Voice Of The People

Chicago Defender

REGISTRATION OF NEGROES

To the Editor of The News-Age-Herald:

In the Aug. 23, 1945, issue of The Age-Herald is published a story revealing that during the August session 279 were qualified as new electors by the Jefferson County Board of Registrars. Of that number, there were 79 new Negro electors.

8-26-45

The figures omit, it seems to me, some need-to-be-told information. For the report failed to set forth the number applying for registration, and the number refused.

(Ala.)

I have the original list of tabulations made by the Birmingham branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People showing that up through Aug. 14, 186 Negro citizens applied for registration. The NAACP did not record all of the Negro applicants who offered to register during this period. Nor do the figures include Aug. 17.

This being the case, I would approximate that not less than 250 Negro citizens applied during the August period, with about 171 being refused.

Birmingham News

It was reported in the daily press Aug. 16 that the "Ratio of Negroes among the first 150 persons to appear for registration to vote in the Fall elections was about five to one" Aug. 8. This means that on Aug. 8, 120 Negroes applied for registration and only 20 whites.

Interviews made by the NAACP of vote applicants disclose that the following types of questions were asked by the registrars: (a) What is meant by the judiciary system? (b) Where would be the proper place for a candidate for the governorship to make his first speech? (c) What are the qualifications for a senator?

These are questions selected at random from the NAACP report.

Hardly any of those trying to register on the literacy provision were accepted, the report says. It adds that applicants in some instances had to meet "double qualifications" and had to "present compound evidence."

By "double qualification" is meant that applicants had to "read and write any portion of the constitution" and also prove that they owned and paid tax on $300 worth of property, which are optional requirements. By "compound evidence" is meant that the applicants showing their most recent tax receipts were required to present their assessment papers, deeds and prove that no mortgages were held against the property. The report claims that registrars definitely would not recognize tax receipts for personal property, such as a license on an automobile.

8-26-45

The incomplete list of figures carried on the August registration tends to produce a false impression. While about 25 per cent of the new electors were Negroes, over 68 per cent of the Negroes who applied were refused. Many of those refused do and can meet the legal requirements to register as electors under Alabama laws, the evidence at hand tends to show.

Birmingham, Ala.

The daily press might look into the list of refusals, for there the good journalist will find a sensational, scandalous and shameful story of democracy (not) in action, it seems to me.

EMORY O. JACKSON,
Managing Editor, Birmingham World.

Ala. To Fight Against Right Of Negroes To Vote

Defender-Chicago Ill.

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—A last-ditch fight against the contention of Alabama Negroes that they have a right to vote as well as be taxed was announced this week by Attorney General Robert B. Harwood.

9-15-45

Harwood announced that his office will continue to vigorously defend the Macon County Board of Registrars in the court action in which the board is charged with rank discrimination in its failure to register Negro vote applicants.

Plaintiff in the case is William F. Mitchell, resident of Macon County and an employe of the Veterans' Facility at Tuskegee. The action was begun by his attorney, Arthur D. Shores, of Birmingham.

Attorney Shores stated that a vast majority of the Negro citizens who have been denied the right to register were qualified to meet any test the state of Alabama could impartially prescribe.

The real issue, he said, is the maintaining of so-called white supremacy, and subtle means of depriving Negroes of the constitutional right of voting continue to be practiced.

9-15-45

The complaint also charged that the Board of Registrars requires Negroes to submit to tests not required of white electors, thus protecting the policy of denying Negroes the vote.

It was pointed out that "white persons with less qualifications than Negroes have been registered."

Atty. Gen. Harwood filed a motion with the Federal Court clerk last week to dismiss the suit on the grounds that it fails to state any facts showing that the board did any act "violative of the plaintiffs' rights."

9-15-45

Harwood contends that the complaint fails to allege any facts showing that Mitchell was ever refused registration.

He further questioned as to whether or not the residents in the complaint were legally entitled to be registered.

* * *

61e-1945

Registration and Voting Georgia

Easy To File Tax Returns, Register

Civic and political minded Atlantans have a chance to kill three birds with one stone during the next several weeks.

They can go town, make their tax returns for their city tax in the city hall, step right around the corner to the county courthouse and make their county tax returns on the first floor there. That is two.

And if they are really desirous of taking part in their government by voting, using their franchise, they can walk across the hall in the courthouse and register to vote in the next elections free of any tax. They can go to the office of the County Registrar and be assured of courteous treatment. When this is done by each and all Atlantans a real civic duty will have been performed.

Those who have no tax returns either in the city hall or county courthouse will have an easier task to perform and can do it in such little time. They can go to the registrar's office, register to vote, and leave with the knowledge that they are real citizens living in a democratic country and can boast of the fact that they can vote at last without being taxed to do so.

One of the most remarkable feats of the present tax return and register to vote campaign has been turned in by an Atlanta minister, who is not only practicing what he preaches to his congregation, but is leading thee way and showing an interest in them to these places and having them carried there for these important purposes. The man is Rev. B. J. Johnson, Jr., pastor of the Greater Mt. Calvary Baptist church, who told the World that he has already carried to the courthouse and had nearly 500 of his church members and their friends registered to vote. It has been urged that more ministers, club heads, and heads of other large groups do likewise.

Early Start

Savannah Students Register As Voters

By RALPH MARK GILBERT

SAVANNAH—(ANP)—All over the country there has been a lot of talk about the spreading of juvenile delinquency. Savannah was no exception to this rule, so a group of college and high school youngsters got together to see what they could do about it. They finally organized the Youth Association for Community Betterment, electing Louis Rivers, a sophomore at Georgia State College, as president.

In Georgia, a law was passed recently extending the suffrage to all persons of eighteen years of age and up, so the first thing these youngsters did was to put on an extensive campaign to register all of these eligible youngsters to vote. At times they had so many going down to register that it looked like a parade forming into the county building. The net result of this effort was that a few more youngsters within this age category were registered than there were among the older populace.

ESTABLISHES CANTEEN

These young people next decided on opening and operating a youth canteen. Then they genuinely met with difficulties. They had no money, and securing a place was difficult at best.

Finally they found that there was a building on the premises where the city operates a swimming pool for colored, and they secured the free use of the entire second floor of this building, which is rather spacious; and they fitted it up, and there they have instituted a full scale recreational program, with the help of a very sympathetic friend, the recreational director, Joseph Green.

Another feature of this wide-awake group of youngsters is the organization of a community chorus, which is composed of various musical aggregations of young people, most notably the junior choirs from the several churches. These young people meet only once a week for rehearsal, but make themselves available for whatever occasion may find use for their services.

Leaders Jam Federal Courts For Civil Suit

Eagerly Await Decision Of Judge Davis

By V. W. HODGES

MACON, Ga. — (SNS) — More than two scores of Negro leaders gathered from Columbus, Augusta, Macon and other Georgia cities jammed their way into the Federal Court here Thursday as the Civil action suit, filed against Muscogee County election officials by Rev. Primus E. King for the right to vote in the primary and to seek damages of $5,000, went into its second day.

The principal argument by defense lawyers for Rev. King was concluded Thursday morning by Attorney Harry S. Strozier, Macon lawyer, when he presented documentary evidence for more than seven hours, showing that the Georgia white primary is an integral part of the state's election machinery: that the choice of United States Senator, Representatives, and all other state and municipal officers, are effectively controlled by the primary; that the right to vote in such primary without discrimination by the state, like the right to vote in such primary without discrimination by the state like the right to vote in a general election, is a right secured by the constitution.

Defendants in the case include J. E. Chapman, W. E. Swinson, T. J. McGee, S. J. Gibson, Sim Garrett, Danna C. Cartledge, A. W. Jenkins, W. W. Moye, and Wilbur F. Glenn, all of Muscogee County.

DEFENDS PRIMARY

Attorneys for the defendants include A. Edward Smith of Columbus, Charles J. Bloch and Ellsworth Hall of Macon. Making the main argument for defendants was Attorney Bloch, who presented a mass of evidence seeking to establish the fact that in Georgia, unlike under the classic case in New Orleans or the Smith-Allwright case in Texas, Georgia has no statutory requirements regulating primaries; that the action of the party is not state action as interpreted under the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments; that it makes no real difference if the primary is equal to election, since in Georgia there is nothing in the primary rules which compels any political party to hold a primary; and that the state merely acts as a police power regulating primaries, whenever they are held, just as it

(Continued on page 4, col. 4)

regulates the operation of a railroad train, a liquor store or a business.

Occasion upon occasion, Judge Davis, presiding judge, found it necessary to call upon defense attorneys to clarify what steps could Negroes make in order to vote in view of such interpretation. At one point, counsel for defense was forced to admit that under the present interpretation of the state primary, Negroes have no other alternative than to organize a party of their own or join some white group who may wish to fuse with them.

Summaries will be made Friday by both counsels. The case is said to be one of the most eagerly watched in this section. Columbus Negroes are throwing all they have in the way of wealth and influence back of the fight. Judge Davis is not permitting a single loophole to pass his notice as counsel proceed with their arguments. If Negroes win, it will be the biggest piece of

Atlantans, Denied Vote, Appeal To U. S. Attorney General Clark

The Call Kansas City, Missouri 9-14-45

ATLANTA.—(ANP) — Atlanta Negroes, refused the right to vote in the city primary Sept. 5, solely on the basis of color and race, immediately began to file affidavits with United States Atty. Tom Clark and the Federal Bureau of investigation, protesting the ballot denials and asking immediate federal action. A suit involving refusal of officials to permit Negroes to vote in the July 4, 1944, state primary, already is pending in federal district court.

Despite inclement weather, hundreds trekked to the various precinct polling places only to be told that they could not vote "because it is a white primary" and "for white people only."

Hitler, Goebels and Himmler couldn't have done a better job at completely disfranchise a group of citizens on the basis of color and race, even by decree and brutal obstinance, than did the city executive committee and the precincit managers conducting the Sept. 5 primary, leaders here say.

Suit Against Registrar

A few minutes after the polling places opened at 7 o'clock Wendesday morning, Atlantans of color began reporting for the ballot and were consistently refused until the voting was ended at 7 o'clock in the evening.

Significantly, the list of registered voters as sent by Fulton County Registrar Suttles to the election managers contained the names of Negro voters. Suttles had told a committee of leaders which approached him last week that he would send the list of all voters to the polls.

A suit filed by Wallace Van Jackson against Suttles in federal district court, still pending, asked that Suttles be restrained from sending out lists of only white voters to the precinct managers. Federal Judge E. Marvin Underwood was awaiting the Sept. 5 election to see whether Suttles intended carrying out the assertion in his petition that it was his "purpose and intention" to send a list of all voters to the polls.

That the names of Negro voters were at the polling places was established on at least three occasions when persons of fair complexion were at the point of voting only to be asked their color and stopped upon the reply that they were colored. They saw their names on the lists and had signed the applications for ballot as required in the procedure.

Reported With Witness

Dr. Ira De A. Reid, of Atlanta university, reported to the polling place of precinct B in third ward with a witness. He reported that the jaws of the box manager, W. R. Owens, dropped. Dr. Reid requested a bollot, being refused with "this is a white primary." Dr. Reid then requested that the manager look for his name on the voters list.

The manager refused, saying, "No, I ain't going to look at no list. Only white people vote." When Dr. Reid asked if he might sign the voters declaration he was again told "no" by the manager. Owens was then asked his name and gave it to Dr. Reid, who left the voting place.

John P. Whittaker, registrar of Atlanta and president of the Atlanta Mutual Building and Loan association, reported to the Lee street polling place of fourth ward. Whittaker, light-complexioned, was given a declaration form and was proceeding in the line when the person handing out ballots looked at him intently and asked if he was white or colored. Upon the reply that he was colored, Whittaker was refused the ballot and told the primary was for white persons.

White Primary

Five persons, including C. A. Scott, editor and general manager of the Atlanta Daily World; his wife, Mrs. Ruth Scott, Mrs. Emmeline Scott, J. A. Batts, manager of the Atlanta district of the Afro-American Life Insurance company, and William A. Fowlkes, World managing editor, reported to the polling place of Fourth Ward-C at J. C. Harris school (white).

The group entered past a courteous policeman and proceeded in the election officials. Editor Scott asked for the manager and W. J. Lambert presented himself.

"My name is Scott," the newspaperman said. "We have come to vote."

"You can't vote. This is a white primary," Lambert informed Scott.

The editor then asked the manager, "Is that the reason we can't vote?"

"Yes," was the reply. Scott was told upon his query that this applied to all the other people accompanying him. As the group left the building, Lambert was seen to grin gloriously and grandly with an apparent "I put it over on 'em" expression.

J. W. Dobbs, president of the Atlanta Civic-Political league, asked the election manager who told him that he was sorry but he had to be refused the ballot since this "is a white primary": "Does this mean that I'm not allowed to vote?" He was informed, "It does under this setup."

Map Plans For Action 9-14-45

Warren Cochrane, executive secretary of the Butler Street Y.M.C.A., was on the verge of getting his ballot when the question of his color saved the day. Another instance of this kind was reported by Dr. C. A. Talbert of the faculty of Gammon Theological seminary, who is reported to have had a ballot in his hand only to be rejected on the color query of the precinct officials.

At least one instance was reported where a sun-tanned white man was stopped at the door of a polling place along with Negroes. Quite a bit of whispering and conferring were necessary to clear him through the door of the school and official guarded with his arm.

Negro Atlantans were not taking the occurrence lying down, however, C. L. Harper, president of the Atlanta branch of the N.A.A.C.P., called a meeting of the executives of leading civic and political organizations to meet and map plans and actions for the future. Thurgood Marshall, N.A.A.C.P. counsel, was slated to arrive here this week to set legal machinery in action.

The Call Kansas City, Missouri

A large number of leading churchmen, business men and professional people, had advised the Negro populace to go to the polls quietly and come away orderly, if refused the ballot. 9-12-45

Voteless Atlantans File Complaints

Call on U. S. Attorney General To Prosecute Guilty Persons

The Courier Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 9-22-45

ATLANTA—(ANP)—Leaders of the movement to vote in the Sept. 5 city Democratic primary addressed the following letter to Atty. Gen. Tom Clark in Washington:

"We, the undersigned, have just been denied our rights to vote in the city primary election and have been told by precinct officials that they had been instructed by Arthur Johnson, chairman of the city ex-American right.

(Signed:) C. L. Harper, president, Atlanta branch NAACP; Sixteenth Bronze Star by Brig. Gen. John L. Peerce, commanding general of the Sixteenth Armored Division.

executive committee, to deny ballots to all of the approximately 4,000 dent of Atlanta Daily World; colored voters despite the fact that A. T. Walden, NAACP legal counthey had a full list of voters in- sel and president of Georgia Asso- cluding Nefroes supplied by Regis- ciation of Citizens' Democratic Clubs; C. A. Scott, editor and gentrar T. E. Suttles.

"Some light-complexioned Negroes were given ballot application forms, but when their racial identity was discovered the forms were withdrawn.

A MOCKERY

"This action today is making a mockery of the whole concept of law and order.

"Police in some cases stopped Negroes before they could enter voting precincts.

"This is a clear violation of our right guaranteed by 15th Amendment to the Constitution. We appeal to you to protect our right in this Government for which so many Negroes have just died to defend.

"In the name of ourselves and other qualified Negro voters we respectfully urge you to order an immediate investigation and bring criminal prosecution against the persons or persons responsible for denying us our most important

eral manager, Atlanta Daily World." 9-22-45

Scores of other Atlantans petitioned Clark for action in the vote denial.

Sgt. Harry L. Stamper of the 3413th Quartermasters, an Atlanta resident, who was awarded the Bronze Star for heroism and service in Europe, wrote Mr. Clark:

"Perhaps you can tell me what I have been fighting for. I am about to be believe that I fought in vain for what I thought I was fighting for—democracy.

"While home on furlough, I registered to vote and on Sept. 5 I presented myself to the polls to vote in the Atlanta city primary and was told by the manager that I could not vote because I was not to be white.

"I was told that I didn't have to fight because I am not white. Instead, I was sent overseas and served with honor in the European Theatre, and was awarded the

tices they will return just as I have to find their blood boiling with the injustices they face."

Sgt. Harry L. Stamper.

"Signed: Atlantans to lay the facts in Clark's lap as a duty of the Federal Government to enforce the laws and statutes under the Constitution.

The case of Wallace Van Jackson against Registrar T. E. Suttles appeared won, since he sent names of Negroes and whites to the polling places of the city primary, the principal issue in the case before Judge Marvin E. Underwood of Federal District Court.

RACE VOTERS SUPPORT SUCCESSFUL CANDIDATE

1-4-45

Whites Give Assistance To New Casters of Votes

Savannah Tribune

WHO NUMBERED APPROXIMATELY 200

62.

CONWAY, S. C., (ANP) An estimated 200 Negroes who had qualified to vote in a municipal election here, were believed to have voted in a "bloc" for the winning candidate in a three way race for mayor.

Voting for the first time, Negro voters are credited with being the decisive favor in the outcome of the election though outnumbered two to one in the township. Final votes indicated 417 for Col. D. McGrath; 413, for incumbent Mayor Carl L. Busbee and 148 for Harry C. Cushman, whose name was entered by "friends." Without the Negro vote Col. McGrath would not have won and there in lies a story in what can happen under cooperation at the ballot between the races.

1-4-45

About a month ago, Negro leaders of the Progressive Democratic party were approached on the election, which was then hotly contested. Told, "this thing about Negroes not voting with white people is a thing of the past," a committee began working on registration which at the end of 10 days netted approximately 200 persons which increased the small number of those who were already registered. There was no resentment or attempts to suppress registration many white persons instructing Negroes in procedures.

1-4-45

The payoff, and a surprising one it was, came election day The exact number of Negroes who voted is not known now but it is generally believed that all Negro votes went to the group which had assisted them and which was interested in the candidacy of Col. McGrath.

South Carolina:

Pittsburgh Courier

Senate Votes To Repeal Poll Tax

2-17-45

Pittsburgh, Pa.

COLUMBIA, S. C.—(ANP)—The South Carolina Senate followed the lead of Georgia by voting to repeal the annual poll tax as a prerequisite for voting, last week.

There was only one opposing vote to a resolution to place an amendment eliminating the poll tax requirement from the State Constitution before the voters of the State in the 1946 general election.

2-17-45

Opposition is expected to be stronger in the lower house where the resolution was sent.

Two New Breaches In the Poll Tax Dike

Louisville, Ky.
Courier-Journal

The upper chamber of the South Carolina General Assembly and a little farther north, the people of Virginia, have provided new indications that the poll tax is dying on the vine, so to speak; that another venerable political custom has gone to seed and a great many people have decided they might as well clear the field for a new crop.

In South Carolina, more than any other of the Southern states which place a money qualification on the right to vote, the poll tax has long represented an attitude, a state of mind, rather than a genuine tax like other taxes. It was part of a complicated maze of rules and customs which had grown up in that state to govern voters and voting —partly law, partly social sanction, partly a sheer passive defense against something or other that actually had begun to lose identity.

3-8-45

The poll tax was a detail of the system, to be used when necessary or left alone when the job could be done without it. One did not have to pay a poll tax to vote in a primary election, for example; only to belong to the Democratic Party, which was like a club controlling its membership by rules of its own making. The tax payment was required to vote in the general election, although there are all kinds of ways to keep a fellow from registering.

It seems to have become harder to defend the poll tax against all the pointed questions that have arisen in the last few years —arisen from within the poll tax states no less than from without, in spite of the anguished protests of the poll-taxers that the criticism is all a Yankee device. In fact, all semblance of logical defense has been given up entirely, and where the poll tax is maintained, it is only because of a kind of pathological stubbornness.

Only one vote was cast in the South Carolina Senate against the bill to remove the poll tax as a requirement for voting, and the bill goes now to the lower house. Whether the latter pursues the same course or not, the poll tax is passing, perhaps because it is simply too exhausting to maintain an attitude in face of the whole moving world and of dynamic new interpretations of freedom and democracy. The prospect of federal legislation which now is practically certain, has just about put an end to the effort in South Carolina, it seems.

And although it may not have been intended as such, there was a perceptible whittling away of the structure also in Virginia, at the same time the South Carolina Senate acted. The Old Dominion's voters authorized, by 2 to 1, a constitutional convention for removal of provisions for personal registration and payment of poll taxes by men in the armed services.

3-8-45

In a way, this was an oblique test. Genuine foes of the poll tax were against the convention, holding that the question should be abolishing the poll tax for everybody. We have all sympathy for this view. But the fact remains that whenever, in any particular, the poll tax handicap to free suffrage is recognized, and even the faintest of gestures is made to lift it, then a breach has been created in the dike, a small crack in the edifice of restriction and control which will widen in the long run.

POLL TAX VOTED OUT AS BASIS FOR BALLOT

Commercial Appeal
Memphis, Tenn.

South Carolina Senate Acts Almost Unanimously

3-8-45

COLUMBIA, S. C., March 7.—(UP)—With one dissenting ballot the South Carolina Senate voted Tuesday to junk the state's $1 poll tax as a requirement for voting.

A resolution to amend the Constitution to keep the levy as a revenue measure but to sever its relations to the ballot box swept through the upper chamber with a strength that surprised even its champions.

It then went to the lower house, which is slated to consider the measure Wednesday.

3-8-45

Senate repeal advocates cited Georgia's recent withdrawal from tse dwindling list of poll tax states and said repeal by the state was the only alternative to eventual action by the Federal Government.

Besides South Carolina, states levying the poll tax are Texas, Arkansas, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi and Virginia.

S. C. Senate Group Votes To Outlaw Poll Tax

N.Y. Amsterdam News
2-24-45
N.Y., N.Y.

Poll Tax Committee Sees Astion As A Mandate To Intensify Campaign

WASHINGTON (NNPA). — The Senate Judiciary Committee of the South Carolina State legislature this week reported favorably a joint resolution to eliminate payment of the poll tax as a requirement for voting in that state.

The action has been interpreted by the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax as further indication that the South, itself, wants to get rid of the poll tax as a barrier to voting.

"It means," said Katherine Shryver, executive secretary of the Committee "that we must intensify our efforts. There are some states which simply cannot and will not do it on their own." Tennessee is an example, where the House rejected a proposal this week to eliminate the poll tax for veterans, by a vote of 52-32.

2-24-45

Unexpected Development

The South Carolina was an unexpected development. Efforts on the part of labor organizations in South Carolina to get a spokesman in the legislature for any kind of poll tax bill proved unavailing. The height of optimism for the state was the hope for a secret ballot for the first time.

The present action of the Senate Judiciary Committee does not abolish the tax, of course. The South Carolina constitution requires that a state constitutional amendment must be passed by two-thirds of both Houses of the legislature, and then be submitted to a referendum of the electorate of the next general election for representatives. It must then be ratified by the majority of the members of the legislature at its next session.

[illegible] Paper

Wants Voting Limited

N. Y. N. Y.

Varnville, S. C.

Editor, Daily Worker:

10-11-45

In the Sept. 8 issue of the Charleston, S. C. **News and Courier,** there is an editorial that is worthy of comment, because of its vicious contents. Headed, "To Save Democracy," it calls for a limitation of the franchise in S. C. to those who own property and are literate as well. They generously allow for one or two years leeway after a person comes of age and say that it doesn't necessarily have to be in real estate. The statement that voting "should be the privilege of the deserving, of persons who have earned it," that winds-up the editorial leaves no doubt as to its intent.

The Worker

No mention is made of who the deserving are. It is fair to assume, however, that the creators of all wealth and property would be denied that privilege because they were unable to accumulate, steal, or garner five hundred dollars worth of it and if their skin is black, regardless of how much of it they have, they will remain unable to exercise that so called white man's exclusive prerogative.

10-11-45

Please don't get the idea that we of South Carolina have no dirty linen. We have and some of it is filthy from the scum of the ages. But please be tolerant with us. We are washing every day and setting out rat-traps for the rats that circulate among us.

W. J. C.

Poll Tax Challenged

In South Carolina As Barring A Fair Trial

New York Daily
New York, N.Y.

CHARLESTON, S. C.—The constitutionality of a requirement that only persons who have paid poll tax may serve on juries is challenged in a brief filed by Congressman Vito Marcantonio, president of the International Labor Defense, with the Supreme Court of South Carolina, in the case of Arthur Middleton, Negro framed on a rape charge and sentenced to twenty years imprisonment.

Hearing on appeal in the case will be this week. 12-15-45

Joining with Mr. Marcantonio and the ILD in filing the brief are the National Negro Congress; the Charleston, S. C., branch of the National Association of Colored People, Citizens Political Action Committee of Charleston; Cosmopolitan Civic League of Charleston; National Maritime Union, Port of Charleston, Local 15, Food and Tobacco Workers Union, also of Charleston.

Middleton was convicted last March of "rape" of a white woman, though the testimony failed to identify him, and even the fact of rape was not established. The prosecution and frame-up has been connected with the drive against Negro and white unity in the growing labor movement of Charleston, and all the local organizations participating in the brief have worked together developing a defense campaign and to insure an appeal of the sentence.

The defense argument, which asks that the conviction of Middleton be reversed, is being handled by Arthur Hamer, Charleston attorney.

61e-1945

Negroes Vote For First Time in S.C. City Election

CONWAY, S. C. (ANP) — An estimated 200 Negroes who had qualified to vote in a municipal election here, are believed to have voted in a "bloc" for the winning candidate in a three-way race for mayor.

Voting for the first time, Negro voters are credited with being the decisive favor in the outcome of the election though outnumbered two to one in the township. Final votes indicated 417 for Col. D. McGrath, 413 for incumbent Mayor Carl L. Busbee and 148 for Harry G. Cushman, whose name was entered by "friends." Without the Negro vote Col. McGrath would have won and, therein lies a story in what can happen under cooperation at the ballot boxes between the two races.

About a month ago, Negro leaders of the Progressive Democratic party were approached on the election, which was then hotly contested. Told, "this thing about Negroes not voting with white people is a thing of the past," a committee began work on registration which, at the end of 10 days, netted approximately 200 persons, which increased the small number of those who were already registered. There was no resentment or attempts to suppress registration, many white persons instruction Negroes in procedures.

The payoff, and a surprising one it was came on election day. The exact number of Negroes who voted is not known now but it is generally believed that all Negro votes went to the group which had assisted them and, which was interested in the candidacy of Col. McGrath.

South Carolina Senate Votes To Repeal Poll Tax

COLUMBIA, S. C., March 6.—(UP)—The South Carolina senate today voted to repeal the $1 per year poll tax as a prerequisite for voting.

A resolution to place an amendment eliminating the poll tax requirement from the state constitution before the voters of the state in the 1946 general election was passed by the senate with but one opposing vote and sent to the lower house where opposition is expected to be stronger.

S. C. RALLIES NEGRO VOTERS

COLUMBIA, S. C. (ANP)—Following the bitter denunciation of Negro soldiers and the race in general by Southern Congressmen during the Southern fight against FEPC legislation, in Washington last week, the Progressive Democratic party in South Carolina last week turned attention to stepping up the registration of Negro citizens and fuller organization, in anticipation of Congressional elections next year.

John H. McCray, State PDP chairman, said it appeared that many county boards of registration were determined to hold down the number of Negroes who would register and qualify for voting. Many party workers report in several counties that Negro applicants for certificates are given polite run-arounds. In one county, Negroes are advised to apply at a designated office for certificates, but after so applying find that "the man is out for dinner right now," and he never comes back. Many boards have not functioned this year, since many members resigned at the close of last year and have not been replaced.

WHITES TO ACCAMPANY NEGROES TO POLLS

Columbia, S. C. (ANP)—Negro voters will be accompanied to the polls for registration by members of the Southern Regional council on race relations, according to a resolution adopted last week by that white organization.

Atty. Marion E. Wright of Conway, state chairman, said the committee's executive group had resolved to assist in the registration of Negro voters and added:

"That it is felt to be the duty of white members of our committee to lend assistance to South Carolina Negroes seeking to register for voting purposes where such Negroes meet all legel qualifications:

"Such assistance to be afforded by accompanying such Negroes to places of registration, observing the treatment accorded them, making a record of their observations, and being prepared to testify, if necessary, to any discriminations which have been observed.

South Carolina

S. C Board Won't Register Negroes

Chesterfield, S. C. -- (ANP) — Dr. Henderson, chairman of the board of registration for Chesterfield county, refused flatly to register a single one of a large contingent of Negro citizens who appeared at the county courthouse here last Monday. Many of the applicants had traveled considerable distance to obtain certificates.

Arriving at the courthouse well before the opening hour of nine o'clock the group after noticing the registration office still closed, sent a committee to Dr. Henderson who explained the group had come too late. Reminded that it was just 11:30 and the contingent had been waiting since before opening hours, the official is reported as having grown angry and told the committee he had no intention of registering them and that since the next election didn't come until next year, they'd have to come again.

Strong representations of the action have been filed with the board chairman and county delegation officials by Levi G. Byrd of Cheraw, county Progressive Democratic chairman, and John H. McCray of Columbia, state chairman of the Progressive Democratic party.

GROUP WILL SUE IF DENIED VOTE

1,000 Progressives In Marion, S. C., Ready for Third March on Courthouse

MARION, S. C.—(ANP)—Aborted thrice in efforts to obtain registration certificates at the Marion County Courthouse, leaders of the Progressive Democrats in this county said Monday they planned to come back again the first Monday in January, 1,000 strong.

When nearly one hundred of them appeared for certificates in October, F. M. Boatright, board chairman of registration, took one look and fled his office by a back entrance. In November, nearly two hundred of them walked in for certificates and before Boatright could flee he had taken the names and addresses of 162 of them, all of whom he promised tax certificates by mail.

TOO ILL TO WORK

Last Monday more than three hundred persons sought certificates but found only Boatright in this office, the assistant reportedly being ill and Boatright himself professing to be too ill to work.

Julian L. Morgan and George H. Chism, chairman and secretary, respectively, for the county, said plans were under way to have 1,000 party members on hand the first Monday in Jannary and if these should be inconvenienced, the whole group would file individual suits against the county. Boatright, however, is said to have promised PDF leaders on his honor to have all difficulties ironed out by January and to register the members as fast as they come.

South Carolina Debauches Voting, But Revolutionary Spirit Spurs Negro Leaders

Pittsburgh Courier — Pa.

1-20-45

By JOHN H. YOUNG III, Special Correspondent

Ducking and dodging by South Carolina on the question of the Negro vote has resulted in a move which may be the beginning of the end of good government in this State. A special session of the Legislature struck out all mention of the primary from the statutes of the State. Slowly but surely the people of South Carolina are beginning to realize that although they have temporarily averted the Negro's right to vote in the primary, they have at the same time created a Frankenstein which leaves the State to the mercy of corrupt politics. Since there are no State laws governing the primary, those in control of elections may stuff ballots, steal votes and practice dishonesty at the polls at will—without any possibility of being prosecuted and punished under law. Men now in office, who will appoint those in control of voting booths and election officials, could perpetuate themselves in office for years to come. 1-20-45

Defiantly, a sovereign body has corrupted its own legality in direct violation of the United States Constitution. The people of South Carolina may yet call upon the Federal Government to save their State from the Frankenstein they created to defy the Supreme Court and to defeat the honest and intelligent appeal of Negroes who desire a voice in their government.

On the other hand, the task of retrieving good government in South Carolina may fall upon the shoulders of three Negro men — John McCray, editor-publisher of The Lighthouse and Informer; Osceola McKain of the Peoples Democratic Party, and James Hinton, State president of the NAACP. These men have brought a new type of leadership to the Negro's fight for his rights. Bold, daring, unmindful of threats and intimidations, they have realized that politics at best is a rough and tumble affair and have fashioned Uncle Tom's walking cane into a rapier to impale white supremacy. Recently Osceola McKane ran against Governor Johnston for the Senate seat vacated by the late Senator Smith. These men carried their message to every county in the State in no uncertain terms. They spoke in the streets, in hallways and at schools and churches in all of the supposedly bitter rural sections of the State. They were not begging; they were demanding. They have called the white man's bluff heart-flush and found, just as they thought, that he had a spade in the hole.

MR. YOUNG

1-20-45

Poll Tax Viewed As Bar To Fair Jury Trial In Carolina

Atlanta Daily World, Atlanta, Ga.

12-18-45

Brief Filed By Labor Defense Group To Test Constitutionality

Atlanta Daily World

NEW YORK—(ANP)—Constitutionality of a requirement that only persons who have paid poll tax may serve on juries is challenged in a brief filed by Vito Marcantonio, president of the International Labor Defense, with the supreme court of South Carolina in the case of Arthur Middleton, allegedly framed on a rape charge and sentenced to 20 years imprisonment.

12-18-45

Joining with Mr. Marantonio and the ILD in filing the brief are the National Negro congress; the Charleston, S. C. NAACP branch, Citizens Political Action Com., of Charleston; Cosmopolitan Civic league of Charleston; National Maritime union, port of Charleston Local 15, Food and Tobacco Workers union, also of Charleston.

CONVICTED OF ATTACK

Meddleton was convicted last March of "rape" of a white woman, though the testimony failed to identify him, and even the fact of rape was not established. The prosecution and frame-up has been connected with the drive against Negro and white unity in the growing labor movement of Charleston and all the local organizations participating in the brief have worked together developing a defense campaign and to insure and appeal of the sentence.

12-18-45

The defense argument, which asks that the coiviction of Middleton be reversed, is being handled by Arthur Hamer, Charleston attorney.

"The jury came only from the list of registered voters and a condition to appearing on these lists was that the poll tax be paid," the brief, signed jointly by Mr. Martcantonio and Herman Rosenfeld of the ILD legal staff on behalf of all of the organizations said.

QUALIFICATION

"In effect an economic test has been prescribed as a qualification for service upon a jury—the choice is restricted to those who can afford to purchase their way on to the voters' list.

"Those who sat in trial upon the defendant were not representative of the community; they did not reflect the common interest of all. Of the entire population of Charleston county, 121,105, according to the 1940 census, only 16,055 names appear on the jury lists. By means of the poll tax, therefore, those eligible to jury service are reduced to a fractional part of the the population.

"Were the defendant a white man, this would be inexcusable enough. The defendant, however, is A Negro and the effect of this restrictive method of selecting jurors is more aggravated. The 1940 census reveals that close to 50% of the population of the state is Negro. Were this ratio observed, it would be expected that the same percentage of Negroes would appear on the voters' lists and on the jury panels. Yet of the 16,055 eligible voters in the county, only 799 were Negro, and of the 3,400 names on the jury lists, only 100 are those of Negroes.

"The defendant had a right to a jury of men who would truly weigh the facts; who would extend to him the kind of treatment they would expect for themselves in a similar situation. He did not receive that right. The method of selecting the jury made certain that the interests of the jurors would be foreign to his; that he would be convicted no matter how inadequate the evidence and how strong the doubt of his guilt.

61e-1945

10,000 Register In Tenn. County

The Philadelphia Tribune
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
9-15-45

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn. — (ANP)—Local leaders were jubilant over the fact last week that approximately 10,000 Negroes had qualified themselves for voting during the recent 10-Day biennial registratoni

The Colored Voters League of Greater Chattanooga put forth special effort to get Negroes qualified, as did the Judge Couch organization. The group will be the balance of power in the 1946 elections if they vote as heavily as they registered.

Hamilton county is one of the few counties of the south where the voting strength of the Negro is respected and counted in all elections, primary and general.

61e-1945

Texas Demos Still Want 'Whites Only'

Atlanta Daily World
11-

AUSTIN, TEX.—(SNS)—In spite of the fact that the Supreme Court has ruled that Negroes must be permitted to vote in the Primary elections, the Young Democratic Clubs of Texas, now being reorganized, are passing out receipts designate that "he or she is white requiring that the potential member Democrat"

The game receipt pledges the members to "the purposes of this organization, to wit: the perpetuation and better understanding of Democratic principales." It is noteworthy that the membership cards which are issued after dues are paid do not specify "white Democrat."

It is reported that at least one Young Democratic Club plans to demand that the racist requirement be removed at the State Convention, in December.

Vermont Poll Tax

P.M. 4-12-45

Dear Editor:

Why, in your poll tax discussions, do you not jack up Vermont, too? We cannot vote here unless all old poll taxes are paid up. We don't happen to have colored people to discriminate against. But we have —alas—a too-large "slum" population. You should see our rural slum dwellers who probably are the ones who get behind and hence lose their vote. It is a bad situation.

N.Y., N.Y. VERMONTER

Poll Taxes in the North

Richmond Times Dispatch

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

Most Northern States have poll tax laws similar to those of Southern States. Va.

Vermont's State poll tax laws specify that in each polling place the towns must employ a constable or equivalent to stand watch over the ballot boxes to prevent, among other things, a delinquent poll taxpayer from voting in any town, county or State balloting. 11-2-45

In other words, the State of Vermont's laws prohibit delinquent poll taxpayers from voting in local-State elections. However, in the case of Vermont the laws permit such delinquent poll taxpayers to vote in national elections.

I believe the same election laws prevail in all New England States, regardless of whether in some communities such election laws are not enforced.

FORMER YANKEE.

Charlottesville.

61e-1945

Virginia

State Voters On Increase
Jackson Report Shows

Journal and Guide Norfolk, Va.

5-19-45

Special to Journal and Guide

PETERSBURG, Va.—Fully half of the Negro teachers in Virginia voted in the 1944 presidential election, according to an estimate of Dr. Luther P. Jackson, professor of history, Virginia State College, and secretary of civic activities for the Virginia State Teachers Association, while actually 67 out of every hundred covered in his study of 2,509 teachers voted in last fall's general elections.

Dr. Jackson's two reports on voting by Virginia Negro teachers and the voting status of Negro Virginians in 1944 for the Virginia State Teachers Association and the Virginia Voters League, respectively, disclose a new awakening among Negro teachers in the exercise of the franchise and some advance in voting among the general Negor population in the state.

In 1943 32,504 Negroes in the state met the three-year poll tax requirement for voting, but the next year an additional 9,075, or a total of 41,579, met that requirement. However, the report shows that of 365,717 Negroes of voting age in the state only nine per cent were qualified in 1943, and only 11.3 per cent were qualified in 1944. This means that in 1944, 89 out of every 100 Negroes of voting age in the state were not qualified to vote because they had not met the poll tax requirement.

ALL TEACHERS VOTERS

5-19-45

Of the schools covered in Dr. Jackson's report, five city schools and eight county schools reported that all their teachers voted in the last presidential election. Only one school which does high school work is included in this list.

The city schools reporting all teachers as voters are the John H. Smythe, Norfolk, Va., and Sidney, Moore, Dunbar, and Providence Schools of Richmond, Va.

The county schools contacted reporting all teachers as voting in the fall election last year are Ridgeway Jr., Albemarle county; Harris Hart, Floyd county Beverly Allen, King William county; Andrew Jackson, Page county; County Training School (which does high school work), Princess Anne county; Arty Lee, Russell county; Graham, Tazewell county, and Wytheville, Wythe county.

NEARLY ALL VOTERS

Dunbar School in Norfolk with 17 teachers, reported that 16 voted. Other schools in the same category were Mt. Hermon, Portsmouth, with 20 teachers and19 voting; Jefferson High School, Charlottesville, Va. with 20 teachers and 19 voting, and Booker T. Washington High School, Suffolk, with 22 teachers and 21 voting.

Dr. Jackson's report carries information on the procedures and requirements for voting in Virginia and the laws covering voting in the state. There is also a statement in the report on voting requirements in other Southern states.

PAY PART TAXES

A report on poll tax payments in Bedford county shows that 914 of the county's colored citizens paid the tax for either 1941, 1942, or 1943, but only 36 per cent of this number, or 541, paid for all three years. "In the whole state," Dr. Jackson reports, "there were perhaps 100,000 who paid all or part of the tax in order to vote in 1944, but only 41,385 of this number paid for each of the years required."

Dr. Jackson's report reveals some interesting facts, as for example the statement that Essex county in 1944 and years before held a high record in the number of Negroes paying the poll tax without exercising the right of suffrage. With 527 paying the poll tax in the county, "hardly more than 200 have given any thought to voting," Dr. Jackson says.

In 1944 for the first time thousands of Negroes paid the poll tax with the expressed purpose of voting. According to Dr. Jackson there were 261 in Princess Anne, 282 in Cumberland, 335 in King and Queen, and 612 in Southampton.

These four counties staged poll-tax paying drives in 1944 as a means of increasing voting, as was done the previous year in Amherst, Arlington, Charles City, Fairfax, Halifax, New Kent, Nottoway, Prince Edward and Sussex.

With A GRAIN of SALT

The Journal and Guide

~~Lynchburg, Roanoke~~ Norfolk, Va.

By ARTHUR P. DAVIS

Political Tragedy Has Humorous Moments

The Portsmouth Star for November 7 has the following editorial comment:

"In yesterday's election, Thomas H. Reid the Jefferson ward colored attorney running for a seat in the House of Delegates, carried two of the city's eight wards.

"Of course, we at once today hear that our present, and to continue, ward line chosen **city council will now propose a redistricting measure to change ward lines under plans of gerrymander calculated to prevent the increasing colored vote gaining representation in city council from what are now Jefferson and Harrison wards."** 12-1-45

The frankness of this statement may be disturbing to those who will believe that the war was fought for democracy and that conditions have changed. I am certain, however, that Attorney Reid and the other leaders in Virginia are not a bit disturbed by this threat. Accustomed to obstacles of this sort and knowing that they will have to fight every step of the way to full political equality, they will take this one in their stride and get around it as they have got around others.

MR. DAVIS

The threat of gerrymander is the second round in the Negro's political battle in Virginia. The first was the fight for the privilege of registering—which was won during my youth. Although it was a long-drawn out fight; and althongh disfranchisement in Virginia has been tragic for white and black alike, I somehow seem to remember best the humorous side of that battle. As serious as their intentions are, the efforts of Southern whites to keep Negroes from the polls have always been the unconscious source of much humor.

12-1-45 • • •

For instance, when W. T. B. Williams, who later became vice president of Tuskegee, tried to register for voting in Hampton, he was given a literacy test by a local white man who had never finished grammar school. Mr. Williams flunked the test. He was a graduate of Harvard College.

To register in those days, one paid the poll tax and then went to the county register's home to enter one's name on the voting list. Since all of the voters were white, the registrar simply took the registrant in his parlor and signed him up. But after World War I, local Negroes got ambitious and tried to register in numbers. This gave the official something of a problem. Obviously, he couldn't carry Negroes to his parlor.

He therefore created a Negro registration place—in his woodhouse.

There among the coal, wood, and stored vegetables, he gave the tests necessary to enable a few Negroes to vote— but only a few. If any Negro seemed uppity, he simply flunked the literacy test. 12-1-45

Often Southern registrars knew nothing about the test they gave. One of my friends went to an official during the twenties and was asked the following question: "What persons are not allowed to vote in Virginia?" He wrote the answer in one sentence: "Minors, foreigners, criminals, and the insane are not allowed. . ." Giving one quick look at the answer, the register said, "There's more to it than that." Sensing the man's ignorance, my friend quickly replied, "Of course there is; give it back!" Taking the same answer, my friend stretched it to a full paragraph, inserting several high sounding Latin phrases like CETERIS PARIBUS, PRO BONO PUBLICO, and NON COMPOS MENTIS, and handed it back. "That's more like it," the official said and added my friend's name to the voting rolls.

• • • •

There is a classic folk story told about a similar incident. A Negro college graduate applied to a Southern registrar for the right to vote. "Quote the Preamble to the Constitution," the civic dignitary ordered. Feeling that the latter wouldn't know the difference, the Negro recited in his finest schoolboy oratorical manner, Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. When he finished, the registrar looked at him unbelievingly, spat forcefully into the corner, and said to nobody in particular, "Hot damn! I never thought a N____R could.a done it."

With the same persistence and political adroitness they have thus far shown in their attack on the lily-white set-up in Portmouth, Attorney Reid and his friends, I am sure will defeat any attempt to stymie them. I am also just as certain that they wil find the antics of their gerrymandering city councilmen just as humorous and inevitably just as futile as all of the other Southern efforts to justify a vicious and decaying feudalism. 12-1-45

Virginia

New Restrictions on the Electorate?

The Richmond Times-Dispatch—Va.

An Editorial from the Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch

THE State Suffrage Commission, which has recommended abolition of the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting, proposed changes in the registration requirements, attempted to patch up absentee voting and submitted other provisions for improving the election machinery, is a product of the State's travail—particularly the Democratic leaders' travail—when the soldier-sailor voting issue last Winter and Spring forced the whole poll tax issue up to the point where it could no longer be disregarded . . . 12-19-44

Whatever else is to come about in Virginia's election laws—and much that is now proposed needs remedying, too—a commission authorized by an overwhelming Democratic General Assembly, with a majority appointed by a Democratic Lieutenant-Governor (soon to be Governor) and a Democratic Speaker of the House, has formally recommended that Virginia discard this historic mechanism (the poll tax), beloved of ruling politicians, for holding the voting lists in line and keeping the control of the State.

The implication is again obvious. We approach visibly nearer the day when this restriction on Virginia voting will fade into the past. To this point the commission is marching with destiny.

At the same time the commission has labored hard to set up other requirements which in one guise or another are either designed for, or are capable of, new restrictions on the electorate almost as binding in their practical effect as the poll tax is.

If the poll tax goes, a check on the voting list goes simultaneously. Under the poll tax system the size of the possible electorate is exactly determined six months in advance of an election, by the number of persons who have paid their poll taxes. Once a citizen is registered, payment of the poll tax will keep him registered. But once the poll tax is removed, no check on registration exists except as provided. The point of incidence would shift from the treasurer who collected the poll taxes and certified poll taxpayers as eligible voters to the registrar. That official would take on new stature.

In clear knowledge of this fact the commission has laid down new annual requirements, the effect of which would be to make registration difficult except for certain significant groups. They include voters who would keep up their registration automatically if they voted the previous year—a device which benefits the regulars. They include automatically citizens who paid before the penalty date all their previous year's taxes (save real estate taxes)—a device which benefits monied people and, moreover, re-establishes a connection between taxes and voting which is a central objection to the poll tax requirements. The connection would thus be maintained in one form while being rejected in another form. Failing in either of the requirements, a voter could renew his registration standing by formally applying to the registrar again, a natural right but a practical deterrent.

Nor do the deterring requirements end here. The original registration would still depend upon a literacy test which is loosely defined and wide open to abuse. In fairness to the commission, it seeks to strengthen the registrar's standing by doing away with registrars at the precincts and by other protective measures. But it proposes to imbed in the Constitution a requirement that all registration be completed four months before the election, a shorter time by two months than the present poll-tax payment requirement but long before ordinary campaigns warm up and the pressure for registration stirs many citizens. 12-19-44

The fact which emerges is that a body of recommendations which begins by abolishing the poll tax ends by establishing other controls at the new bottleneck, the registrar's office, which are capable of sharp restrictions of the electorate. The full report extends much further. It would retain the highly dubious absentee voting, though with additional protections. It would re-order the administration of elections through a central bipartisan State board and local bipartisan boards appointed by it. It would set up more defenses and increase penalties. It would provide a capitation tax up to $3, not a prerequisite to voting, but capable of becoming (though it should not) a prerequisite to licenses. It would present perhaps 20 constitutional amendments and 200 statutory changes, itself a major task. Enough is immediately clear to understand that this formidable change of the election system demands the most careful scrutiny lest it offset positive progress by applying political brakes.

61e-1945

Virginia

In Defense of the Poll Tax

Richmond Times-Dispatch 1-16-45 p. 4

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

Who in the dam Hill are these people that want the right to vote without paying capitation taxes, voters or politicians? One would assume that the majority of Virginia citizens were paupers, or else why all this noise about $1.50 tax required of voters? Qualifications for voting in Virginia require a little common intelligence and interest enough in the government to pay $1.50 toward its support. Is that too much?

No one is permitted to serve on a jury without some evidence of capacity to judge the guilt or innocence of his fellowman, yet every Tom, Dick and Harry should be permitted to elect the officers who are to govern this nation. It does not make sense. 1-16-45

On the other hand, vote-getting would be $1.50 cheaper per vote for those who would stoop to buying votes. The amount of the capitation taxes which would be lost must be placed upon the shoulders of those citizens who willingly support the government. In short, by relieving the citizens who do not want to pay a poll tax and placing it upon those who are willing to pay, in order that the disinterested may vote, we will insure a better and more democratic government. 1-16-45

Evidently some people feel that a true democracy depends upon the right to vote being extended to every person. That is a mistaken conception. A true democratic government must be responsible to its voters; therefore voters must be responsible citizens. Are there any responsible citizens who cannot or will not contribute $1.50 toward the expense of their government? This yelling for repeal of the poll tax law sounds as if it comes from politicians rather than voters. If so, it would be more advisable to raise the capitation tax to $3.

MR. NOBODY.

Glen Allen.

61e-1945

Voting,

Votes For Qualified Negroes

Birmingham Age-Herald

The chairman of the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee, the forthright Gessner T. McCorvey, of Mobile, has declared himself in favor of "permitting those Negroes who believe in the principles of the Democratic party and who have properly registered and paid their poll taxes, to vote in our primaries." 2-18-45 Ala.

This position has been endorsed by Governor Sparks.

Mr. McCorvey took this stand before the Legislature's interim committee on constitution and legislative procedure which is considering Alabama's election machinery.

The United States Supreme Court ruled in the recent widely discussed Texas case that Democratic primaries are a basic part of the election processes of that state and that the barring of qualified Negro voters from such primaries would be a denial of constitutional rights of suffrage.

Mr. McCorvey calls for obedience to that decision.

He is not, of course, advocating a loose opening-up of the primaries to *all* Negroes. On the contrary, he calls for a "higher-type electorate" and for strict application of the law having to do with qualifications for voting.

* * *

Whether or not one agrees with Mr. McCorvey's ideas as to the qualifications for voting, it is obvious that his candid position with reference to permitting qualified Negroes to vote is in keeping with the letter and spirit of American constitutional democracy. 2-18-45

We do not see how he could take any other position, believing, as he does, in our American system and in "proper respect for the judicial decisions of our duly constituted courts."

Mr. McCorvey's declaration—and Governor Sparks' support—should go far toward clearing up what has been an increasingly anomalous and vulnerable situation in this state.

It is a well known fact that qualified Negroes in many cases have *not* been allowed to vote—or to register. In Birmingham Friday a week ago six Negro public school teachers said they were denied registration and without explanation. That kind of thing should not go on. It cannot go on without increasing injustice and the dangerous complications that inevitably go with it.

* * *

The question of just what should be the qualifications for voters is another matter, with many angles upon which there are many sincere differences of opinion.

It is, however, through registration controls that any proper limitations upon voting should be exercised.

Any system which denies registration to obviously qualified persons—merely on account of their color—is bound to go sooner or later. 2-18-45

It is better, certainly, that it should go "sooner" and in voluntary obedience to the law, rather than "later" under the compulsion of increasing pressures and complications.

In addition to an honest opportunity for registration for those persons who can meet reasonable requirements for suffrage, there should be an unimpeded opportunity for actual voting for all who have thus qualified.

That is the way to a just and peaceful solution of this urgent problem.

As much has been proved, we believe, in the experience along these lines of such states as North Carolina and Kentucky.

Anything less than this can only compound our problems and dangers.

THE NEGRO VOTE

To the Editor of The News: Birmingham News

I am Southern-born and reared. In my veins flows the blood of the best of the South. My great-great-grandfather died by shots fired from Yankee guns as he stood in his own house. I do not have any sympathy for a Negro when out of a Negro's place. But how flimsy our excuse for all the blood we have shed for the liberation of Europe when we are imposing as stringent rules on the Negro as Hitler ever dared. 5-24-45

How pitiful it is that my two precious boys must leave school, home, friends and everything else near and dear to them by the ties of nature, and don uniforms and weapons to kill men because of their imposition of unjust laws on humanity, and yet come home (?) to find themselves barred from the polls by a law that would stand up with any Hitler ever had put on display. Such a sight brought to the vision of our dying boys would cause them to exclaim in death, "In vain, in vain!"

The saddest thing about the whole thing is that this cruel, inhuman, Dark-Age proposition comes from Alabama. If it is enacted I will feel justified in the future in proudly keeping silent about my home state as I travel about the country.

How sad it is to see how hard some Southerners die! It is awful for Hitler to speak of the Germans as a superior race! It is so selfish and narrow and tyrannous for Japan to say Asia for the Asiatics, but how democratic it is for Alabama's legislators to keep a man from voting just because he is black!

Covin, Ala. W. D. GRIFFIN.

NEGRO VOTE BEAT DEWEY

Plaindealer Kansas City Kan.

CHURCH TELLS GOP CONFAB

1-26-45

Indianapolis, Ind.—The Republican post-mortem conducted here this week revealed that the party was defeated in 1944 by too many Negro votes—on FDR's side.

Gathered here for what is termed the most critical GOP confab ever held, members of the Republican National Committee were told frankly that they did not have what it takes to attract Negro voters.

Ralph R. Church, veteran Republican, blasted his party's indifference towards Negroes during the last election and stated:

"The Republican party has never won a Presidential election since the colored people left the party, and last year they contributed more to the Roosevelt election than any election since their withdrawal from the Republican party in 1929."

Calling the 1944 GOP campaign among colored voters the "least intensive in its history," Church said: 1-26-45

"It is perfectly obvious that prior to the election of 1944, there was a definite trend of the colored electorate away from the Democratic party. This was proven by the 1942 elections, and more definitely by an analysis of the results of the voting in colored precincts in Chicago and elsewhere.

"There were more than three million colored people who voted in the last election, and this was the most fertile field of any minority group, and had it been worked properly, the results would have been different. According to Chairman Brownell's own statement carried in the New York Herald-T[illegible] of November 12, Dewey [illegible] only a shift of 303,400 v[illegible] states outside the Solid [illegible]ve been elected.

"The [illegible]can presidential campaig[illegible]all among colored people was the least intensive of any campaign ever conducted . . . and as a consequence of the stupidity of the present leadership, we lost thousands and thousands of votes. The colored headquarters in both New York and Chicago were jokes, huge jokes, unless they were planned that way by the New York leadership. Chairman Brownell's statement that there would be no "Jim Crow" in the National Headquarters produced no avalanche of votes.

Hits McKibbin

Church ripped Brownell's appointment of anti-Negro officials and blamed the selection of Geo. E. McKibbin, widely known Negro hater, as Governor Dewey's assistant manager. 1-26-45

"When McKibbin ran for mayor against Ed Kelly about two years ago," Church said, "he could not carry a single colored ward because colored people knew that he had signed a restrictive covenant which prohibited colored people from buying or selling property in certain sections of Chicago. Yet Brownell and Schroeder approved this appointment and expected colored people in the West to vote for Dewey." 1-26-45

Church pointed out that the first meeting called for colored leaders at Republican Headquarters by Patrick B. Prescott, the Negro assistant, had been addressed by McKibbin.

But the appointment of Dr. C. [illegible]l, publisher of the Amsterdam News, as chairman of the Republican Publicity Committee, drew the hottest fire from Church.

Powell A "Democrat"

Calling Powell a "Democrat," Church said: "The appointment of a colored Democrat to this position was an insult by the chairman to every colored Republican and man and women in America. This same colored Democrat was in charge of publicity for Roosevelt, working directly under Charley Michelson, for the Democratic National Committee in both Presidential campaigns of 1936 and 1940 and he was interviewed by a New York daily paper and asked what the Republican party had done for colored people, he replied 'Nothing, the Republican party has done nothing for colored people.'"

Church analyzed the appointment of Justice Frances E. River as advisor on Negro affairs as another GOP blunder. "The judge lives in that section of New York's Harlem known as "Sugar Hill" and to know what the little man on the street is thinking you must come to New York's Lenox avenue."

Weak or Ignorant

"There is no doubt about it," Church summed up, "the Republican management in the last campaign was either very weak . . . or inexcusably ignorant. . . .

"If the Republican party is to continue to be dominated by the thinking of certain interests located 'East of the Hudson' then as a party we might just as well fold up. . . . 1-26-45

"You can not use the same bait to catch colored votes in 1946 that you used in 1920. Colored people today are alert, and are well aware of the use to which the ballot can be put. They know now that the ballot is negotiable, and can be exchanged for definite social improvements for themselves. There is no longer blind loyalty to one party based on traditional attachment. Again I say I ,think that it is time for a change, from the line of thought of those Republican leaders who live 'East of the Hudson River'."

Voice Of The People

Birmingham AFRO

QUALIFIED VOTERS

To the Editor of the News:

Wednesday, May 29, there appeared in a remote part of The Birmingham News a small article, "Registrars Winners in Negro Vote Case." The article stated that a federal jury returned a verdict for the defendants, former members of the Jefferson County Board of Registrars, in case of a Negro who was suing them for failure to allow him to register as a voter. 6-5-45

In his complaint, the Negro alleged that he possessed all the qualifications for registration as set forth in the Code of Alabama, but that he was denied the right to register because of his color or race.

Regardless of what the facts are in this particular case, the writer is impressed with the evidence that an individual believing he possessed all the qualifications as set forth in the Code of Alabama to become eligible as a voter resorted to court procedure to gain that right of franchise.

Furthermore, facts have been brought to the attention of the writer from time to time that have proved conclusively that in many instances when Negroes, some of them World War veterans, could answer all qualifying questions they were then asked irrelevant mathematical and geographical questions.

It is the responsibility of every citizen today to become a qualified voter and have a voice in his government. And it is also the duty of every qualified voter to help others to become qualified. 6-5-45

Any other type of action today is outmoded and has no place in a world fighting a war to engender ideals of equality and tolerance.

FRANCES NATHEWS STEPHENSON.
2705 Lanark Road.

the week

AFRO-AMERICAN

Vote Restrictions

7-14-45

South's Progress

By W. I. GIBSON

"Voting Restrictions in the 13 Southern States," a pamphlet compiled by the Committee of Editors and Writers of the South, an organization sponsored by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (112 Park Avenue, NYC, 17), should be required reading for every Southern Congressman and all others who benefit from their patronage.

It is as strong an argument as I have yet seen for abolition of the disfranchising poll tax which still hamstrings the constituency of 8 Southern States.

Reporting on voting in the 1944 Presidential election, the pamphlet reveals that only 27.9 per cent of the potential voters in the 13 Southern States, voted as compared to 61.9 per cent of the potential voters in the rest of the nation. 7-14-45

In the 8 poll tax States—Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia—only 19 per cent of the potential voters took part in the election. (Georgia has since eliminated the poll tax as a requisite for voting in Federal elections.)

Before the late Huey Long eliminated the poll tax Louisiana in 1934, records show that in 1932, 268,000 people voted. In 1940, with the tax eliminated, 372,000 voted and in 1944, 550,000 voted. All except, perhaps two or three hundred of that increase, represented an increase in the white vote.

Case of Louisiana

Harnett T. Kane, New Orleans author, reporting on the state of affairs in Louisiana, says:

"With the poll tax repeal, there are only about 1,500 colored people voting. And they are kept away from the polls by a special arrangement. 7-14-45

"You have to go there and sign a registration application in which you are asked perhaps a few more trick questions than you are accustomed to in your State. You must state your age in years, months and days.

"There is another trick question: 'Who is the householder?' Perhaps you may know, it does not mean the landlord. But, of course, the colored man goes to the registration place and he is not recognized. He is told to come back tomorrow, we are fresh out of application blanks; we will send you a notice when we are ready for you. He is kept away by all sorts of tricks.

"Some of our polling places are located in bar rooms, pool rooms, slot machine joints and houses of prostitution, and when it happens that a policeman owns the pool room, house of prostitution or other places, that makes it a little more difficult, not only for a man, white or colored, but for a woman to go in and vote."

In North Carolina, there is a provision for payment of five cents to the registrars for each person who registers—a financial incentive for increased registration.

In South Carolina it is impossible to vote a split ticket and there is not even the semblance of a secret ballot in the general election.

Harry S. Strozier, Macon attorney and newspaperman, tells of Georgia's unique method of reducing the "weight" of the people who live in cities.

He reports:

"A popular plurality is offset by the county-unit system which allows each county two unit votes in an election and no county, no matter how many people live in it, more than six votes. A man who lives in Atlanta or Savannah, for instance, pays as much taxes as anyone else, but his vote is worth only a fraction of that of a voter who lives in a rural county. There are 159 counties in Georgia."

Although the 14th Amendment to the Constitution says clearly that "no state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privilege . . . of citizens of the United States," it is rather apparent from the foregoing, that complete compliance is still a long way off. 7-14-45

South's Progress

Incidentally, Dr. Mabel Carney, professor emeritus of Teachers' College, Columbia University, told an Atlanta U. audience last week, that "the South is setting the pace for the rest of the country in social, educational and economic progress, despite its sharecropping system, its unsatisfactory race relations and low per capita income."

Such progress, she believes, may be attributed to the fact that the South is willing to look at itself as a region. There is no such "oneness" in any other section of the nation, she says.

I don't deny Dr. Carney's statements, but I do believe that regionalism which resolves itself in blind isolationism, is not to be recommended to other sections. By setting itself apart through its clannishness, the South has set back its progress clock a hundred years or more.

The Pied Typer

Max Johnson, AFRO war correspondent with the 92nd Division in Italy, writes that a new order has been issued by the State Department, allowing passports to the wives of officers and war correspondents, who are to remain in Europe for several months.

The leaning tower of Pisa, he says, is by no means the only one of its kind in Italy. There is one in Modena which slants as much as the Pisa tower, but is of dull brick and boasts of nothing else spectacular.

Rome is the cleanest city, Milan has the most picturesque sidewalk cafes and Florence has the most beautiful cathedral.

Vigorous action is being taken by the U.S. Post Office Department against one of the most contemptible forms of racketeering to come out of this war.

Next of kin of army casualties are being approached by slicksters who advise that the deceased soldier is to be given a special niche in a so-called "Hall of Fame" or "Heroes' Memorial Book."

Cash remittances or deposits in advance are required. Needless to say, once the money has been received, the transaction is closed and another soldier's family has been victimized.

This is a warning to soldiers' families to be on guard against this fraudulent exploitation.

I am reliably informed that reports that Roscoe Lewis has been dismissed from the Hampton Institute faculty are without foundation. Mr. Lewis, on sabbatical leave last year, was recently advised of his reappointment as associate professor in the division of social sciences.

All sorts of things come in an editor's mail. A solicitous grandma supplied me with the following "poem," composed by a three-year-old grandchild, to be sung to the tune of either "Put Another Chair at the Table," or "God Bless America." 7-14-45

Here it is:

When you are going to fall
When you are going to fall
When you are going to fall
When you are going to fall next week
When you are going to fall
Next week, next week.

"INALIENABLE RIGHTS"

Editor, The Advertiser: Montgomery Adv.

Anent Mr. R. C. Eason's letter printed in The Advertiser, March 8, may I congratulate him for a noble and inspiring effort. May I further state that I am in complete accord with him in the conclusion that the "poll tax" should be repealed. However, I cannot agree with his reasoning, as I have always been unsympathetic with people who try to prove a point by assuming a false premise. And this is certainly what Mr. Eason has attempted to do. 3-11-45 Ala.

One needs study Mr. Eason's letter but little to see that the whole body and soul of his reasoning is founded on the beautifully worded, but as equally erroneous premise that: "They have an honorable right to resent the paying of money for a privilege which is already their inalienable right."

Mr. Eason is not alone in basing his argument on this premise for it is the commonly held premise on which all anti-poll tax advocates base their arguments. However resounding in true democracy it may be, any attempt to affect a repeal of such a tax by using such an erroneous premise will result in failure because the intelligent man will not be convinced.

The right to vote is definitely not an unalienable right! Nor is citizenship the basis of unalienable rights. An unalienable right is a prerogative derived from being a human being—not from being a citizen. The right to vote is a political privilege—not an unalienable right given to man by God. Unalienable rights have been conferred on man as man by God—not on man as citizen by government. 3-11-45

Unalienable rights belong to all men, whether citizens or not, whether Americans or not, whether respected by governments or not. Unalienable rights do not depend on government for their origin and governments cannot justly deprive men of them. But certainly voting does derive from government—hence government could take it away or limit it as it saw fit. Hence voting is not an unalienable right inherent in man.

True—there must be many reasons why the poll tax, as a prerequisite for voting, should be abolished. But to say "it is an unalienable right"—is not one of them.

EDWARD JAMES AZAR.

112 South Bainbridge Street.

VOTERS RIGHT

Detroit Free Press

To the Editor: Answering Walter B. Redman's asinine remark that "a tax should be charged for people who 'may' vote but do not do so," let me tell this ignorant person that in this great North where true democracy reigns, every male and female past 21 has the American right to vote whether a small percentage chooses to exercise it or not. Whether every individual votes at every election or not is for the individual to voluntarily decide for himself or herself—and there is no tax whatever connected with it one way or the other, nor will there ever be in the North, for people here are too American and intelligent to stand for such bunk.

Redman must be a Southerner to even suggest such nonsense. If he has lived here 20 years as he claims he should have sense enough by this time to know that there is all the difference in the world between having the right to vote, whether one avails ones self of it or not—and being deprived of that right as millions in the South are deprived. Detroit, Mich.

Furthermore, let me correct Redman's erroneous statement that not more than "11 per cent" vote, for the heavy voting in the North is what swings elections—as was proven last November, when the biggest vote in history was turned out here. 8-3-45

COURTNEY STEVENSON.

WE VOTE NO! St. Louis Argus Mo.

Ere another issue of this paper, the voters of the state will have passed judgment on the proposed new constitution.

If the majority of those who go to the polls vote in favor of the new code well and good. We will forget, as far as possible, the pains, injustices and the insults we suffer because a better and more liberal constitution was not in the offering. 2-23-45

However, we will have the satisfaction of having done our bit in an effort to show the people a great wrong they are about to commit, when they vote racial segregation (which is the father of bigotry, and the breeder of Hitlerism) into the organic law of the state, which is contained in the proposed new draft.

We hate to believe that the large number of people who are advocating the adoption of the proposed new constitution, really mean to do hurt and harm and evil to themselves and their neighbors as undoubtedly will be done if they succeed.

There is poison in the new draft, more deadly than bullets in the enemies' gun: segregation based upon race with its poisonous virus, has slain more people and caused more misery in the world, than all the wars of centuries. The seed of segregation based upon race are sown in the spirit of bigotry; and bigotry is the working tool at the bottom of the world conflict in which we are now engaged.

The proponents say that they are trying to build a better state, looking forward to a better world in which to live. Is that so? Are we to believe that people of ordinary intelligence hope to reap a better state and a better world by sowing the seed of racial hate in the very organic law of the State? We wonder? It doesn't make sense. Men do not gather flowers from thorns, nor figs from thistles.

A Constitution drafted for the guidance of the people in a time like this, which does not carry the letter as well as the spirit of equity and justice to all the citizens alike, is not worth the parchment upon which it would be written; and should be repudiated at the polls by the voters.

Some one has said that the Negroes have been misled regarding the new code. We would ask, how are we misled? Both the old as well as the new state constitutions carry race segregation aimed at the Negroes. No other race comes under the ban but the Negro. Enemy aliens both far and near are taken into the bosom of the new constitution, given every right which any other citizens enjoys, and yet despite this insult, we are told to vote for the new draft if we are loyal citizens. A pious lady has written a letter to the newspapers covered with veiled threats and intimidations in an effort to scare the colored people into voting for the new draft. We are sorry that the lady has asked too much.

Few of us will sacrifice a principle which robs us of every vestige of self respect. Seventy-five years ago, we might have been scared into voting for the old constitution: for we were too ignorant to know better, but to-day—

We vote No!

Text Of Appeal To Attorney General Clark:

Atlanta Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

September 4, 1945

Hon. Tom Clark
U S Attorney
Washington, D. C. 9-6-45

We the undersigned have just been denied our right to vote in city primary election and have been told by precinct officials that they have been instructed by Arthur Johnson chairman of city executive committee to deny ballots to all of the approximately 4000 colored voters despite the fact that they had a full list of voters including Negroes supplied by Registrar T. E. Suttles.

Some light complexioned Negroes were given ballot application forms but when their racial idenity was discovered the forms were withdrawn. 9-6-45

This action today is making a mockery of the whole concept of law and order.

Police in some cases stopped Negroes before they could enter voting precincts.

This is clear violation of our right guaranteed by 15th Amendment to Constitution. We appeal to you to protect our right in this government for which so many Negroes have just died to defend.

In the name of ourselves and other qualified Negro voters we respectfully urge you to order an immediate investigation and bring criminal prosecution aganist the person or persons responsible for denying us our most important American right.

C. L. Harper
A. T. Walden
C. A. Scott

Negro Voters

THERE IS no question—and no question should have been raised—about the right of Negro citizens, who are otherwise qualified, to register in the current registration and to vote in the charter election. The registration is a permanent registration and all citizens qualified by residence and citizenship are entitled to enter their names on that permanent roll, regardless of race or color. The referendum election is a general city election—not a primary—and the same right exists for voting therein as in the registration.

It is well that the Election Board, through Chairman Van Eepoel, has made this clear, because many Negroes qualified to vote had been deterred from applying for registration in the belief that they would be rejected. The only restriction on their registration is that they cannot do so as members of the "White Municipal Party," to which they obviously cannot belong. However they can register as independents, Democrats or Republicans, the same as white voters.

As for the "White Municipal Party," it is held by competent lawyers that it no longer has any legal existence. That "party" was established under the former municipal primary law and was empowered to conduct the white primaries for the nomination of municipal officers. When the Legislature created the City Election Board and vested it with the power to conduct all elections in the city, including the nominating primaries, it would appear that this ended the usefulness, the function and the existence of the "White Municipal Party." If that view is correct the registration of voters as members of that "party" is non-essential. If the charter amendment is adopted, the primaries for the nomination of members of the new city council will be conducted by the Election Board, not by the "White Municipal Party," which now has no standing in law or fact.

As to Negroes voting in these primaries, the Supreme Court of the United States has held that Negroes are entitled to vote in Democratic primaries if they declare themselves Democrats. We don't know just how this ruling will apply in the municipal primaries, because they will not be, strictly speaking, Democratic primaries. No party lines will be drawn.

An organization of Negro citizens, which originated in Tampa, calling itself the Progressive League of Florida Voters, has interested itself in the qualification of Negroes to vote in Florida elections. The League states its purposes as follows:

> The colored people of Florida are desirous of improving and strengthening their relations with the white people and promoting good-will at all times between the two races in this state . . . We shall approach our white friends as potential friends rather than as adversaries and opponents. . . . We believe there is strength in both quality and quantity to be built up among us, which strength can be depended upon as a helpful influence in our efforts to obtain recognition for our appropriate enjoyment and exercise of the franchise.

The League also expresses its desire to meet with the State Democratic Committee "in an effort to eliminate any friction that might come as a result of Negroes participating in the Democratic primary." Officers of the League have been in consultation with Attorney-General Watson in furtherance of these desires.

Reputable Negro citizens of Tampa have an interest in the city government and they are desirous of getting the best form of government possible to attain. We believe a great majority of them will vote for the charter amendment.

Seek Reversal Of Lower Court Decision In U. S. Circuit Court Of Appeals

The Louisiana Weekly
New Orleans, Louisiana 10-6-45

In Atlanta, Ga., it was discovered that although the case filed by the NAACP against the local registrar brought about the sending of the lists of Negro voters to the polls on Election Day, Sept. 5, nevertheless, the local election officials refused to permit Negroes to vote in the "white primary." NAACP lawyers are preparing for filing additional cases against local election officials. At the same time, they are insisting that the Department of Justice prosecute these election officials for violation of federal statutes.

Attorneys in the Atlanta case were Thurgood Marshall, NAACP special counsel, and A. T. Walden of Atlanta. In the New Orleans case the counsel were Mr. Marshall and A. P. Tureaud and Joseph Thornton of New Orleans. In the Montgomery case, counsel were Mr. Marshall and Arthur D. Shores of Birmingham, Ala.

The NAACP announced that these cases are part of a South-wide, stepped-up policy to attack all methods of discrimination against Negro voters throughout the South. It is expected that many other cases will be filed in these and other states wherever Negroes are denied the right to vote.

Judge A. Caillouet, on Sept. 17, 1945, dismissed without opinion the complaint filed in the case of Edward Hall against the Registrar of Voters in St. John the Baptist Parish, La. The complaint alleged that Edward Hall, a qualified Negro, was denied the right to register by T. J. Nagel, local registrar, who subjected Hall and other Negroes to tests not required of white registrants and thereby denied them the equal protection of the laws as guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States.

The complaint on behalf of Hall and other Negro citizens asked a declaratory judgment, an injunction and $5,000 damages. NAACP lawyers are preparing to appeal the case to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit. 10-6-45

In a similar case from Tuskegee, Ala., filed on behalf of William P. Mitchell against local registrars of Macon County, Ala., argument on Motion to Dismiss took place in the local federal court in Montgomery on Sept. 20. Counsel for the registrar, including former Judge "Speed" Callaghan, Judge of the Scottsboro trials, argued that the federal court did not have jurisdiction to consider a case on the refusal to register Negroes because of race or color. He argued that the case should be tried in the local state courts. After completion of the argument, the case was taken under advisement and a decision is expected within two weeks.

The Democratic Debt to the Negro

Courier Journal, Ky.
Louisville
6-16-45

Party owes its victories to the colored vote in ten States, says Mr. Kent, citing a Hannegan statement

By FRANK R. KENT.

Washington.

THE abnormal sensitiveness of the worshippers of the late Mr. Roosevelt is such that any effort to be realistic about him and his several administrations and campaigns, causes violent outbursts of rage, well streaked with vituperation and abuse. The idea seems to be that it is sacrilegious to suggest that anything he did was short of perfect.

A few days ago a statement in this column to the general effect that Mr. Truman's appointments had tended to increase governmental efficiency (which certainly is obvious), brought a lovely letter from a lady (undoubtedly a lady) which engagingly began with the salutation, "You loathsome beast." This is typical of the frame of mind into which the more emotional have worked themselves. Perhaps, recent disclosure of Elliott Roosevelt's $200,000 loan obtained from a big business man, with the direct aid of his father and which the "Roosevelt family," using Jesse Jones as the instrument, "settled" for $4,000, thus putting Elliott $196,000 ahead, may restore the sense of proportion of the more balanced. It should, because a more shabby incident has not occurred in White House history. However, at the risk of provoking more such charming epistles as mentioned above, it seems worth while to touch upon a subject from which heretofore ardent Roosevelt admirers have shied, though all save the most obtuse must know the facts.

This is the political debt which Mr. Roosevelt owed to the Negroes in the ten or more pivotal States essential to election. It has been the quiet contention of the practical politicians that in these states—New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan and Missouri—the Negro vote, which prior to 1936 had been 95 per cent a basic Republican asset, has been almost as solidly transferred to the Democratic side—and that, without those votes, Mr. Roosevelt could not have been elected in 1936, 1940 or 1944. 6-16-45

IN BRIEF, this means that notwithstanding the war, the C.I.O. and its P.A.C., the 3,500,000 federal jobholders, the American Labor Party, the Communists and the large Roosevelt following aside from these groups, Mr. Roosevelt could not have been re-elected last year except for the solidity of his Negro support in the above States. That is the conviction of James A. Farley and many other political realists. It is interesting to know that this view is now confirmed by Chairman Robert E. Hannegan, of the Democratic National Committee, who conducted Mr. Roosevelt's 1944 campaign and is now Postmaster General under Mr. Truman.

This confirmation came in a somewhat striking way when last week a delegation of Negro leaders from the above States, sponsored by the National Council of Negro Democrats, called on Mr. Hannegan to demand recognition as "an integrate part of the party planning and machinery" in payment for 3,000,000 Negro votes for Mr. Roosevelt in these States. The implied threat was that unless they got it they would quit the party. E. S. Cunningham of Detroit, president of the council, declared: "When Negroes came into the Democratic party they did not make any marriage vows to stick until death do us part."

6-16-45

THE Negro vote, he added, in the last 12 years had followed the late President and Mrs. Roosevelt but that the Democratic Party as such has never been sold to the Negroes. To assure continued Negro support in the pivotal States he demanded that Negroes be appointed to key government positions, including federal judgeships, that discrimination in the armed forces be ended; that legislation along lines advocated by Negro leaders be enacted. After listening to these demands, Mr. Hannegan asserted that the party "owes an obligation to those who worked for the election of the ticket last fall and is going to meet it." Concluding he declared: "I know that without the aid of your group we would not have been successful in the last election. This is just common sense and arithmetic when you look at the cities and the vote we got there." 6-16-45

Nothing could be clearer than that but it is the first time the facts have been openly acknowledged by the official manager of a Roosevelt campaign. Heretofore, they have been denied or evaded. Now Mr. Roosevelt's own chairman proclaims them and promises to pay off. This should be interesting to those Southern Democrats who, despite their convictions, have clung to the party label because of their reluctance to move toward either political or social equality for the Negroes. Looking toward 1948, Mr. Hannegan was reported recently as feeling that, besides the Solid South, his job is to hold the big city machines and regain the conservative support alienated by the New Deal. Now he seems prepared to go farther to keep the Negroes in line than any other Democratic chairman has dared. It is ticklish business—this playing both ends against the middle. Soon or late, some master strategist is going to break his political neck doing it.

Without Dissent?

Montgomery ALS.

From Montgomery comes word that the House of Representatives has passed a proposed constitutional amendment which would require registrants for voting to be able to explain the United States Constitution. The measure passed "without a dissenting vote."

Was there not one voice to be raised against a plan that would permit boards of registrars to qualify whom they choose, insofar as this requirement is concerned? Was there not one voice to be raised against a system that permits partiality and prejudice to rule the polls of the state? 6-15-45

Have vision and statesmanship departed altogether from the State Legislature? Is there not, somewhere, a saving voice of justice and tolerance and an abiding faith in democracy? Birmingham News

Does every member of the Legislature "understand" the constitution? Men who have spent their lives studying the constitution say only a few persons in all the world can be truly said to understand it. Would the members of the House be willing to stand an examination on the constitution before a board of registrars bent on keeping them from voting? If not, are they willing to countenance for others a test they would not be willing to undergo themselves? 6-15-45

Faith in the current session of the Alabama Legislature is getting pretty low. It about reaches a nadir at the sight of the House supinely accepting the Boswell proposed amendment. 6-15-45

There is one hope, however, even if the Senate should pass the amendment, and that is that the people of Alabama, in voting upon the proposed amendment to their state constitution, would manifest a higher level of democracy and of Americanism than that indicated in the House.

Poll Tax Again

Atlanta Con.

Editor Constitution: As a text for this letter, expressing my views on the new constitution, I submit the following clause taken from this much discussed document: Atlanta, Ga.

Article 1, Paragraph 2, Section A: "No poll tax shall be levied, to exceed One Dollar, annually, upon each poll." 8-1-45

This is the new constitution, and it is obviously a part of that document. It means, therefore, that it becomes a part of that instrument, if adopted by popular vote in the election to be held Aug. 7, 1945. Remember this plain statement: "No poll tax shall be levied, to exceed One Dollar, annually upon each poll."

If this is not a provision favoring a poll tax, what does it mean? If it was not intended as a qualification of the voter, why was it inserted in the proposed constitution, which allowing to the claim of its advocates repeals the poll tax.

If construed as "meaningless?" then it may be used by its advocates to placate the voter who opposes, or, to appease the voter who favors such repeal. In other words, to catch them going and coming.

It is the only distinct reference to the poll tax, in the proposed new constitution and in view of the poll tax repeal, by act of the legislature, it is obliged to have important bearing upon any construction of that document, in that being a clause in the constitution of the state, passed in a subsequent general election, it will give to the legislature the right to nullify its own repeal.

If, therefore, this new constitution is adopted, it will contain a clause that provides for a continuance of the poll tax, which the legislature repealed without submission to the people for ratification.

As printed it is a "slip-up" for such use as politicians may prefer to make of the document, and should be defeated by the people who are to be affected by the suggested change.

I think Bob Toombs knew what he was doing when he gave Georgia a state constitution for the best guidance of her people. The proposed document was prepared by men who certainly did not possess more ability than Toombs, who in drafting the proposed change, disregarded the legal process by a constitutional convention as provided for by Toombs.

Let our boys who are suffering and dying for Georgia, return to the constitutional government they left.

BENJAMIN M. BLACKBURN
Atlanta.

'South Has Got To Let Negroes Vote'-Watson

Pittsburgh Courier P2.
3-3-45

TALLAHASSEE, Fla.—Urging a line of least resistance and hinting at other steps which might be taken, Attorney General Tom Watson last week told the State Democratic Executive Committee's legislative council that Negroes voting in their State primary elections "is inevitable" and it is up to the body to find a way "to reduce the evils."

"I know that I am playing with political fire," he said, "but the Negro and the white man in American idealism are entitled to the same political rights."

SEGREGATION A "MUST"

He continued: "The South has got to let the Negro vote. Part of the South is letting its Negro citizens vote and is doing as well as the rest." He added, however, that "segregation must be carried to the "nth degree."

To still the storm over his statement he said: "If our Florida politics get so low that the Negro can control it, he ought to control it." Watson's speech was made during the meeting of the legislative council of the State body on recommendations to be made to the coming Legislatiure.

Mr. Watson's advice was concluded with the admonition that Negro voting can be done in such way that will reduce the evils. He said, "You can make them register and vote separately. If we do it right we can make history, not for Florida alone, but for the whole Nation."

3-3-45

OFFERS PLAN

The discordant note in the meeting of the council was the statement of Alston Cockrell, Jacksonville representative, who stated, "If we are going to keep the 'd——s' out of our primaries we've got to keep the State out of it entirely."

The inference of Alston was that it would be better to take chances on primary elections which would create opportunities for fraud rather than have Negroes help select party candidates.

Although he thinks that the U. S. Supreme Court "went far afield" in ruling that political parties could not exclude Negroes from their memberships, Governor Millard Caldwell is reported to have said that "Whether they are right or wrong, their decisions are law."

3-3-45

Caldwell, Secretary of State Gray Executive Committee Chairman T. W. Conley and others, who point out that recent rulings of the United States Supreme Court support the right of Negroes to participate in all political activities as full-fledged electors.

3-3-45

This is a fundamental right which cannot be legally denied to any citizen. Negroes are citizens. Therefore, they have the right to vote in Primaries—State, National, and local elections.

An opportunity is now presented to Floridians to make a democratic gesture in the grand manner. Florida was one of the first Southern States to repeal the poll tax. Let Florida be among the first to throw down the bars to permit untrammeled Negro participation in all elections.

Negroes already may vote freely in Democratic Primaries in North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia. No untoward results have come from this extension of the right to vote. A few favored Negroes have been registered as Democrats in Florida for many years. The next logical step is to allow all qualified Negroes to vote in Democratic Primaries.

3-3-45

Under the prevailing system, Negroes are automatically forced into the Republican Party. A magnanimous gesture is all that is required to bring thousands of them within the Democratic fold.

While pure selfishness and common sense are on the side of the full enfranchisement of Negroes, higher motives clamor for consideration. This is a democratic nation engaged in a great war against Fascist nations to establish democracy everywhere under the Atlantic Charter. But democracy begins at home. We cannot with good grace lecture other nations on the virtues of democratic rule unless we practice it in our own nation.

EDITORIAL REPRINT

[From St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times]

Florida Should Be Among First to Let Negroes Vote in Primaries

LIBERALS have taken issue with Attorney General Watson on his anti-union campaign in the State but nothing except praise is due him for his forthright statement that Negro voting in Democratic Primaries is inevitable, and plans must be made by party leaders to accept the inevitable.

Attorney General Watson is sustained in his position by Governo

Arnall Asks Head to Aid In Vote Suit

Gov. Arnall has asked Attorney General T. Grady Head to offer his assistance in defending Georgia's Democratic white primary rule again in federal court.

The Governor yesterday requested Head "to be just as helpful as proprieties will permit" to Fulton County Registrar T. E. Suttles, who is being sued for refusing to permit an Atlanta Negro from voting in the Democratic white primary. He also urged State Democratic Chairman J. Lon Duckworth to see that the party's rights were defended in court.

Last year, the Governor made a similar request to Head and Duckworth when such a suit was filed in the federal court at Columbus, Ga., against the Muscogee county registrar. Head's office offered its assistance in this case, which is still pending. Head yesterday said he would study the papers in the Fulton county case to determine what action his office should take.

"I understand that another civil suit has been filed in the federal courts of the state having for its purpose the obtaining of a decree which would prevent the State Democratic convention and the State Democratic executive committee from making their own rules and regulations governing party affairs in the state," the Governor wrote Head yesterday.

"I hope that you will be just as helpful to the defendants or defendant as the proprieties will permit," he added. "This is a party matter and the party has every right to have its contentions properly presented in the courts."

A. T. Walden, Atlanta Negro lawyer; Thurgood Marshall, of New York; William Hastie, Washington Negro lawyer, and Edward Dudley, of New York, recently filed the suit challenging the Georgia Democratic white primary in federal court here. They charged that Wallace Van Jackson, Atlanta Negro, was denied the right to vote in the Democratic white primary July 4, 1944, "solely because of race, to his irreparable damage."

Marshall, attorney for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, reportedly pressed the case in which the United States supreme court ruled Negroes eligible to vote in Texas primaries.

Chairman Duckworth said the Georgia Democratic party insists that the primary laws here are not part of the official state election machinery, since the party is not organized by law but is just a group of people voluntarily banded together who have the right to make their own rules.

COLUMBIA, S. C.
RECORD
Cir. D. 30,833
JUL 30 1945

Atlanta Negroes Barred at Primary

Richmond Time Dispatch Va.

ATLANTA, Sept. 5—(AP)—Negroes were denied the right to vote in today's white city Democratic primary and spokesmen said the refusal would be taken to court.

9-6-45

C. L. Haper, president of the Atlanta chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, sought to vote at the Forrest Avenue School polling booth and was informed the primary was for white persons only.

Lesson For The South

Southern extremists in Congress have been defeated on the F. E. P. C. and forced to accept the compromise worked out by the Senate.

Apparently they do not recognize the increasing importance of the Negro vote in the North, one of the most significant developments of the last decade in American politics.

In some Northern industrial states the Negro now holds the balance of power. In 1890, only 10 per cent of all Negroes in the United States lived in the North. In 1940, 23 per cent were residents of Northern states and now later migrations have probably brought the percentage to 25 or even 30 per cent.

It is not generally known that most Negroes in the North were not enfranchised until the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments were ratified, if this be the word, in 1868 and 1869. When the constitution was adopted in 1789, free Negroes enjoyed the right to vote in all the thirteen original states, save two—Georgia and South Carolina. But they were soon to be disenfranchised by law, not only in the South, but in the new Western states and in most of the Northern states. In New York, for example, they were subjected to property qualifications which did not apply to whites. At the time of the Confederate war, Negroes enjoyed full franchise rights in only four states—Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Vermont.

As long as the Negroes were concentrated in the South it was perhaps inevitable that they should vote, when they voted, as a group, for the Republican party. Scattered throughout the country they continued for awhile to cling to their Republican habits. Then they discovered that, being always in the bag for the Republican party, they were being treated like the South, which is always in the bag for the Democratic party. And so under Roosevelt they switched their allegiance and now enjoy an influence in both parties out of all proportion to their numbers.

The South, however, hasn't learned this lesson yet. It still clings to the one party system.

Negro Vote Suit Hearing Set In Federal Court

Montgomery Advertiser
9-6-45 Ala.

Specifically, Action Is On Motion To Dismiss By Attorney General

Judge Charles B. Kennamer said yesterday that Sept. 20 at 10 a.m. had been set for hearing the pleadings on the motion brought by Atty Gen. Robert B. Harwood to dismiss the complaint brought in Federal Court against the Macon County board of registrars charging the members with refusing to register negroes as voters because of their race.

The original action was brought by Arthur D. Shores, negro lawyer of Birmingham, specifically in behalf of William P. Mitchell, Macon County negro.

The petition described the complaint as a "class action" because "members of this class are so numerous as to make it impractical to bring them all before the court."

Intervening in behalf of Mrs. George C. Wright and Virgil Guthrie, registrars, Atty. Gen. Harwood seeks dismissal of the suit on the grounds that "it fails to state any facts showing that the board . . . did any act violative of the plaintiff's rights."

The complaint also failed to allege any facts showing Mitchell was ever refused registration, the State's motion sets out.

Mitchell's complaint alleged that the registrars have established and are maintaining a policy, custom and usage of denying to the plaintiff and others on whose behalf the suit was brought equal protection under the laws, and requiring them to submit to tests not required of white electors.

9-6-45

61e-1945

Voting

Discuss Voting
n Columbia Meet

Atlanta Daily World

Ga.

COLUMBIA, S. C.—(SNS)—A plea for full political ticipation in the Southern politics was made by repre- atives from Georgia, Alabama, North and South Car- s in a panel discussion that brought t to a close Tuesday t the two-day session of the Conference of National ncil of Negro Democrats (Eastern Division).

s session was held in the audi- m of Allen University. The discussion was on "Voting s of Negroes Within Eastern ion."

ussing the voting situation in a, C. A. Scott, president of Citizens Democratic Council of n County and Editor of the a Daily World, praised the administration of Georgia's nor Ellis Arnall, lauded the decision of Federal District Davis of Macon, Ga., in de- the Georgia "white primary" and unconstitutional."

Negro Democrats of Geor- will join with the liberal forces his state to see that clean and ssive government is main- d. Manager Scott said. He ted that "Georgia will point way for a new era in the h."

CAROLINA ILLS

H. Beatty, of North Carolina, ailed that while North Carolina scribed as a liberal state, it one of the nation's worst voter- stration systems. "A prospective has to interpret the constitu- to the satisfaction of the board registrars," Beatty said. He add- that "you just can't satisfy istrars who don't intend for you vote."

In Alabama, according to the re- by Emory O. Jackson, of Bir- ngham, unfair registration prac- the cumulative poll tax, the hite primary" (in a few coun- and cities) and intimidation vent Negroes from exercising ely the ballot.

R. O'Hara Lanier of Washington, C. brought greetings from Con- ressman William Dawson, (D.- Ill), Harold Preece, white, of Ten- nessee and Osceola E. McKaine, xecutive secretary of the Progres- ive Democratic Party of South Carolina, gave observations on the ote problem.

John McCray, chairman of the nd editor of the Lighthouse and Informer, presided. Emmett S. Cunnigham, of Detroit, president of the National Negro Democratic Council, summarized.

The meeting opened Monday at Allen with R. J. McElmurray, chairman of the Columbus PDP, welcoming. Committees were appointed and other routine business dispatched.

10-18 45

DISCUSS WOMEN'S PLACE

The Monday afternoon session was devoted to a discussion of "Women's Place in the Political Life of the Democratic Party." Mrs Annie Bell Weston, PDP organizer, described the work being done with various giving personal experience stories.

Addressing the body at Benedict College Monday night, Mr. Cunningham setforth the platform of the council, warned the white protection of the rights of returning veterans, inclusion of Negroes on state bodies dealing with ex-service men and the appointment of Negroes to more posts under the general government.

The National Democratic Committee was also petitioned in the resolutions to adopt a more firm and positive program to break down he pure-white southern parties.

WOMEN ACTIVE

The Monday afternoon session was given to women and developed into a lively meeting when Mrs. Annie Belle Weston led components of the host party into a general discussion of the part women are play ing. Several related how they stood by their men and encouraged them when it seemed discouraging. Mrs. Sarah V. Daniels of Manning made a brilliant speech during the session on the place of women in the party and politicial life of the country.

Monday morning's session was devoted to organizational matters and welcoming remarks from local officals. R. J. McElmurray, City chairman for the Progressive Democrats Party here, welcomed the body and Jno Gorminston of Pennsylvania replied. At noon several speakers spoke briefly to a joint chapel session of students at Benedict College and Allen University Among them were: Isaac O. Hoffman of New York City; John H. McCray, state chairman of the ProgressiveD emocratic Party, I Logan Kearse, editor the People's Spokesman, Winston-Salem, N. C., Dr. R O. Lanier, president of Hampton In[illegible] who acted at the conventi[illegible]onal emissary to congressm[illegible]n. L. Dawson who could not attend and Harold Preece, white newspaperman who attended from Tennessee.

10-18-45

MAYOR MARSHALL HIT

At Monday night's session, mayor Fred D Marshall of Columbia was bitterly criticized by McCray in a welcoming message. The mayor had declined an invitation to welcome the convention to the city and McCray told the delegates to take home with them the conclusion that "mayor Marshal doesn't want you in his city."

Roosevelt Franklin, discharged army veteran with 38 months overseas service, was first speaker on the program. He related experiences of Negro fighting men and their anticipations upon returing home. Execllent music was rendered by the Allen University Choir and the Mozart Choral Club.

The principal address of the evening was made by Emmett S. Cunningham, Detroit lawyer, who is president of the National Council. Loud in his praise of the fight made in South Carolina, Mr. Cunningham pointed out that the South's atitude had kept it from being able to get into the presidency white men of southern birth. He linked inseparably the southern and northern Negro.

Osceola E. McKaine, executive secretary of he PDP, spoke to the body in place of James M. Hinton. state NAACP president, who was out of the city on business. M. McKaine urged positive action by the body and much spade work in getting organized and register al citizens. He warned that unless Negroes did this immediately, they were in danger of being beaten to the work by numerous organizations now invading the South.

WILLIAMS SPEAKS . . . . . .

James E. Williams, eastern vice-president, was principal speaker Tuesday morning. Mr. Williams out lined responsibilities of each component of the organization and the need for attacking the problem as a national one. He stressed solidarity, theme of the convention, as a means of setting the Negro free.

Others who spoke briefly included Emory O. Jackson, editor of the Birmingham, (Ala.) World, Rev. Louis J. Baptiste of Atlanta and Louis E. Burnham, organizational secretary of the Southern Youth Congress, Mrs. Annie Belle Weston and the Rev. A. W. Hill of Florence who remarked that if the white people wanted someone to leave the South they could pack up and leave themselves.

The afternoon session was devoted to adoption of resolutions, selection of a meeting place for 1946 and an address by president Cunningham who expressed great satisfaction with prospects for the organization.

ROUND TABLE CLOSES

10-18-45

The session closed at Allen University Tuesday night in a round table discussion on the status of Negro voter in the South, Participants were: C. A. Scot, president of the Citizens' Democratic Committee of Fulton County, Atlanta; Emory O. Jackson, Birmingham; Harold Preece, Monteagle, Tenn. Mr. Cunningham, National president; Osceola E. McKaine of PDP Louis E. Burnhma.

REV. PRIMUS E. KING

10-18-45

DR. T. H. BREWER

PRIMARY CASE PRINCIPALS — The Rev. Primus E. King, of Columbus, plaintiff in the suit against the Muscogee Democratic Executive Committee, which resulted in the invalidation of the white primary (top); and Dr. T. H. Brewer, prominent Columbus physician, who headed a group of citizens pushing the King case to victory in the Middle Georgia District Court.

61e-1945 Voting Georgia

They Fight For The Ballot

Back from some of the big battles of the Pacific this is what a Negro GI found in Atlanta, Ga., when he tried to vote in the Sept. 5 primaries.

By RICHARD SHANNON

The Worker 9-23-45 N.Y.N.Y.

ATLANTA, GA.

THE colored taxi driver circled around back streets, and then let me off a block from the Atlanta bus station. A Negro chauffeur, privately employed by one of the Peachtree Street aristocracy, may haul his white boss anywhere around town without being bothered by the city cops. But a Negro chauffeur, employed by one of the colored taxi companies, had better not bring a white passenger to any public place in Atlanta—not unless he wants to risk having his driver's license cancelled by the powers that be.

I picked up my suitcase, walked the rest of the way to the station, and sat down in the waiting room. While the clock hands moved toward my leaving-out time, I kept thinking of what the taxi man had told me as he dodged police squad cars by steering down the back streets.

"I got back from the Army a couple of months ago—discharged after being wounded in action," he had said on that morning of Sept. 6. "Went through Saipan and most of the other big fighting in the south Pacific. When I get back, I read what Bilbo and Eastland are spouting in Congress about us colored soldiers. Then, when I try to vote yesterday, at Lee Street school, I get told that this election is for whites only.

"But, Mister, the people holding that election got told too. When I walked out of that schoolhouse, I told them that the shooting hadn't been for whites only. And you can figure this out for yourself—the country won't have to put up with men like Bilbo and Eastland any longer than the next election if they'll let the colored people vote."

THINGS TO COME

I have seen the shape of things to come in Dixie from covering the polls in Atlanta on municipal election day. I have seen Negroes—one-third of Atlanta's population—pick up where their grandfathers left off with the collapse of the South's progressive Reconstruction governments 70 years ago. I saw them denied ballots at this election advertised in posters and automobile stickers, distributed by the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, as "the white Democratic primary" although, officially, this trial heat for the final balloting is supposed to be nonpartisan.

But I saw the same colored Americans, turned away from the polls, sit down to plan the next step in a campaign which can have but one end—eventually purging the South of the tub-thumping "Aryan" demagogues who have made the South sick for generations. 9-23-45

I heard the dying South's fear of the borning New South expressed by the No. 1 manipulator of the lily-white primary, Elton Drake, secretary of the city Democratic executive committee, as he sat near me in one polling place—the Forrest School auditorium.

Two neatly-dressed elderly Negro women looked contemptuously at the big book of instructions governing elections and carrying the words on its cover "City White Primary." After being denied ballots, they walked down the aisle and outside the building. Drake turned to me, shook his head and said:

"The South's not ready yet to scrap its white primary, but the time is coming soon when we'll no longer be able to keep it. I reckon that we'll have to get used to seeing colored people come into our elections and vote. Now, I'd favor letting only the educated and respectable ones who pay taxes have the ballot. If they all want to vote, let them hold their own primaries and run their own candidates."

But today Atlanta Negroes are saying that they are not going to be led into any trap of holding separate primaries and running separate candidates. Reactionaries all over the South would like them to do just that, because then the whole issue of a free vote in Dixie could be put on an explosive racial basis.

BILBOS ON THE SPOT

The city of Atlanta is going to be faced with a suit in federal court, asking that the whole election be thrown out and a second one, open to all citizens, be held. Attorney A. T. Walden, president of a militant new organization of colored citizens, the Georgia Association of Democratic Clubs, was holding conferences with other colored leaders about the proper legal strategies to be used when I left Atlanta last week.

One of the nation's three Negro newspapers, the Atlanta *Daily World*, which has given leadership to the fight for the ballot ever since the epochal decision of the Supreme Court outlawing the Texas white primary, will mobilize support of Americans throughout the country for the fight.

If the federal court should cancel out the results of the Atlanta primary because Negroes were barred from voting simply because of their color, the way would be opened for contesting the election of every polltax official in Dixie. Bilbo's election certificate could be held up in Mississippi. Ku Kluxer Lieutenant Governor John Lee Smith of Texas—a coming Talmadge who is counting on the polltax to make him governor of the South's major state—might have to spend more time peddling insurance and less time peddling hatred of organized labor. Throughout Dixie, a horde of legislators, controlled by sweat-shop industrialists and high-jacking plantation owners, might legally be unseated as the United States government itself took steps during Reconstruction to oust officials elected by selfish, sinister minorities of white property owners.

Then Dixie, itself, would be

61e-1945

Sept. 5, 1945 in Atlanta, Ga. Two pictures of Negro citizens who were turned away at the Lee Street School because the Democratic Party primary is "for whites only."

turned upside down. And Dixie needs precisely that shaking up which would come from the participation of all her citizens in her political life.

As it is now, we are seeing the political death, symbolized by ghouls like Bilbo, Eastland, "Pappy" O'Daniel, and John Rankin, creeping like an incurable paralysis upon the body of the nation. The day after the election in Atlanta, Georgia's Senator Walter F. George announced his intention of fighting the Kilgore-Forand $25 maximum unemployment compensation bill for laid off war workers and he's just one example. 7-23-45

Walter George could not have gone back to Washington to preside over the Senate Finance Committee if Negroes like my friend, the taxi driver, could have voted in 1944.

"But this is the last time that we are going to be kept away from the polls," a Negro leader told me quietly but emphatically while I was in Atlanta. "We're going to keep on bringing suits in the courts for our legal rights even if we have to go to the plantations and get sharecroppers to chip in nickels and dimes to pay the expenses. No, we're not getting much white support. But thousands of whites have always rallied to the side of Negroes in the South when they saw that Negroes meant business.

"I'd like to say, too, that the election of Ben Davis, a Negro born in Atlanta, to the New York City Council has been a big encouragement in our fight. Everybody in Atlanta knows Ben Davis and knew his father before him. But a man capable of representing his people on a city council shouldn't have to move to New York to be elected. We ought to be represented on the city council here."

The Field Is Being Cleared for Action

As I write this, the stage is being cleared for a hearing in federal court at Macon, Georgia, on an action brought by a Negro minister denied the right to vote in the Democratic state primary held on July 4, 1944. The minister, Rev. P. King, lives in Columbus, Georgia, and the defendant is the Muscogee County Democratic Committee.

Still another suit is pending on the docket of Atlanta federal court. It is the historic test case of Wallace Van Jackson, local Negro deprived of his vote in the same election, against Fulton County Registrar T. E. Suttles. At a preliminary hearing, several weeks ago, Federal Judge Underwood seemed sympathetic to Jackson and County Registrar Suttles agreed to provide lists of qualified Negro voters for the municipal primary. Suttles complied with the letter of the law in that election by sending the lists. But the spirit of free elections was violated when Negroes were turned away from the primary polls solely because of their color. In many cases, the officials were considerably embarrassed when they handed light-skinned Negroes ballot declaration forms only to request their return when routine check of the lists showed the prospective voters to be "of the colored race."

Meanwhile, the prospects for democracy at the ballot box are brighter in Georgia than in possibly any other Southern state. Georgia has repealed the poll tax and extended the franchise to 18-year olds. One thing is still lacking before Georgia can take the leadership in bringing about a new day in a new South—extension of the ballot to Negroes, ready to help save the South from Bilbo as they have already helped save America from Hitler.

GEORGIA PRIMARY OPEN TO NEGROES

The Birmingham Age Herald
Birmingham Ala.

MACON, Ga., Oct. 12—(AP)—Negroes may vote in Georgia's Democratic white primary elections, Federal Judge T. Hoyt Davis ruled today, in awarding $100 damages to a Columbus Negro who charged he was denied the right to vote.

Judge Davis ruled for Primus E. King, who brought suit several weeks ago in U. S. District Court here against members of the Muscogee County (Columbus) Democratic Executive Committee. The Negro said he was denied the right to vote in the last primary held in Columbus. 10-13-45

Negroes vote in general elections in Georgia but not in the Democratic white primaries.

Judge Davis said the defendants, "acting as the duly constituted authorities of the Democratic party, in refusing to permit the plaintiff to vote in said primary solely on account of his race and color, deprived the plaintiff of a right secured to him by the Constitution and laws of the U. S. and were in voolatin of the 14th, 15th and 17th Amendments."

Negro Voting Limited To Federal Primaries

Atlanta Fed. Constitution
8-14-45

COLUMBUS, GA., Oct. 13—(AP)—The Federal Court decision in Macon yesterday, holding negroes are entitled to vote in Democratic primaries, is limited to primaries in which candidates for Federal offices are nominated, A. Edward Smith, attorney, said today.

Smith, one of the attorneys for the Muscogee County Democratic committee in the case of Primus King, on which the court ruled yesterday, said the Federal Court decision would not be applicable to the Columbus City primary to be held Oct. 17.

He said attorneys for the State Democratic executive committee would file an appeal from the Federal court decision early next week.

Georgians Vote in Primary Election

ATHENS, Ga.—(ANP)—For the first time in 40 years, colored people voted here in a Democratic primary election without incident. The city clerk reported that 75% of the 500 colored registered voters participated in the balloting which is tantamount to election.

A few days before the election, the Clarke County Democratic executive committee voted nine to one to comply with the Federal election laws, following a ruling by Judge T. Hoyt Davis of the U.S. District Court that the U.S. Supreme Court's mandate must be obeyed. 12-5-45

61e-1945

The Franchise in the South

IN RECENT YEARS, the waning of the democratic tradition in the South has become a matter of national concern. Citizens all over the country have contributed their time and money to the campaign to abolish the poll tax. Court decisions pertaining to the Negro vote have received the widest publicity. Today, we are glad to report, Southerners themselves are putting new energy into the fight for franchise reform. An excellent example is the Conference of Southern Editors and Writers which met recently in Atlanta to exchange information on present voting restrictions in the South.

More than fifty outstanding editors and writers, Negro and white, under the chairmanship of Mark Ethridge, publisher of The Louisville Courier-Journal, frankly reported the situation in their respective states. Man after man rose to tell how people are kept from voting and agreed almost unanimously that the Negro is entitled to the vote and must get it. These were not "radicals" speaking, but responsible representatives of many of the oldest and most respected papers of the South. The speakers all felt that the people are ahead of the politicians on the question of the poll tax, and that if the decision on what to do about that issue were left to the citizens, the tax would be quickly abolished. 1-15-45

A good number believed, with Editor Bryan Collier of The Columbus, Georgia, Ledger, that the main reason for the lack of democracy in the Southern ballot is that "the people we have in office don't want a big vote. They figure it is easier for them to win an election when the vote is light." Others thought the major reason was that offered by Harry Strozier, contributing editor of The Macon News: "We aren't far enough away from the War between the States for our politicians to realize that enfranchisement of the Negro wouldn't mean turning over a large bloc of votes to the Republican Party." 1-15-45

The applause which greeted Strozier's remarks and later those of Roscoe Dunjee, editor of The Black Dispatch of Oklahoma City, indicated the welcome the conference gave to straight talk. Dunjee reported that Negroes in Oklahoma had proved themselves to be capable of independent choice and not mere lifetime voters for the party of Lincoln. "The Negro will join with white people of the South in doing the things that ought to be done in a democracy," Dunjee promised.

No resolutions were passed by the Southern Editors' Conference. No commitments were made by any member to do anything further about the franchise situation. But the general opinion of most of the editors was that the eight Southern state legislatures meeting this year will hear plenty about poll-tax repeal and franchise reform generally. An enlightened and vigorous press in the South during this period can go a long way toward supplying the leadership the politicians have refused to give.

Voting Power,

7 'Poll Tax State Legislators Subpenaed for Vote Hearing

Washington Post D.C.
2-13-45

Roanoke, Va., Feb. 12 (AP).—Four U. S. Senators and three members of the House of Representatives have been subpenaed to give testimony in the Dodge Hotel, Washington, Dfl C., Friday and Saturday of this week, concerning voting conditions in Southern "poll tax states," Moss A. Plunkett, Roanoke attorney and president of the Southern Electoral Reform League, announced here today.

Those summoned include Senators Harry F. Byrd, of Virginia; Tom Connally, Texas; Kenneth D. McKellar, Tennessee, and Theodore G. Bilbo, Mississippi, and Representatives John E. Rankin, of Mississippi, chairman of the House Committee on Veterans' Legislation; Sam Rayburn, Speaker of the House, and Howard W. Smith, of the Eighth Virginia District, third member of the House Rules Committee.

"These men," Mr. Plunkett said, "have been selected because of their intimate knowledge of Southern voting conditions and because voting conditions in theri areas are typical of those of the South as a whole. After they have given their depositions, our work will be concluded except for giving the evidence to the House Committee on Elections for action."

SOUTHERNERS ADVISED TO IGNORE 'SUMMONS'

Commercial Appeal
Memphis, Tenn.

Six Say They'll Not Attend Poll Tax Hearing

WASHINGTON, Feb. 11.—(AP)—Southern Congressmen were advised Wednesday it is not only their "right, but duty" to ignore a "summons" to testify at a poll tax hearing scheduled Friday by a private organization.

Chairman Sumners (D., Texas) of the House Judiciary Committee gave this opinion in a letter to the members, which he read to the House. 2-15-45

He said his letter meant "pay no attention" to an order, signed by a notary public, directing the representatives to appear at the hearing called by Moss A. Plunkett, Southern Electorial Refrom League president.

The league, which is attempting to unseat representatives elected from states requiring a poll tax on grounds that the levy is unconstitutional, sent the "summonses" to four senators and three representatives.

It said they would be questioned on "voting conditions in the poll tax states." Later, Plunkett declared if the men did not appear it would be because "they know they have violated the Constitution and are afraid to face the issue squarely."

One of the seven, Speaker Rayburn (D., Texas) has declined comment, but the others have announced they do not plan to attend. They are Senators Bilbo (D., Miss.), Byrd (D., Va.), Connally (D., Texas), and McKellar (D., Tenn.) and Representative Rankin (D., Miss.) and Smith (D., Va.).

Senate Turns Thumbs Down On Negro Vote

Atlanta Constitution
2-14-45

Democratic Primary Ballot Rights Denied After Dramatic Plea

3-14-45

By M. L. ST. JOHN.

By an overwhelming viva voce vote, the state senate has defeated a dramatic plea by Sen. Roy McGinty, of Calhoun, for the right of Negroes to vote in the Democratic primaries of Georgia.

McGinty urged the senate yesterday afternoon to retain in the new state constitution the regulations governing the party primaries. But his move met a tidal wave of opposition which seemed to leave McGinty alone in favor of his proposal. 2-14-45

Constitution redrafters and the house had already eliminated from the proposed new constitution all reference to primaries. This was in a move to prevent the decision of the United States supreme court in the Texas primary case from applying to democratic primaries in Georgia.

RITES 1867 FRAMERS

In urging retention of such regulations in the new constitution, McGinty observed that the framers of the Georgia constitution in 1867 did not deny Negroes the right to participate in democratic primaries.

"Perhaps we are not so much afraid of the Negro vote," said McGinty, "as we are the way some white people might use the Negroes." 2-14-45

Speaking of the fear of some white people that Negroes might control elections, McGinty said Negroes can now vote in the general elections. In the proposed ne wset-up, the senator indicated he feared politicians might run the primaries without the people themselves having a voice.

"Georgia needs more not fewer primary laws," McGinty asserted.

McGinty, co-author of the bill to repeal the poll tax, won the Georgia Press Association prize last year for the most courageous editorial. It dealt with the move to repeal the poll tax.

MAKE OWN RULES

In reply to McGinty, Sen. Wallace Harrell, of Quitman, chairman of the Senate Constitution Committee, urged the outright elimination of all reference to the primaries. He said political parties could make their own rules for these party affairs and that all citizens could vote in the general elections. 2-14-45

Immediately afterwards, the senate voted down McGinty's proposal.

Then the senate without opposition followed the lead of the house in striking the poll tax out of the constitution.

After a 30-minute speech by Sen. J. Y. Harrell, of Lumpkin, in opposition to the amendment allowing boys and girls of 18 years to vote, the senate voted 36 to 4 to retain that provision in the constitution. Sen. Harrell sought to put the minimum voting age back to 21 years.

During the day Gov. Arnall asked th elegislature to create the office of lieutenant governor and combine the new office with the presidency of the state senate. The senate adopted this proposal and put it in the new constitution. The new officer would be elected by the people. The Governor, in urging the proposal, said many states already have the office of lieutenant governor.

At its morning session, the senate passed an amended bill re-subject to suit in this state. It teeth into the seed laws, and de- culture in charge of registration feated a plan to distribute state of seed dealers, and requires him highway monies on a basis of to conduct hearings on growers' population. complaints of damages by impure

Introduced were bills to forgive seed. The senate passed the bill, all past due poll taxes and to re- 39 to 0, and immediately sent it organize the State Highway De- to the house. 2-14-45

partment and the method of dis- The senate defeated a bill by tributing road funds.

Chief feature of the pure seed law, a substitute bill for others introduced several days ago, was the forcing of out-of-state compa-

ate passed an amended bill re-subject to suit in this state. It tiring judges, a measure putting places the commissioner of agri- teeth into the seed laws, and de- would receive $42,579.42. feated a plan to distribute state of seed dealers, and requires him highway monies on a basis of to conduct hearings on growers' population. complaints of damages by impure

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Chief feature of the pure seed Donalsonville, that would distrib- law, a substitute bill for others ute state road monies to counties introduced several days ago, was on a population basis. It provided the forcing of out-of-state compa- $24,000 for counties with one rep-

resentative in Georgia, $36,578.94 for those with more on the judges' retirement plan, re- than one, except Fulton, which quiring a judge 70 years old to have served 20 consecutive years

of Elberton, pre- rather than 10 consecutive years, reorganization and requiring judges to contrib- most of the sug- ute 5 per cent of their salaries of Knox Gholston, of Co- into the pension fund. The bill of the State High- goes back to the house for ac- It would have the ceptance of the amendments.

than the governor . It would give all e funds on a basis cent of their total 2-14-45

Southern Weekly Bemoans Registration Of Negroes

Philadelphia Tribune
1-13-45

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA)—While the Department of Justice here sits on the affidavits and complaints of the denial of the franchise to Negroes in Georgia and Alabama, a white weekly news magazine called "Alabama" published in Birmingham, bemoans the activity of Negroes to take advantage of their constitutional rights and privileges.

Pa.

In an article in the December 29 issue, the magazine accuses the white daily press of suppressing the news of the "registration rampage" of the Negroes. "On some days during the last registration period," it says, "the number of Negro applicants for registration greatly exceeded the number of white applicants."

1-13-45

The goal of the drive to get Negroes registered, the article points out is the registration of every adult Negro in 1945. It says "communistic groups headquartered in the north are working hand-in-hand with Negro agitators and leftist 'reform" elements to keep the agitation going at high velocity."

state rights and defend the integrity state officials would take to uphold state's rights and defend the inegrity of the state's election registration machinery in the face of the campaign now being directed—and intensified—by radical outside agitators remained to be seen. Meantime, it seemed clear that the big daily newspapers of the Birmingham area would keep citizens in ignorance of the facts."

Must Act Fast To Keep Negro Vote Is belief

Atlanta World
4-25-45

Broad Social Program Would Convince Many

BY STEVE ANDERSON

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — Because the Negro vote was given in four national elections in support of President and Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt instead of the Democratic party, that party has its work cut out for it, according to best informed capital observers.

4-25-45

The Negro vote has been attracted and held in the Democratic column by the broad programs advocated by Mr. Roosevelt designed to benefit the common man. Because of the open and personal interest of both the President and the First Lady in the problems of Negroes and other minorities, the credit for the good things done by the administration has gone to the Roosevelt's rather than to the Democratic party. As a result, the Democratic party PER SE has never been sold to Negroes.

MUST ACT FAST

If the Democratic party wishes to retain control of this crucial vote, it is imperative that specific measures be taken promptly to sell the party and its current standard bearer, Mr. Truman to Negroes. The opposition party has already taken the initiative to recapture this vote which they have always considered their private preserve.

Rebuffed in three attempts to reclaim Negro support through traditional appeals, the opposition has discarded outmoded methods and has instituted a streamlined program designed to raise the economic and political status of Negroes.

Specific legislation and unprecedented appointments have keynoted this program. Led by the Republican candidate in the last presidential campaign, three Republican governors have already signed state FEPC bills this year.

OUTLINE PROGRAM

4-25-45

It is not the intention here to detail specific ways and means in which the desired objective should be attained. It would be important however, that the administration be mindful that to act now in the absence of pressure from any quarter would be of immeasurable advantage. To wait for the exertion of influences in behalf of these points which make up the program of most Negroes would be unfortunate. This program would include:

1. A sound legislative program—
   a. A permanent FEPC bill with enforcement powers
   b. An anti-poll tax bill
   c. Protection of Negroes in the armed forces
   d. Federal aid to education
   e. Additional public housing
   f. Extension of social security
   g. An anti lynch bill
   h. Passage of the Wagner-Murray-Dingle health bill
2. Appointments to responsible positions—
   a. Full-time assistants to the chairman of the National Democratic committee and to the chairman of the women's division.
   b. An administrative assistant on the White Hose staff.
   c. Such key governmental appointments as assistant secretaryships in executive departments and agencies and federal judgeships Special attention should be directed agencies dealing with labor, housing, agriculture and veterans affairs.

4-25-45

It is firmly believed that the fulfillment of these recommendations will do much to convince Negro voters that Mr. Truman was sincere when he said in his initial address to congress that "there will be no relaxation in our efforts to improve the lot of the common people.

Letter To Editor

Atlanta World
Ga.

DEPLORES NEGRO IN USE OF BALLOT

To the World Editor:

I have something on my mind which I would like to get off since it is a subject on which we all are vitally concerned and though, perhaps, some would say that it is a little early to express my views on such a matter.

4-22-45

It seems as though there is a certain amount of neglect among the Negro voting population as a whole when it comes to the ballot. So often have I heard the remark: "I did not vote and will not vote until I gain the full rights of citizenship." In a government where democracy flourishes this statement seems out of place. The fact that we can elect those whom we think are most able to serve us and under whose administration we think we can benefit the most we should be an incentive enough for us to vote and to study the platforms and candidates at hand so that we can be well informed when we do vote.

Not only should the Negro vote but it is his duty to so pool his vote with other Negro voters so they can form a powerful force in their own common interest. Particularly in the South, where the Negro constitutes a rather large part of the population and where the polls are opened to them we should more than ever be aware that our votes are strong enough to tip the balance in any direction we so desire.

So let us throw in together and fight just as hard through the polls as we did through the legislature in getting the late poll tax here in Georgia abolished, as a means of getting the full citizenship which is ours by right.

4-22-45

MINNIE BELLE BRISCOE
Student Atlanta University
School of Social Work

Negroes Voted For Roosevelt, Not Democrats

Philadelphia Tribune

BY STEVE ANDERSON

WASHINGTON —(ANP) — Because the Negro vote was given in four national elections in support of President and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt instead of party has its work cut out for it, according to best informed capital observers.

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4-25-45

If the Democratic party wishes to retain control of this crucial vote, it is imperative that specific measures be taken promptly to sell the party and its current standard bearer, Mr. Truman to Negroes. The opposition party has already taken the initiative to recapture this vote which they have always considered their private preserve. Rebuffed in three attempts to reclaim Negro support through traditional appeals, the opposition has discarded outmoded methods and has instituted a streamlined program designed to raise the economic and political status of Negroes. Specific legislation and unprecedented appointments have keynoted this program. Led by the Republican candidate in the last presidential campaign, three Republican governors have already signed state FEPC bills this year.

Voting Proposition

4-16-45

The U.S. Supreme Court ruled in a Texas case, last year, that Negroes have a right to vote in Democratic primaries. Five thousand of Atlanta's colored citizens hopefully registered. But none of them voted. White election officials told them, "This primary is for white voters only." Last week, anticipating next September's city primary, Atlanta politicians thought they saw a slicker way around the Supreme Court decision.

The City Democratic Executive Committee simply dropped the word "Democratic" from its title. Then it announced last week that Negroes would be barred from voting.

Last year, to save trouble, only a few Negroes went to the Georgia polls to get the turndown they knew they would get. This time Dr. Austin T. Walden, Negro leader, announced a change of strategy. At Atlanta's primary, Negroes will be urged to go to the polls in large numbers.

Negro Voting 'Is Inevitable,' Floridan Declares

Atlanta Constitution
2-22-45

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., Feb. 21. (AP)—Atty. Gen. Tom Watson today told Florida Democratic leaders that Negro voting in their primary elections "is inevitable" and advised them to try to find a way "that will reduce the evils."

As for Negroes attaining superiority at the polls, he said "if our Florida politics ever gets so low that the Negro can control it, he ought to control it."

Watson made his statement during a conference of the state Democratic executive committee's legislative council on recommendations to be made to the coming legislature.

2-22-45

Negro voting can be done in a way that will reduce the evils. You can carry segregation to the nth degree. You can make them register separately and vote separately. If we do it right we can make history, not for Florida alone, but for the whole nation."

61f-1945

Women In Politics

By Elizabeth Gurley Flynn

Women Are Voters, Too

The Worker N.Y., N.Y.
10-7-45

AFTER our recent Madison Square Garden meeting, which was such a success, a young woman came to see me. She is a railroad worker—a wartime achievement—and looked very trim in her blue uniform. But she was angry, quite angry, and when I spoke of our meeting about which I had just written a glowing piece for The Worker, she said indignantly: "Oh yes, it was a good meeting. But not one word was said by anyone about **women** and all their problems today." Having said something like this myself innumerable times, officially and unofficially, I was at a loss for an adequate reply. I tried, but unsuccessfully, to excuse it. "It was a campaign meeting." I knew I was sunk there because she came back at me just right. "Aren't any voters women? Don't we want their votes? Haven't they any special problems we should discuss?"

She looked at me very critically and said, "What are **you** doing about it? We all thought you are the guardian angel of women **in our Party.**" On this ground, I felt I could defend myself better. "Every Communist should be the guardian angel of women—and Negroes, and Jews, and everybody else," I said, "and I believe firmly this is correct." "Well, it's our duty to see that they are—yours included," she replied. "Right again," I thought. "This girl is good, she knows her arguments." And she surely did. She pointed out how women are being laid off, left and right, regardless of their needs or the promises made to them in wartime. Women workers need jobs, child care provisions, equal pay and seniority, when they work; maternity aid, and unemployed benefits when they don't. Mothers of families are the ones who come to grips with consumer problems—the black market, the high cost of living, housing shortages, health problems. Yes—my militant young comrade is right and I'm glad she said it all to me quite vigorously. That's the way to talk to each other. I am passing it along especially to you who are busy in the campaign. **Don't forget the women. They are citizens—voters—workers—people.** They can win or lose an election for us. Women are 50 percent of the voters in New York State—and "the biggest half at that!" as Mr. Dooley said.

10-7-45

* * *

Let us not forget that women of the working class **have problems,** some general as workers, some special as women. We must discuss those special problems, as well as the general ones. Once I objected to the constant use of the word "men" in the speeches and writings of Earl Browder, not a single reference to women anywhere in "Teheran," for instance. It was explained that "men" was used in a general sense, which means that it included women. Since at that period "Patience as a high art," and "flexibility to the level of principle" were in order, I know now, to my shame, that I accepted such explanations far too readily and I criticize myself most severely for responsibility in the underestimation of the special problems of women which still exists. It cannot be solved by us as women congregating together by ourselves and complaining to each other. Hangovers of the past must be rooted out by all of us, men and women, becoming alert to the special problems of all groups—including women. Let us start in this 1945 election. These problems cannot be solved by ignoring them, pretending they don't exist, and shying away from women comrades who talk about them. Some men, not enough but some, talk intelligently and sympathetically about women's problems too. Marx and Engels did, Bebel and Lenin did, Stalin does. Brothers and comrades, you'll be in good company if you study up on the women question and become champions. 10-7-45

Two men at least I know, who do talk about and fight for women's special issues—are Peter V. Cacchione and Benjamin J. Davis, Jr. Their records are excellent on this score and should be brought before every woman voter. They should have been spoken of at our meeting. To vote, we must register this coming week. That's our first job, to persuade and help all eligible women to register. Otherwise they cannot vote. Registration is the first half of voting. Let us begin to overcome our past shortcomings by an increased alertness to the fact that women are voters, too, and reach them for our candidates.

23 Groups May Picket White House

Form Lobby to Combat Bias In Veterans Administration

The Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh Pa. 11-10-45

WASHINGTON—A powerful lobby of twenty-three national organizations virtually declared war on the Veterans' Administration and threatened to picket it and the White House—if need be—to force a decisions to end the VA's discriminatory policies. Meeting here in Washington under the auspices of the Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority's National Non-Partisan Council on Public Affairs, the group's first action was to draft a telegram to President Truman, Gen. Omar Bradley, VA head; members of the Federal Board of Hospitalization; Rep. William L. Dawson, Robert Hannegan, Democratic party head, and to Harold D. Smith, director of the Bureau of the Budget.

OPPOSE PLANS 11-10-45

The telegram bitterly opposed the planned setting up of a veterans' hospital in Mississippi. Deriding the State that had sent such men as Bilbo, Rankin and Eastland to Congress, the telegram called upon those receiving it to drop "previous committments" to build the hospital in Mississippi in the "name of the democracy for which Negro veterans fought abroad and for which Negro citizens press continuously at home."

The group was further angered by the report of one of the members of the National Medical Association, who declared that a new strategy for the perpetuation of segregated hospitals was being fostered under cover by the VA. He said that the new plans for the location of VA hospitals is to set them up close to medical colleges. Segregation comes in, the NMA member declared, by the VA's decision to build a hospital for Negro veterans near Meharry Medical College at Nashville, Tenn.

DOESN'T EXPECT FIGHT

The member pointed out that the VA expected that Negroes would not fight the establishment of this hospital on the grounds that it would be injuring the progress of one of their own schools.

The group looked with great disfavor on this move and vehemently declared that it was unalterably opposed to all Federal hospitals being segregated, regardless of what institution was involved.

The conference was called to discuss plans of obtaining a positive statement from General Bradley, who has promised the group an interview. 11-10-45

Thomasina Johnson, Non-Partisan head, sounded the keynote of the meeting by declaring that "the time has come to stand up and fight. We must get a favorable decision on the Veterans' Administration, and get is as quickly as possible."